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Vol. 1

THE

HISTORY

OF

BRITISH INDIA

BY JAMES MILL, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Hoc autem pressè et distinctè excutiamus, sermone quodam activo et masculo, nusquam digrediendo, nil amplificando.

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PREFACE.

In the course of reading and investigation, necessary for acquiring that measure of knowledge which I was anxious to possess, respecting my country, its people, its government, its interests, its policy, and its laws, I was met, and in some degree surprised, by extraordinary difficulties, when I arrived at that part of my inquiries which related to India. On other subjects, of any magnitude and importance, I generally found, that there was some one book, or small number of books, containing the material part of the requisite information; and in which direction was obtained, by reference, to other books, if, in any part, the reader found it necessary to extend his researches. In regard to India, the case was exceedingly different. The knowledge requisite for attaining an adequate conception of that great scene of British action, was collected no where. It was scattered in a great variety of repositories, sometimes in considerable portions, often in very minute ones; sometimes by itself, often mixed up with subjects of a very different nature: but even where information relating to India stood disjoined from other subjects, a small portion of what was useful lay commonly imbedded in a large mass of what was trifling and insignificant; and of a body of statements, given indiscriminately as matters of fact, ascertained by the senses, the far greater part was in general only matter of opinion, borrowed, in succession, by one set of Indian gentlemen from another.*

* The difficulty arising from this source of false information was felt by the very first accurate historian.

Ὁι γαρ ανθρωποι τας ακοας των προγεγενημενων, και ην επιχωρια σφισιν ῃ, ὁμως αβασανιστως παρ' αλληλων δεχονται. Thucyd. lib. i. c. κ'. Other excellent observations to the same purpose are found in the two following chapters.

In bestowing the time, labour, and thought, necessary to explore this assemblage of heterogeneous things, and to separate, for my own use, what was true and what was useful, from what was insignificant and what was false, I was led to grieve, that none of those who had preceded me, in collecting for themselves a knowledge of Indian affairs, had been induced to leave their collection for the benefit of others; and perform the labour of extracting and ordering the dispersed and confused materials of a knowledge of India, once for all. The second reflection was, that, if those who preceded me had neglected this important service, and in so doing were not altogether free from blame, neither should I be exempt from the same condemnation, if I omitted what depended upon me, to facilitate and abridge to others the labour of acquiring a knowledge of India; an advantage I should have valued so highly, had it been bestowed upon me by any former inquirer.

In this manner, the idea of writing a History of India was first engendered in my mind. I should have shrunk from the task, had I foreseen the labour in which it has involved me.

The books, in which more or less of information respecting India might be expected to be found, were sufficiently numerous to compose a library. Some were books of Travels. Some were books of History. Some contained philological, some antiquarian researches. A considerable number consisted of translations from the writings of the natives in the native tongues; others were books on the religion of the people of India; books on their laws; books on their sciences, manners, and arts.

The transactions in India were not the only transactions of the British nation, to which the affairs of India had given birth. Those affairs had been the subject of much discussion by the press, and of many legislative, executive, and even judicial proceedings, in England. Those discussions and proceedings would form of course an essential part of the History of British India; and the materials of it remained to be extracted, with much labour, from the voluminous records of British literature, and British legislation.

The British legislature had not satisfied itself with deliberating, and deciding; it had also inquired; and, inquiring, it had called for evidence. This call, by the fortunate publicity of parliamentary proceedings, brought forth the records of the councils in India, and their correspondence, with one another, with their servants, and with the constituted authorities in England: a portion of materials, inestimable in its value; but so appalling by its magnitude, that many years appeared to be inadequate to render the mind familiar with it.

Such is a short and very imperfect description of the state of the materials.* The operations necessary, to draw from them a useful history, formed the second subject of consideration. To omit other particulars, which will easily present themselves, and are common to this with all undertakings of a similar nature, a peculiar demand, it is evident, was presented for the exercise of discrimination, that is, of criticism, in a chaotic mass, of such extent, where things related to the subject were to be separated from things foreign to it; where circumstances of importance were to be separated from circumstances that were insignificant; where real facts, and just inferences, were to be separated from such as were the contrary; and above all things, where facts, really testified by the senses, were to be discriminated from matters, given as testified by the senses, but which, in truth, were nothing but matters of opinion, confounded with matters of fact, and mistaken for them, in the minds of the reporters themselves.†

* Il y avoit plus de choses la dessus qu'on ne le croyoit communement, mais elles etoient noyées dans une foule de recueils immenses, en langues Latine, Espagnole, Angloise, et Hollandoise, ou personne ne s'avisoit de les aller chercher; dans une quantité de routiers tres-secs, tres-ennuyeux, relatifs à cent autres objets, et dont il seroit presque impossible de rendre la lecture interressente. Les difficultés ne touchent guère ceux qui ne les essuyent pas. Hist. des Navigation aux Terres Australes, par M. le President de Brosse.

† L'on ne sent que trop, says Mr. Gibbon, combien nous sommes portés à mêler nos idées avec celles que nous rapportons. Memoire sur la Monarchie des Medes, Gibbon's Miscel. Works, iii. 61. Ed. 8vo. This infirmity of the human mind, a fact of great importance, both in speculation and in action, the reader, who is not already acquainted with it, will find very

A history of India, therefore, to be good for any thing, must, it was evident, be, what, for want of a better appellation, has been called, "A Critical History."* To criticise means, to judge. A critical history is, then, a *judging* history. But, if a judging history, what does it judge?

It is evident that there are two, and only two, classes of objects, which constitute the subject of historical judgments. The first is, the matter of statement, the things given by the historian, as things really done, really said, or really thought. The second is, the matter of evidence, the matter by which the reality of the saying, the doing, or thinking, is ascertained.

In regard to evidence, the business of criticism visibly is, to bring to light the value of each article, to discriminate what is true from what is false, to combine partial statements, in order to form a complete account, to compare varying, and balance contradictory statements, in order to form a correct one.

elegantly illustrated in one of the chapters of the second volume of the work of Mr. Dugald Stewart, on the Philosophy of the Human Mind. See p. 385, vol. i. of the present work. Many examples of it will present themselves in the course of this history; for as it is a habit peculiarly congenial to the mental state of the natives, so a combination of circumstances has given it unusual efficacy in the minds of those of our countrymen by whom India has been surveyed.

* The idea of a critical history is not very old. The first man who seems to have had a distinct conception of it, says, "Je traiterai mon sujet en critique, suivant la regle de St. Paul, *Examinez toutes choses, et ne retenez que ce qui est bon.* L'histoire n'est bien souvent qu'un melange confus de faux et de vrai, entassé par des ecrivains mal instruits, credules, ou passionez. C'est au lecteur attentif et judicieux d'en faire le discernement, à l'aide d'une critique, qui ne soit ni trop timide, ni temeraire. Sans le secours de cet art, on erre dans l'histoire, comme un pilote sur le mer, lorsqu'il n'a ni boussole, ni carte marine." Beausobre, Hist. de Manichee, Disc. Prelim. p. 7.

The same writer has, also, said, what is not foreign to the present purpose; "Une histoire critique ne pouvant être trop bien justifiée, j'ai eu soin de mettre en original, au bas des pages, les passages qui servent de preuve aux faits que j'avance. C'est un ennuyeux travail, mais je l'ai cru necessaire. Si l'on trouve les citations trop amples et trop abondantes, c'est un superflu qui n'a coûté qu'a moi, et le lecteur peut bien m'en pardonner la depense." Id. Ibid. Pref. p. 24.

A great historian of our own has said: "It is the right, it is the duty of a critical historian to collect, to weigh, to select the opinions of his predecessors; and the more diligence he has exerted in the search, the more rationally he may hope to add some improvement to the stock of knowledge, the use of which has been common to all." Gibbon's Miscel. Works, iv. 589.

In regard to the matter of statement, the business of criticism is, to discriminate between real causes and false causes; real effects and false effects; real tendencies and falsely supposed ones; between good ends and evil ends; means that are conducive, and means not conducive to the ends to which they are applied.

In exhibiting the result of these several judgments, the satisfaction, or the instruction of the reader, is very imperfectly provided for, if the reasons are not adduced. I have no apology, therefore, to make, for those inductions, or those ratiocinations, sometimes of considerable length, which were necessary to exhibit the grounds on which my decisions were founded. Those critical disquisitions may be well, or they may be ill performed; they may lead to correct, or they may lead to erroneous conclusions; but they are, indisputably, in place; and my work, whatever had been its virtues in other respects, would have remained most imperfect without them.*

There will be but one opinion, I suppose, with regard to the importance of the service, which I have aspired to the honour of rendering to my country; for the public are inclined to exaggerate, rather than extenuate, the magnitude of the interests which are involved in the management of their Indian affairs. And it may be affirmed, as a principle, not susceptible of dispute, that good management of any portion of the affairs of any community is almost always

* Even those strictures, which sometimes occur, on institutions purely British, will be all found, I am persuaded, to be not only strictly connected with measures which relate to India, and which have actually grown out of those institutions; but indispensably necessary to convey complete and correct ideas of the Indian policy which the institutions in question contributed mainly to shape. The whole course of our Indian policy having, for example, been directed by the laws of parliamentary influence, how could the one be explained without adducing, as in the last chapter of the second volume, and in some other places, the leading principles of the other? The result of all the judicial inquiries, which have been attempted in England, on Indian affairs, depending in a great degree on the state of the law in England, how could those events be sufficiently explained, without adducing, as in the chapter on the trial of Mr. Hastings, those particulars in the state of the law of England, on which the results in question appeared more remarkably to depend? The importance of this remark will be felt, and, I hope, remembered when the time for judging of the use and pertinence of those elucidations, arrives.

proportional to the degree of knowledge respecting it diffused in that community. Hitherto the knowledge of India, enjoyed by the British community, has been singularly defective. Not only among the uneducated, and those who are regardless of knowledge, but among those who are solicitous to obtain a competent share of information with respect to every other great branch of the national interests, nothing is so rare as to meet with a man who can with propriety be said to know any thing of India, and its affairs. A man who has any considerable acquaintance with them, without having been forced to acquire it by the offices he has filled, is scarcely perhaps to be found.

The same must continue to be the case, till the knowledge of India is rendered more accessible. Few men can afford the time sufficient for perusing even a moderate portion of the documents from which a knowledge of India, approaching to completeness, must have hitherto been derived. Of those, whose time is not wholly engrossed, either by business or by pleasure, the proportion is very moderate whom the prospect of a task so heavy, and so tedious, as that of exploring the numerous repositories of Indian knowledge, would not deter. And, with respect to the most important of all the sources of information, the parliamentary documents, they were not before the public, and by the very nature of the case within the reach of a number comparatively small.

But though no dispute will arise about the importance of the work, I have no reason to expect the same unanimity about the fitness of the workman.

One objection will doubtless be taken, on which I think it necessary to offer some observations, notwithstanding the unfavourable sentiments which are commonly excited by almost any language in which a man can urge pretensions which he may be suspected of urging as his own; pretensions which, though they must exist, in some degree, in the case of every man who writes a book, and ought to be encouraged, therefore, rather than extinguished, had better, in general, be understood, than expressed.

This writer, it will be said, has never been in India; and, if he has any, has a very slight, and elementary acquaintance, with any of the languages of the East.

I confess the facts; and will now proceed to mention the considerations, which led me, notwithstanding, to conclude, that I might still produce a work, of considerable utility, on the subject of India.

In the first place, it appeared to me, that a sufficient stock of information was now collected in the languages of Europe, to enable the inquirer to ascertain every important point, in the history of India. If I was right in that opinion, it is evident, that a residence in India, or a knowledge of the languages of India, was, to express myself moderately, not indispensable.

In the next place, I observed, that no exceptions were taken to a President of the Board of Control, or to a Governor-General, the men entrusted with all the powers of government, because they had never been in India, and knew none of its languages.

Again, I certainly knew, that some of the most successful attempts in history had been made, without ocular knowledge of the country, or acquaintance with its language. Robertson, for example, never beheld America, though he composed its history. He never was either in Germany or Spain, yet he wrote the history of Charles the Fifth. Of Germany he knew not so much as the language; and it was necessary for him to learn that of Spain, only because the documents which it yielded were not translated into any of the languages with which he was acquainted. Tacitus, though he never was in Germany, and was certainly not acquainted with the language of our uncultivated ancestors, wrote the exquisite account of the manners of the Germans.

But, as some knowledge may be acquired by seeing India, which cannot be acquired without it; and as it can be pronounced of hardly any portion of knowledge that it is altogether useless, I will not go so far as to deny, that a man would possess advantages, who, to all the qualifications for writing a history of India which it is possible to acquire in Europe, should add those qualifications which can be acquired only by seeing the country and conversing with its people. Yet I have no doubt of being able to make out, to the satisfaction of all reflecting minds, that the man who should bring to the com-

position of a history of India the qualifications alone which can be acquired in Europe, would come, in an almost infinite degree, better fitted for the task, than the man who should bring to it the qualifications alone which can be acquired in India; and that the business of acquiring the one set of qualifications is almost wholly incompatible with that of acquiring the other.

For, let us inquire what it is that a man can learn, by going to India, and understanding its languages. He can treasure up the facts, which are presented to his senses; he can learn the facts which are recorded in such native books, as have not been translated; and he can ascertain facts by conversation with the natives, which have never yet been committed to writing. This he can do; and I am not aware that he can do any thing further.

But, as no fact is more certain, so none is of more importance, in the science of human nature, than this; that the powers of observation, in every individual, are exceedingly limited; and that it is only by combining the observations of a number of individuals, that a competent knowledge of any extensive subject can ever be acquired. Of so extensive and complicated a scene as India, how small a portion would the whole period of his life enable any man to observe!

If, then, we may assume it as an acknowledged fact, that an account of India complete in all its parts, at any one moment, still more through a series of ages, could never be derived from the personal observation of any one individual, but must be collected from the testimony of a great number of individuals, of any one of whom the powers of perception could extend but a little way, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that the man best qualified for dealing with evidence, is the man best qualified for writing the history of India. It will not, I presume, admit of much dispute, that the habits which are subservient to the successful exploration of evidence are more likely to be acquired in Europe, than in India.

The man who employs himself in treasuring up, by means of perception and the languages, the greatest portion of knowledge in regard to India, is he who

employs the greatest portion of his life, in the business of observing; and in making himself familiar with the languages. But the mental habits which are acquired in mere observing, and in the acquisition of languages, are almost as different as any mental habits can be, from the powers of combination, discrimination, classification, judgment, comparison, weighing, inferring, inducting, philosophizing in short; which are the powers of most importance for extracting the precious ore from a great mine of rude historical materials.

Whatever is worth seeing or hearing in India, can be expressed in writing. As soon as every thing of importance is expressed in writing, a man who is duly qualified may attain more knowledge of India, in one year, in his closet in England, than he could obtain during the course of the longest life, by the use of his eyes and his ears in India.

As soon as the testimony is received of a sufficient number of witnesses, to leave no room for mistake from the partial or the erroneous statements which they may have separately made, it is hardly doubtful, that a man, other circumstances being equal, is really better qualified for forming a correct judgment on the whole, if his information is totally derived from testimony, than if some little portion of it is derived from the senses. It is well known, how fatal an effect on our judgments is exerted by those impulses, called partial impressions; in other words, how much our conceptions of a great whole are apt to be distorted, and made to disagree with their object, by an undue impression, received from some particular part. Nobody needs to be informed, how much more vivid, in general, is the conception of an object which has been presented to our senses, than that of an object which we have only heard another man describe. Nobody, therefore, will deny, that, of a great scene, or combination of scenes, when some small part has been seen, and the knowledge of the rest has been derived from testimony, there is great danger, lest the impression received from the senses should exert an immoderate influence, hang a bias on the mind, and render the conception of the whole erroneous.

If a man were to lay down the plan of preparing himself for writing the

history of India, by a course of observation in the country, he must do one of two things. Either he must resolve to observe minutely a part; or he must resolve to take a cursory view of the whole. Life is insufficient for more. If his decision is, to observe minutely; a very small portion comparatively is all that he will be able to observe. What aid he can derive from this, in writing a history, has partly been already unfolded, and may for the rest be confided to the reflections of the intelligent reader.

What I expect to be insisted upon with greatest emphasis is, that, if an observer were to take an expansive view of India, noting, in his progress, those circumstances alone which are of greatest importance, he would come with peculiar advantage to the composition of a history; with lights capable of yielding the greatest assistance in judging even of the evidence of others. To estimate this pretension correctly, we must not forget a well-known and important law of human nature. From this we shall see, that a cursory view, of the nature of that which is here described, is a process, in the highest degree effectual, not for removing error, and perfecting knowledge, but for strengthening all the prejudices, and confirming all the prepossessions or false notions, with which the observer sets out. This result is proved by a very constant experience; and may further be seen to spring, with an almost irresistible necessity, from the constitution of the human mind. In a cursory survey, it is understood, that the mind, unable to attend to the whole of an infinite number of objects, attaches itself to a few; and overlooks the multitude that remain. But what, then, are the objects to which the mind, in such a situation, is in preference attracted? Those which fall in with the current of its own thoughts; those which accord with its former impressions; those which confirm its previous ideas. These are the objects to which, in a hasty selection, all ordinary minds are directed, overlooking the rest. For what is the principle in the mind by which the choice is decided? Doubtless that of association. And is not association governed by the predominant ideas? To this remains to be added, the powerful influence of the affections; the well known pleasure, which a man finds, in meeting, at every

step, with proofs that he is in the right, and the eagerness with which he is thence inspired to look out for that source of satisfaction; the well-known aversion, on the other hand, which a man usually has, to meet with proofs that he is in the wrong, and the readiness with which he obeys the temptation, to overlook such disagreeable objects.

He who, without having been a percipient witness in India, undertakes, in Europe, to digest the materials of Indian history, is placed, with regard to the numerous individuals who have been in India, and of whom one has seen and reported one thing, another has seen and reported another thing, in a situation very analogous to that of the Judge, in regard to the witnesses who give their evidence before him. In the investigation of any of those complicated scenes of action, on which a judicial decision is sometimes required, one thing has commonly been observed by one witness, another thing has been observed by another witness; the same thing has been observed in one point of view by one, in another point of view, by another witness; some things are affirmed by one, and denied by another. In this scene, the judge, putting together the fragments of information which he has severally received from the several witnesses, marking where they agree and where they differ, exploring the tokens of fidelity in one, of infidelity in another; of correct conception in one, of incorrect conception in another; comparing the whole collection of statements with the general probabilities of the case, and trying it by the established laws of human nature, endeavours to arrive at a complete and correct conception of the complicated transaction, on which he is called to decide. Is it not understood, that in such a case as this, where the sum of the testimony is abundant, the judge, who has seen no part of the transaction, has yet, by his investigation, obtained a more complete and correct conception of it, than is almost ever possessed by any one of the individuals from whom he has derived his information? *

* The Indians themselves have a striking apologue to illustrate the superiority of the comprehensive student over the partial observer.

"One day in conversation," says Mr. Ward, "with the Sŭngskritŭ head pŭndit of the College

But, if a life, in any great degree devoted to the collecting of facts by the senses and the acquiring of tongues, is thus incompatible with the acquisition of that knowledge, and those powers of mind, which are most conducive to a masterly treatment of evidence; it is still less compatible with certain other endowments, which the discharge of the highest functions of the historian imperiously demands. Great and difficult as is the task of extracting perfectly the light of evidence from a chaos of rude materials, it is yet not the most difficult of his operations, nor that which requires the highest and rarest qualifications of the mind. It is the business of the historian not merely to display the obvious outside of things; the qualities which strike the most ignorant observer, in the acts, the institutions, and ordinances, which form the subject of his statements. His duty is, to convey just ideas of all those objects; of all the transactions, legislative, administrative, judicial, mercantile, military, which he is called upon to describe. But in just ideas of great measures what is implied? A clear discernment, undoubtedly, of their causes; a clear discernment

of Fort William, on the subject of God, this man, who is truly learned in his own Shastrŭs, gave the author, from one of their books, the following parable:—In a certain country, there existed a village of blind men, who had heard of an amazing animal called the elephant, of the shape of which, however, they could procure no idea. One day an elephant passed through the place: the villagers crowded to the spot where the animal was standing; and one of them seized his trunk, another his ear, another his tail, another one of his legs. After thus endeavouring to gratify their curiosity, they returned into the village, and sitting down together, began to communicate their ideas on the shape of the elephant, to the villagers: the man who had seized his trunk said, he thought this animal must be like the body of the plantain tree; he who had touched his ear was of opinion, that he was like the winnowing fan; the man who had laid hold of his tail said, he thought he must resemble a snake; and he who had caught his leg declared, he must be like a pillar. An old blind man, of some judgment, was present, who, though greatly perplexed in attempting to reconcile these jarring notions, at length said—You have all been to examine the animal, and what you report, therefore, cannot be false: I suppose, then, that the part resembling the plantain tree must be his trunk; what you thought similar to a fan must be his ear; the part like a snake must be the tail; and that like a pillar must be his leg. In this way, the old man, uniting all their conjectures, made out something of the form of the elephant." A View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos. By the Rev. W. Ward. Introd. p. lxxxvii. London Ed. 1817.

of their consequences; a clear discernment of their natural tendencies; and of the circumstances likely to operate either in combination with these natural tendencies, or in opposition to them. To qualify a man for this great duty, hardly any kind or degree of knowledge is not demanded; hardly any amount of knowledge, which it is within the competence of one man to acquire, will be regarded as enough. It is plain, for example, that he requires the most profound knowledge of the laws of human nature, which is the end, as well as instrument, of every thing. It is plain, that he requires the most perfect comprehension of the principles of human society; or the course, into which the laws of human nature impel the human being, in his gregarious state, or when formed into a complex body along with others of his kind. It is plain, that the historian requires a clear comprehension of the practical play of the machinery of government; that, in like manner as the general laws of motion are counteracted and modified by friction, the power of which may yet be accurately ascertained and provided for, so he may correctly appreciate the counteraction which the more general laws of human nature may receive from individual or specific varieties, and what allowance for it his anticipations and conclusions ought to embrace. In short, the whole field of human nature, the whole field of legislation, the whole field of judicature, the whole field of administration, down to war, commerce, and diplomacy, ought to be familiar to his mind.*

What, then? it will be said, and most reasonably said, do you hold yourself up, as the person in whom all these high qualifications are adequately combined? No. And I am well assured, that by not one of those by whom I shall be criticized, not even of those by whom I shall be treated with the greatest severity, will the distance between the qualifications which I possess, and the qualifications which are desirable in the writer of a history, be estimated at more than it is estimated by myself. But the whole of my life, which I may, without scruple,

* Aux yeux d'un philosophe, les faits composent la partie la moins interressante de l'histoire. C'est la connoissance de l'homme; la morale, et la politique qu'il y trouve, qui la relevent dans son esprit. Gibbon, Mem. sur la Monarchie des Medes, Misc. Works, iii. 126. Ed. 8vo.

pronounce a laborious one, has been devoted to the acquisition of those qualifications; and I am not unwilling to confess, that I deemed it probable I should be found to possess them in a greater degree than those, no part of whose life, or a very small part, had been applied to the acquisition of them. I was also of opinion, that if no body appeared, with higher qualifications, to undertake the work, it was better it should be done imperfectly, better it should be done even as I might be capable of doing it, than not done at all.

Among the many virtues which have been displayed by the Company's servants, may justly be enumerated the candour with which they themselves confess the necessity under which they are laid, of remaining to a great degree ignorant of India. That they go out to their appointments, at a time of life when a considerable stock of general knowledge cannot possibly have been acquired, is a fact which nobody will dispute. And they are the foremost to declare, that their situation in India is such, as to preclude them from the acquisition of local knowledge. Notwithstanding the high degree of talent, therefore, and even of literary talent, which many of them have displayed, more than some very limited portion of the history of India none of them has ventured to undertake.*

"When we consider," said Lord Teignmouth, in his celebrated Minute on the Revenues of Bengal, "the nature and magnitude of our acquisition, the characters of the people placed under our dominion, their difference of language, and dissimilarity of manners; that we entered upon the administration of the government ignorant of its former constitution, and with little practical experience in Asiatic finance, it will not be deemed surprising that we should have fallen into errors; or if any should at this time require correction.—If we further consider the form of the British government in India, we shall find it ill calculated for the

* The following words are not inapplicable, originally applied to a much more limited subject. De quibus partibus singulis, quidam separatim scribere maluerunt, velut onus totius corporis veriti, et sic quoque complures de unaquaque earum libros ediderunt: quas ego omnes ausus contexere, prope infinitum mihi laborem prospicio, et ipsa cogitatione suscepti muneris fatigor. Sed durandum est quia cœpimus; et, si viribus deficiemur, animo tamen perseverandum. Quinct. Inst. Or. lib. 4. Procem.

speedy introduction of improvement. The members composing it are in a state of constant fluctuation, and the period of their residence often expires, before experience can be acquired, or reduced to practice. Official forms necessarily occupy a large portion of time; and the constant pressure of business leaves little leisure for study and reflection, without which, no knowledge of the principles and detail of the revenues of this country can be attained. True information is also procured with difficulty, because it is too often derived from mere practice, instead of being deduced from fixed principles."*

Lord William Bentinck, after being Governor of Fort St. George, and President of the Council at Madras, expresses himself in very pointed terms. "The result of my own observation, during my residence in India, is, that the Europeans generally know little or nothing of the customs and manners of the Hindoos. We are all acquainted with some prominent marks and facts, which all who run may read: but their manner of thinking; their domestic habits and ceremonies, in which circumstances a knowledge of the people consists, is I fear in great part wanting to us. We understand very imperfectly their language. They, perhaps, know more of ours; but their knowledge is by no means sufficiently extensive to give a description of subjects not easily represented by the insulated words in daily use. We do not, we cannot, associate with the natives. We cannot see them in their houses, and with their families. We are necessarily very much confined to our houses by the heat. All our wants and business, which would create a greater intercourse with the natives, is done for us; and we are, in fact, strangers in the land."†

* No. 1, Appendix to the Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the Affairs of the East India Company, in 1810. This passage, the Committee have thought of sufficient importance to be incorporated in their Report.

† Observations of Lord William Bentinck, printed in the Advertisement, prefixed to the "Description of the Character, &c. of the People of India." By the Abbé J. A. Dubois, Missionary in the Mysore. If any one should object to the testimony of this Ruler, as that of a man who had not been bred in India, it is to be remembered that the testimony is adduced, as expressing his own opinion, by the translator of that work, whose knowledge of India is not liable to dispute;

Another servant of the Company, Sir Henry Strachey, distinguished both by his local experience, and by general knowledge, remarking upon the state of judicature, under the English government in India, says, " Another impediment, though of a very different nature from those I have mentioned, and much more difficult to remove, is to me too palpable to be overlooked,—I mean, that arising from Europeans in our situation being necessarily ill qualified, in many points, to perform the duties required of us, as judges and magistrates. This proceeds chiefly from our very imperfect connexion with the natives; and our scanty knowledge, after all our study, of their manners, customs, and languages." " We cannot study the genius of the people in its own sphere of action. We know little of their domestic life, their knowledge, conversation, amusements, their trades, and casts, or any of those national and individual characteristics, which are essential to a complete knowledge of them." " The difficulty we experience in discerning truth and falsehood among the natives, may be ascribed, I think, chiefly, to our want of connexion and intercourse with them; to the peculiarity of their manners and habits; their excessive ignorance of our characters; and our almost equal ignorance of theirs." *

and given to the world as the opinion of the Court of Directors, to whom the manuscript belonged, and under whose authority and direction, it was both translated and published.

* Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 534, 562. " It is a fact," says another enlightened observer, " which, however singular and unfortunate, is yet founded in truth, that those persons from whom correct information on these subjects might justly be expected, are generally the least able, from the peculiar circumstances of their situation, to supply it: I mean, the Company's servants.—During the early period of their residence in the East, every hour must be employed, in the acquisition of the languages, in the study of the laws of the country, and the manners of the natives; whilst the latter years of their service are still more unremittingly engrossed, in the discharge of the irksome and arduous duties of their profession." Considerations on the Present Political State of India. By Alexander Fraser Tytler, late Assistant Judge in the Twenty-four Pergunnahs, Bengal Establishment, Preface, p. xii. See other passages to the same purpose, Introduction, p. iv, v, xi; also i. 77, 357, 415. And Mr. Tytler quotes with peculiar approbation the passage already given from the Minute of Lord Teignmouth.

" I must beg you always to bear in mind, that when an English gentleman undertakes to give an account of Indian manners and habits of private life, he labours under many disadvant-

One or two things I may venture to affirm that I have done.

I have performed the business of research with a labour, and patience, which it would not be easy to surpass. And I believe there is no point, of great importance, involved in the History of India, which the evidence I have adduced is not sufficient to determine. I am, at the same time, aware, that in regard to some things there are documents which were not within my reach; and, concerning the latter part of the history, in particular, that there are individuals in England, possessed of information, which, in several places, would have rendered the narrative richer, and perhaps more accurate, in matters of detail. If I shall be found to have performed, with any tolerable success, what I had the means of performing, the liberality which distinguishes the gentlemen of India gives me reason to hope, that many of those who are possessed of useful information, but whom it was impossible for me to find out, will not be unwilling to contribute their aid to the improvement of the History of British India.

Having thus placed before me the materials of Indian history in a state, I be-

ages. The obstacles which prevent our ever viewing the natives of India in their domestic circles are great and insuperable; such as, the restrictions of caste on their side; rank and situation on ours, &c. We do not intermarry with them, as the Portuguese did; nor do we ever mix with them, in the common duties of social life, on terms of equality. What knowledge we have of their domestic arrangements has been gained chiefly by inquiry, &c." Letters written in a Mahratta Camp, &c. by T. D. Broughton, Esq. p. 3.

See to the same purpose, Sir John Malcolm, Sketch of the Political History of India, &c. p. 449.

After adverting to certain erroneous notions on Indian subjects, Lieutenant Moor, the well-informed author of the "Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment," observes, "Other opinions, equally correct and entertaining, are indulged by the good people of England; which it is vain to oppose, for the party 'was told so by a gentleman who had been in India;' perhaps a voyage or two; but these, however respectable in their profession, are surely not the persons to receive information from, on the subject of the political characters of the East; no more (nor indeed much less) than some gentlemen who may have *resided* a few years in India; for we can easily admit the possibility of a person spending many years of his life in the cities of Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, without knowing much more of the politics, prejudices, &c. of interior states or countries, than if he had never stirred out of London, Dublin, or Edinburgh:" p. 196.

lieved, of greater fulness and completeness, than any preceding inquirer, I followed the course of my own thoughts, in the judgments which I formed; not because I vainly imagined my thoughts more valuable than those of all other men, but because the sincere and determined pursuit of truth imposes this rigid law. It would not allow me to give for true the opinion of any man, till I had satisfied myself that it was true; still less to give the opinion of any man for true, when I had satisfied myself that it was not true.

Mr. Locke has declared; that he who follows his own thoughts in writing, can hope for approvers in the small number alone of those who make use of their own thoughts in reading; that, by the rest, " a man is not permitted, without censure, to follow his own thoughts in the search of truth, when they lead him ever so little out of the common road."

If this is the severe condition, under which a man follows his own thoughts, in writing even on abstract and general truths, how much harder must be the lot of him who follows them, in writing of the actions and characters of powerful men, and bodies of men? Conscious, however, that I had been faithful in forming my opinions, I believed that I lay under an indispensable obligation to be faithful in expressing them: " to give them without violation of modesty, but yet with the courage of a man unwilling to betray the rights of reason;" and with that manly plainness, which the sincerity of the historical character appeared to require.

I could not overlook the probable consequences. " La perfection d'une Histoire," says a great judge, " est d'etre desagréable à toutes les sectes, et à toutes les nations; car c'est une preuve que l'auteur ne flate ni les uns ni les autres, et qu'il a dit à chacun ses verités."*

He who desires to obtain a considerable portion of immediate applause, has two well-known, and well-trodden paths, before him.

The first is, to be a zealot for some particular and powerful party; to pane-

* Bayle, Eclaircissemens, sur le Dictionnaire.

gyrize its leaders; attack its opponents; place its principles and practices in the fairest possible light; and labour to bring odium upon the principles and practices of its opponents. This secures the loud and vehement applause of those who are gratified; and the vehement applause of a great party carries, by contagion, along with it, all, or the greater part, of those, who are not very strongly engaged by their interests or passions on the opposite side.

The next of the easy ways to the acquisition of fame, consists of two principal parts. The first is, "to wanton, in common topics, where a train of sentiments generally received enables a writer to shine without labour, and to conquer without a contest."* The second is, to deal for ever in compromise; to give up the half of every opinion and every principle; go no further in favour of any side of any question, than may be reconcileable in some degree with the good opinion of those who oppose it; and having written as much on one side, as to extract applause from one set of persons, to turn immediately and write as much on the other, as will extract applause from the opposite sort. This is done, without glaring marks of inconsistency, by avoiding all close encounter with the subject, and keeping to vague and general phrases. And in this manner, by a proper command of plausible language, it is easy to obtain reputation with all parties; reputation, not only of great talents, but of great moderation, great wisdom, and great virtue.†

If my book were possessed of a much greater share of the titles to applause, than even the partialities of the writer allow him to ascribe to it; I have travelled so very wide of those beaten paths to success, that my only chance for it depends, I cannot fail to perceive, upon the degree in which real liberality, that is,

* Rambler, No. ii.

† Some considerable reputations have been acquired, by praising every thing in one's own country. And there are many persons who sincerely insist upon it, that a writer ought always to contrive to put his country in the right; that it is a proof of his not being a friend to it, if he ever puts it in the wrong. This is a motive which I utterly disclaim. This is the way, not to be a friend to one's country, but an enemy. It is to bring upon it the disgrace of falsehood and misrepresentation, in the first instance; and, next, to afford it all the inducement, in the writer's power, to persevere in mischievous, or in disgraceful courses.

strength of mind, is diffused in the community. I have done enough, doubtless, to secure to myself the malignity of the intemperate, and the narrow-minded, of all parties. I have encouraged myself, however, with the belief, that civilization, and the improvement of the human mind, had, in this country, attained a sufficient elevation to make a book be received as useful, if it was really useful, though it neither exaggerated, nor extenuated, the good, or the evil, of any man, or combination of men: to afford a multitude, in every party, far enough removed from the taint of vulgar antipathies, to yield to an author, who spoke with sincerity, and who, though he has not spoken with a view to gratify any party, or any individual, most assuredly has never spoken with a view to hurt any, a compensation for the hostilities of the lower and more ungenerous portion of every party.

Though I am aware of many defects in the work which I have ventured to offer to the public; and cannot forget how probable it is, that more impartial and more discerning eyes will discover many which are invisible to mine, I shall yet appeal from the sentence of him, who shall judge of me solely by what I have not done. An equitable and truly useful decision would be grounded upon an accurate estimation of what I have done, and what I have not done, taken together.

It will also deserve to be considered, how much was in the power of any individual to compass. In so vast a subject, it was clearly impossible for one man to accomplish every thing. Some things it was necessary to leave, that others might be taken; some things it was necessary to handle but slightly, that others might be treated with greater attention. The geography, for example, alone, would have occupied a life-time. To nicety in the details of geography, I was, therefore, unable to aspire. I followed, without much criticism, the authors whom I was consulting, and was only careful to give, with correctness, that outline and those particulars, which were necessary for understanding completely the transactions recorded in my work. To compensate, as far as possible, for that which, in this department, I myself was unable to perform, I was anxious to afford the reader the advantage of Mr. Arrowsmith's map, by far the finest display which has yet

been made of the geography of India; and in any discrepancy, if any should appear, between the text and that reduction of his noble map, which is prefixed to the second volume, I desire the reader to be guided rather by the geographer than by the historian.

In the orthography of Indian names, I should not have aimed at a learned accuracy, even if my knowledge of the languages had qualified me for the task. I have not been very solicitous even about uniformity in the same name; for, as almost every author differs from another in the spelling of Eastern names, it appeared to me to be not altogether useless, that, in a book intended to serve as an introduction to the knowledge of India, a specimen of this irregularity should appear.

There is another apparent imperfection, which I should have more gladly removed. In revising my work for the press, some few instances have occurred, in which I have not been able to verify the references to my authorities. This arose from one of the difficulties of my situation. Unable to command at once the large and expensive number of books, which it was necessary for me to consult, I was often dependent upon accident for the period of my supply; and, if not provided with the best channels of information, obliged to pursue my inquiries, at the moment, in such as I possessed. It was often, in these cases, useful, for the sake of memory, and of following out the thread of research, to quote, in the first instance, at second hand. When I afterwards obtained the better authority, it was a matter of anxious care to adjust the reference; but I have met with some instances in which I am afraid the adjustment has not been performed. I mention this, to obviate cavils at the appearance of inaccuracy, where the reality does not exist; inaccuracy in form, rather than in substance: for I have no apprehension that those who shall trace me with the requisite perseverance will accuse me of wanting either the diligence, or the fidelity of an historian; and I ought not to have undertaken the task, if I had not possessed the prospect of obtaining, sooner or later, the means of carrying it to completion.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.—Page 102, In the marginal note, *for* inabited *read* inhabited.
—— 106, *line* 1, *for* artificia *read* artificial.
—— 108, — 8, *for* are *read* is.
—— 109, note *, *line* 6 from the bottom of the page, *for* civ. cv. *read* clxiv ; and *for* lib. ii. *read* lib. xi.
—— 111, note §, *for* Ib. *read* Gentoo Code.
———— note **, *for* Ib. *read* Menu.
—— 117, *line* 12, *for* Bin *read* Bice.
—— 118, — 37, *for* principle *read* principles.
—— 128, — 3, note §, *for* Brahmen *read* Brahmens.
—— 130, — 2, note *, *for* Foster *read* Forster.
—— 165, — 6, *for* was *read* is.
—— 185, — 1, *before* most, *insert* the.
—— 381, *Subjoin to the end of note* ‡—A still more minute and beautiful illustration of this fact is to be found in Dr. A. Smith's Essay on the History of Astronomy, sect. ii.
—— 425, last word, *for* Diophantus *read* Algebra.
—— 460, *line* 16, *for* whom *read* who.
—— 646, — 17, *for* mendicity *read* mendacity.
—— 647, — 6, from the bottom, *for* in every *read* in almost every.

VOL. II.—Page 101. It has been suggested to me, that the allusion to the death of 400 Gentoos, made in the note of the translator of the Seer Mutakhareen, may have a stress laid upon it, which I should regret. I copied the note, merely as a specimen of the criticisms which were made on the spot, by persons not partial to the English. This, I conceived, was matter of instruction. But I never meant that any fact should stand, as confirmed, upon the authority of the translator of the Seer Mutakhareen; nor will it be so understood by any considerate reader. Had the statement appeared to me to rest upon proof, I should have thought it of sufficient importance to give it a place in the text. I have, since the volume was printed, had reasons given to me, by which I am convinced, that the allusion is not well founded, and that no such catastrophe ever occurred.
—— 283, *line* 3, *after* resolved not *insert* merely.
—— 681, — 4, *after* believe *insert* it.

VOL. III.—Page 19, *line* 19, *for* million *read* millions.
—— 276, — 21, *for* government *read* governments.
—— 325, — 19, *for* have *read* hear.
—— 374, — 1, first word, *for* transaction *read* transactions.

GLOSSARY.

ADAWLUT. Justice, equity; a court of justice. The terms Dewanny Adawlut, and Foujdarry Adawlut, denote the civil and criminal courts of justice. See Dewanny and Foujdarry.

AMEER, MEER, EMIR. A nobleman.

AMEER UL OMRAH. Noble of nobles, lord of lords.

ANNA. A piece of money, the sixteenth part of a rupee.

AUMEEN. Trustee, commissioner. A temporary collector or supravisor, appointed to the charge of a country, on the removal of a Zemindar, or for any other particular purpose of local investigation or arrangement.

AUMIL. Agent, officer, native collector of revenue. Superintendant of a district or division of a country, either on the part of the government, Zemindar, or renter.

AUMILDAR. Agent, the holder of an office. An intendant and collector of the revenue, uniting civil, military, and financial powers, under the Mahomedan government.

AURUNG. The place where goods are manufactured.

BALA-GHAUT. Above the Ghauts, in contradistinction to Payeen Ghaut, below the Ghauts. The terms are generally applied to the high table-land in the centre of India, towards its southern extremity.

BANYAN. A Hindu merchant, or shop-keeper. The term Banyan is used in Bengal to denote the native who manages the money concerns of the European, and sometimes serves him as an interpreter. At Madras, the same description of persons is called Dubash, which signifies one who can speak two languages.

BATTA. Deficiency, discount, allowance. Allowance to troops in the field.

BAZAR. Daily market, or market place.

BEGA. A land measure equal, in Bengal, to about the third part of an acre.

BEGUM. A lady, princess, woman of high rank.

BICE, VAISYA. A man of the third Hindu cast, who by birth is a trader, or husbandman.

BRAHMEN, BRAHMIN, BRAHMAN, BRAMIN. A divine, a priest; the first Hindu cast.

BRINJARRIE, BINJARY, BENJARY, BANJARY. A grain merchant.

BUNGALOW. The name used in Bengal, for a species of country-house, erected by Europeans.

CALY YUG, CALYOOGUM. The present, or fourth age of the world, according to the chronology of the Hindus.

CASTE, CAST. A tribe, or class of people.

CARAVAN-SERAI. The serai of the caravan. See Serai and Choultry.

CAWZI, CAZI, KAZY. A Mahomedan judge, or justice, who also officiates as a public notary, in attesting deeds, by affixing his seal. The same as the officer we name Cadi, in Turkey.

CAUZY-UL-CAZAUT. Judge of judges; the chief judge, or justice.

CHANDALA. One of the names for the most degraded of the Hindu casts.

CHOKY, CHOKEE. A chair, seat; guard, watch. The station of a guard, or watchman. A place where an officer is stationed to receive tolls and customs.

CHOULTRY. A covered public building, for the accommodation of passengers.

CHOUT. A fourth: a fourth part of sums litigated. Mahratta chout; a fourth of the revenues, exacted as tribute by the Mahrattas.

CHUBDAR. Staff-bearer. An attendant on a man of rank. He waits with a long staff, plaited with silver, announces the approach of visitors, and runs before his master, proclaiming aloud his titles.

CHUNAM. Lime.

CIRCAR. Head of affairs; the state or government; a grand division of a province; a head man; a name used by Europeans in Bengal, to denote the Hindu writer and accountant, employed by themselves, or in the public offices.

COLLURIES, COLEREES. Salt-works, the places where salt is made.

COOLIES, COOLY. Porter, labourer.

COSS. A term used by Europeans, to denote a

road-measure of about two miles, but differing in different parts of India.

CRORE. Ten millions.

CSHATRIYA, KSHATRIYA, CHETTERIE, KHETERY. A man of the second, or military caste.

CUTCHERRY. Court of justice; also the public office where the rents are paid, and other business respecting the revenue transacted.

CUTWAL, KATWAL. The chief officer of police in a large town or city, and superintendant of the markets.

DAR. Keeper, holder. This word is often joined with another, to denote the holder of a particular office or employment, as Chob-dar, staff-holder; Zemin-dar, land-holder. This compound word, with *i*, *ee*, *y*, added to it, denotes the office, as Zemindar-ee.

DAROGAH. A superintendant, or overseer; as of the police, the mint, &c.

DAUM, DAM. A copper coin, the fortieth part of a rupee.

DECCAN. Literally, the south. A term employed by Mahomedan writers, to denote the country between the rivers Nerbuddah and Crishna.

DECOITS. Gang-robbers. *Decoity*, gang-robbery.

DEWAN, DUAN. Place of assembly. Native minister of the revenue department; and chief justice, in civil causes, within his jurisdiction; receiver-general of a province. The term is also used, to designate the principal revenue servant under an European collector, and even of a Zemindar. By this title, the East India Company are receivers-general of the revenues of Bengal, under a grant from the Great Mogul.

DEWANNY, DUANNEE. The office, or jurisdiction of a Dewan.

DEWANNY COURT OF ADAWLUT. A court for trying revenue, and other civil causes.

DOAB, DOOWAB. Any tract of country included between two rivers.

DROOG. A fortified hill or rock.

DUBASH. See Banyan.

DURBAR. The court, the hall of audience; a levee.

FAQUEER, FAKIR. A poor man, mendicant, a religious beggar.

FIRMAUN, PHIRMAUND. Order, mandate. An imperial decree, a royal grant, or charter.

FOUJDAR, FOJEDAR, PHOUSDAR, FOGEDAR. Under the Mogul government, a magistrate of the police over a large district; who took cognizance of all criminal matters within his jurisdiction, and sometimes was employed as receiver-general of the revenues.

FOUJDARRY, FOJEDAREE. Office of a Foujdar.

FOUJDARRY COURT. A court for administering the criminal law.

GHAUT. A pass through a mountain: applied also to a range of hills, and the ford of a river.

GHEE. Clarified butter, in which state they preserve that article for culinary purposes.

GHIRDAWAR, GIRDWAR. An overseer of police, under whom the *goyendas*, or informers, act.

GOMASTAH. A commissioner, factor, agent.

GOOROO, GURU. Spiritual guide.

GOYENDA. An inferior officer of police; a spy, informer.

GUNGE. A granary, a depôt, chiefly of grain for sale. Wholesale markets, held on particular days. Commercial depôts.

GURRY. A name given to a wall flanked with towers.

HARAM. Seraglio, the place where the ladies reside.

HIRCARRA, HARCARRAH. A guide, a spy, a messenger.

HOWDA. The seat of great men fixed on an elephant, not much unlike the body of a sedan in shape.

JAGHIRE, JAGHEER. Literally, the place of taking. An assignment to an individual of the government share of the produce of a portion of land. There were two species of jaghires; one, personal, for the use of the grantee; another, in trust, for some public service, most commonly, the maintenance of troops.

JAMMA, JUMMA. Total, amount, collection, assembly. The total of a territorial assessment.

JAMMABUNDY, JUMMABUNDY. A written schedule, of the whole of an assessment.

JEEL, KEEL. A shallow lake, or morass.

JINJAL. A large musket, fixed on a swivel, used in Indian forts, and fired with great precision.

JUG. See Yug.

JUNGLE, JANGLE. A wood, or thicket; a country over-run with shrubs, or long grass.

KHALSA. Pure, unmixed. An office of government, in which the business of the revenue department is transacted: the exchequer. Khalsa lands, are lands, the revenue of which is paid into the exchequer.

KHAN, CAWN. A title, similar to that of Lord.

KHILAUT, KELAUT. A robe of honour, with which princes confer dignity.

KILLADAR, KELLADAR. Warder of a castle; commander of a fort.

KIST. Stated payment, instalment of rent.

KUSHOON, CUSHOON. A body of military, corresponding nearest to our term brigade; varying from one to six or eight thousand.

LAC. One hundred thousand.
LASCAR. Properly a camp-follower, but applied to native sailors and artillery-men.
LIMBER. A low two-wheeled carriage, on which the trail of a gun is fixed when travelling: it is released in a moment if wanted to fire, which is called unlimbering: the cattle being yoked to the limber, guns are of course always dragged breech first.

MAAL, MAHL, MEHAL, MHAL. Places, districts, departments. Places, or sources of revenue, particularly of a territorial nature; lands.
MAHA. Great.
MOCURRERY. As applied to lands, it means lands let on a fixed lease.
MOFUSSIL. Separated, particularized; the subordinate divisions of a district, in contradistinction to Saddur, or Sudder, which implies the chief seat of government.
MOFUSSIL DEWANNY ADAWLUT. Provincial court of civil justice.
MOLUNGEE. Manufacturer of salt.
MOOFTY, MUFTEE. The Mahomedan law-officer who declares the sentence.
MONSOON. The rainy season. The periodical winds and rains.
MOOLAVY, MOHLAVEE. A learned and religious man, an interpreter of the Mahomedan law.
MOONSHEE. Letter-writer, secretary. Europeans give this title to the native who instructs them in the Persian language.
MOSQUE. A Mahomedan temple.
MUSNUD. The place of sitting; a seat; a throne, or chair of state.
MUTSEDDY, MUTASEDDEE. Intent upon. Writer, accountant, secretary.

NABOB, NAWAB. Very great deputy, vicegerent. The governor of a province under the Mogul government.
NAIB. A deputy.
NAIB NAZIM. Deputy of the Nazim, or Governor.
NAIG, NAIK. A petty military officer.
NAIR. Chief. The Nairs are a peculiar description of Hindus, on the Malabar coast.
NAZIM. Composer, arranger, adjuster. The first officer of a province, and minister of the department of criminal justice.
NIZAM. Order, arrangement; an arranger.
NIZAM UL MULK. The administrator of the empire.
NIZAMUT. Arrangement, government; the office of the Nazim, or Nizam.

3

NIZAMUT ADAWLUT. The court of criminal justice.
NULLA. Streamlet, water-course.
NUZZER. A vow, an offering; a present made to a superior.

OMRAH. A lord, a grandee, under the Mogul government.

PAGODA. A temple; also the name of a gold coin, in the south of India, valued at eight shillings.
PALANKEEN. A litter in which gentlemen in India recline, and are carried on the shoulders of four men.
PARIAR. A term used by Europeans in India to denote the outcasts of the Hindu tribes.
PATAN. A name applied to the Afghaun tribes.
PESHWA, PEISHWA. Guide, leader. The prime minister of the Mahratta government.
PEON. A footman, a foot soldier; an inferior officer or servant employed in the business of the revenue, police, or judicature.
PERGUNNAH. A small district, consisting of several villages.
PESHCUSH. A present, particularly to government, in consideration of an appointment, or as an acknowledgement for any tenure. Tribute, fine, quit-rent, advance on the stipulated revenues.
PETTAH. The suburbs of a fortified town.
POLLIGAR, POLYGAR. Head of a village district. Military chieftain in the Peninsula, similar to hill Zemindar in the northern circars.
POLLAM. A district held by a Polligar.
POTAIL. The head man of a village. The term corresponds with that of Mocuddim and Mundul in Bengal.
POTTAH. A lease granted to the cultivators, on the part of government, either written on paper, or engraved with a style on the leaf of the fan palmira tree.
PUNDIT. A learned Brahmen.
PURANA, POORAN. Literally ancient: the name given to such Hindu books as treat of creation in general, with the history of their gods, and ancient heroes.
PYKE. A foot messenger. A person employed as a night-watch in a village, and as a runner or messenger on the business of the revenue.

RAJAH. King, prince, chieftain, nobleman; a title in ancient times given to chiefs of the second or military Hindu tribe only.
RAJEPOOT. Literally, son of a king. The name of a warlike race of Hindus.
RANA. A species of rajah.
RANNY, RANEE. Queen, princess, wife of a rajah.

ROY ROYAN. A Hindu title given to the principal officer of the Khalsa, or chief treasurer of the exchequer.
RUPEE. The name of a silver coin; rated in the Company's accounts, the current rupee at 2*s.*; the Bombay rupee at 2*s.* 3*d.*
RYOT. Peasant, subject; tenant of house or land.

SAYER. What moves; variable imposts, distinct from land rent or revenue; consisting of customs, tolls, licenses, duties on goods, also taxes on houses, shops, bazars, &c.
SEPOY. A native soldier.
SERAI. The same as Choultry.
SHASTER. The instrument of government or instruction; any book of instruction, particularly containing divine ordinances.
SHROFF, SHROF. A banker, or money-changer.
SIRDAR. Chief, captain, head man.
SOUCAR. A merchant, or banker; a money-lender.
SUBAH. A province, such as Bengal. A grand division of a country, which is again divided into circars, chucklas, pergunnahs, and villages.
SUBAHDAR. The holder of the subah, the governor, or viceroy.
SUBAHDARRY. The office and jurisdiction of a subahdar.
SUDDER. The breast; the fore-court of a house; the chief seat of government, contradistinguished from Mofussil, or interior of the country; the presidency.
SUDDER DEWANNY ADAWLUT. The chief civil court of justice under the Company's government, held at the presidency.
SUDDER NIZAMUT ADAWLUT. The chief criminal court of justice, under the Company's government.
SUDRA, SHUDRA, SOODER. A Hindu of the fourth, or lowest tribe.
SUNNUD. A prop, or support; a patent, charter, or written authority for holding either land or office.

TALOOKDAR. A holder of a talook, which is a small portion of land; a petty land-agent.
TANK. Pond, reservoir.
TANNAKDAR. A petty police officer.
TEEP. A note of hand; a promissory note given by a native banker, or money-lender, to Zemindars and others, to enable them to furnish government with security for the payment of their rents.
TEHSILDAR. Who has charge of the collections. A native collector of a district acting under a European or Zemindar.
TOPASSES. Native black Christians, the remains of the ancient Portuguese.
TOPE. A grove of trees.
TUNCAW, TUNKHA. An assignment on the revenue for personal support, or other purposes.
TUMBRIL. A carriage for the gun ammunition.

VACKEEL, VAQUEEL. One endowed with authority to act for another. Ambassador, agent sent on a special commission, or residing at a court. Native law pleader, under the judicial system of the Company.
VIZIR, VIZIER. Under the Mogul government, the prime minister of the sovereign.
VEDAS, VEDS, BEEDS. Science, knowledge. The sacred scriptures of the Hindus.

YOGIES, JOGIES. Hindu devotees.
YUG, JUG, YOOG. An age; a great period of the Hindus, also a religious ceremony.

ZEMINDAR. From two words signifying, earth, land, and holder or keeper. Land-keeper. An officer who, under the Mahomedan government, was charged with the superintendance of the lands of a district, financially considered; the protection of the cultivators, and the realization of the government's share of its produce, either in money or kind.
ZEMINDARRY. The office or jurisdiction of a Zemindar.
ZENANA. The place where the ladies reside.
ZILLAH. Side, part, district, division. A local division of a country, having reference to personal jurisdiction.

N. B. The explanations of the above terms are taken, for the most part, from the Glossary attached to the Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs, appointed in 1810.

HISTORY

OF

BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK I.

(1527—1707)

Commencement of the British Intercourse with India; and the Circumstances of its Progress, till the Establishment of the Company on a durable Basis by the Act of the sixth of Queen Anne.

Book I.

LITTLE more than two centuries have elapsed since a few British merchants humbly solicited from the princes of India permission to traffic in their territories.

The British dominion now embraces nearly the whole of that vast region which extends from Cape Comorin to the mountains of Tibet, and from the mouths of the Brahmapootra to the sources of the Indus.

Object of the work.

To collect, from its numerous and scattered sources, the information necessary to give clear and accurate ideas of this great empire, and of the transactions through which it has been acquired, is the object of the present undertaking. It is proposed:

I. To describe the circumstances in which the intercourse of this nation with India commenced, and the particulars of its early progress, till the era when it could first be regarded as placed on a firm and durable basis:

II. To exhibit as accurate a view as possible of the people with whom our countrymen had thus begun to transact—of their character, history, manners,

BOOK I.

religion, arts, literature, and laws; as well as of the physical circumstances of climate, soil, and production, in which they were placed:

III. To deduce to the present times a history of the British transactions in relation to India; by recording the train of events; by unfolding the constitution of the East India Company, that body, half political, half commercial, through whom the business has been ostensibly carried on; by describing the nature, progress, and effects of their commercial operations; by exhibiting the legislative proceedings, the discussions and speculations, to which our intercourse with India has given birth; by analysing the schemes of government which have been adopted for our Indian dominions; and by an attempt to discover the character and tendency of that species of relation to one another in which Great Britain and the Indies are placed.

The subject forms an entire, and highly interesting, portion of the British History; and it is hardly possible that the matter should have been brought together, for the first time, without being instructive, however unskilfully the task may have been performed. If the success of the author corresponded with his wishes, he would throw light upon a state of society highly curious, and hitherto commonly misunderstood; upon the history of society, which in the compass of his work presents itself in almost all its stages and all its shapes; upon the principles of legislation, in which he has so many important experiments to describe; and upon interests of his country, of which his countrymen have hitherto remained very much in ignorance, while prejudice usurped and abused the prerogatives of understanding.

CHAP. I.

From the Commencement of the Efforts to begin a Trade with India, till the Change of the Company from a regulated to a joint-stock Company.

THE Portuguese had formed important establishments in India before the British offered themselves as competitors for the riches of the East.

Portuguese first enjoyed the trade to India by the Cape of Good Hope.

From the time when Vasco de Gama distinguished his nation by discovering the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, and first reached the coast of Hindustan, a whole century had elapsed, during which, without a rival, they had enjoyed and abused the advantages of superior knowledge and art, amid a feeble

CHAP. I.

and half-civilized race. They had explored the Indian ocean, as far as Japan; had discovered its islands, rich with some of the most favourite productions of nature; had achieved the most brilliant conquests; and by their commerce poured into Europe, in unexampled profusion, those commodities of the East on which the nations at that time set an extraordinary value.

The circumstances of this splendid fortune had violently attracted the attention of Europe. The commerce of India, even when confined to those narrow limits which a carriage by land had prescribed, was supposed to have elevated feeble states into great ones; and to have constituted an enviable part in the fortune even of the most opulent and powerful; to have contributed largely to support the Grecian monarchies both in Syria and Egypt; to have retarded the downfall of Constantinople; and to have raised the small and obscure republic of Venice to the rank and influence of the most potent kingdoms. The discovery therefore of a new channel for this opulent traffic, and the happy experience of the Portuguese, inflamed the cupidity of all the maritime nations of Europe, and set before them the most tempting prospects.

Commercial and nautical spirit of the English.

An active spirit of commerce had already begun to display itself in England. The nation had happily obtained its full share of the improvement which had dawned in Europe; and the tranquil and economical reign of Elizabeth had been favourable both to the accumulation of capital, and to those projects of private emolument on which the spirit of commerce depends. A brisk trade, and of considerable extent, had been carried on during the greater part of the sixteenth century with the Netherlands, at that time the most improved and commercial part of Europe. The merchants of Bristol had opened a traffic with the Canary Islands; those of Plymouth with the coasts of Guinea and Brazil: the English now fished on the banks of Newfoundland; and explored the sea of Spitzbergen, for the sovereign of the waters: they engrossed, by an exclusive privilege, the commerce of Russia: they took an active part in the trade of the Mediterranean: the company of merchant-adventurers pushed so vigorously the traffic with Germany and the central parts of Europe, as highly to excite the jealousy of the Hanse Towns: and the protestant inhabitants of the Netherlands and France, flying from the persecutions of their own oppressive and bigoted governments, augmented the commercial resources of England by the capital and skill of a large importation of the most ingenious and industrious people in Europe.*

* Anderson's History of Commerce in the reign of Elizabeth, passim. See also Hakluyt's Voyages, ii. 3, 96. Ibid. iii. 690. Guicciardini's Description of the Netherlands. Sir William Temple. Camden, 408.

BOOK I.
1527.

In these circumstances the lustre of the Portuguese transactions in the East peculiarly attracted the admiration of the English. Already a most adventurous spirit of navigation was roused in the nation. The English were the first who had imitated the example of the Spaniards in visiting the New World. In 1497, Cabot, with a small squadron, explored the coast of America from Labrador to Virginia, and discovered the islands of Newfoundland and St. John.* An English merchant, named Robert Thorne, who had been stationed for many years at Seville in Spain, and had acquired particular knowledge of the intercourse which the Portuguese had opened with the East, presented a project to Henry VIII. about the year 1527, the accomplishment of which he imagined would place his country in a situation no less enviable than that of the Portuguese.

Project to discover a north-west passage to India.

As that nation had obtained a passage to India by a course to the south-east, and pretended a right, which they defended by force, to its exclusive occupation, he supposed that his countrymen might reach the same part of the globe by sailing to the north-west, and thus obtain a passage at once expeditious and undisputed.† What effect this representation produced on the mind of Henry is not accurately known. But two voyages in the course of his reign were underdertaken for the discovery of a north-west passage, one about this period,‡ and another ten years later.§

Nothing can more clearly prove to us the ardour with which the English coveted a share in the riches supposed to be drawn by the Portuguese from the East, than the persevering efforts which they made to discover a channel from which the Portuguese would have no pretence to exclude them.

To discover a north-east passage.

Two attempts in the reign of Henry to obtain a passage by the north-west had failed: their exploring fancy anticipated a happier issue from a voyage to the north-east. A small squadron, accordingly, under the direction of Sir Hugh Willoughby, was fitted out in the reign of Edward VI.; and, sailing along the coast of Norway, doubled the North Cape,|| where it was encountered by a storm. The ship of Sir Hugh was driven to an obscure spot in Russian Lapland, where he and his crew perished miserably by the climate. The other principal vessel found shelter in the harbour of Archangel, and was the first foreign ship by which it was entered. So well did Chancellour, the captain of the vessel, improve this incident, that he opened a commercial intercourse with the natives,

* Hakluyt, iii. 4. Rymer's Fœdera, xii. 595. Anderson's History of Commerce, published in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 11. Robertson's History of America, iv. 138.

† Hakluyt, iii. 129. Harris's Collection of Voyages, i. 874.

‡ Hakluyt, ut supra.

§ Ibid. 131.

|| Hakluyt, i. 226, &c.

Chap. I. 1567.

visited the monarch in his capital, stipulated important privileges for his countrymen; and laid the foundation of a trade which was immediately prosecuted to no inconsiderable extent. This voyage but little damped the hopes of obtaining a north-east passage to the riches of India. Some vigorous attempts were made by the company in whose hands the commerce with Russia was placed;* the last of them in 1580, when two ships were sent out to explore the passage through the straits of Waygatz: after struggling with many perils and difficulties from the ice and the cold, one of the vessels returned unsuccessful; the other was never heard of more.

Before this hope was regarded as desperate, the project of obtaining a passage by the north-west was resumed with ardour. No fewer than six voyages were made in the course of a few years. Two barks of twenty-five tons each, and a pinnace of ten, sailed under Martin Frobisher in the year 1567, and entered Hudson's bay, which at first they imagined was the inlet about to conduct them to the golden shore. The same navigator was encouraged to make a second attempt in the same direction in 1576. As he brought home in these voyages some minerals which were supposed to be impregnated with gold, the attention of government was excited; and two years afterwards Frobisher was sent out with fifteen of the Queen's ships, carrying miners for the supposed ore, and 120 persons as the rudiments of a colony: having spent his provisions, and lost one of his ships, but not found the expected passage, nor left his settlers, he returned with 300 tons of the supposed treasure, which proved to be only a glittering sand.† The nation persevered in its hopes and enterprises. A few years afterwards Captain John Davis sailed as far as 66° 40′ north, and discovered the straits distinguished by his name. In a second voyage, undertaken in 1586, he explored in vain the inlet which he had thus discovered. After a few years he was enabled to proceed in a third expedition, which had no better success than the preceding two.‡

Voyages vainly attempted by the Cape of Good Hope.

After so many efforts to discover a new passage to India, the English resolved to be no longer deterred by the pretensions of the Portuguese. A voyage to China by the Cape of Good Hope was undertaken in 1582. Four ships proceeded to the coast of Brazil, fought with some Spanish men of war, and were obliged to return for want of provisions.§ Another expedition, consisting of three ships,

* Anderson's History of Commerce in Macpherson, ii. 166.

† Hakluyt. Anderson, ut supra, ii. 145, 158, 159.

‡ Hakluyt. Anderson, ut supra, ii. 175, 180, 185.

§ Anderson, ut supra, ii. 171.

BOOK I.
1577.

was fitted out in 1596, the commander of which was furnished with Queen Elizabeth's letters to the Emperor of China. This voyage proved eminently unfortunate. The ships were driven upon the coast of Spanish America, where only four men were preserved alive from the effects of storms, famine, and disease.*

Drake reaches India by sailing round Cape Horn.

Amid these unsuccessful endeavours two voyages were accomplished, which animated the hopes of the nation, and pointed out the way to more fortunate enterprises. Francis Drake, the son of a clergyman in Kent, who at a tender age had been put an apprentice to the master of a slender bark trading to the coast of Holland and France, had early evinced that passionate ardour in his profession which is the usual forerunner of signal success.† He gained the affections of his master, who left him his bark at his death; at the age of eighteen he was purser of a ship which sailed to the bay of Biscay; at twenty he made a voyage to the coast of Guinea; in 1565 he ventured all he possessed in a voyage to the West Indies, which had no success; and in 1567 he served under his kinsman Sir John Hawkins, in his unprosperous expedition to the bay of Mexico. In these different services, his nautical skill, his courage and sagacity, had been conspicuously displayed. In 1570 his reputation enabled him to proceed to the West Indies with two vessels under his command. So bent was he on executing some great design, that he renewed his visit the next year, for the sole purpose of obtaining information. He had no sooner returned than he planned an expedition against the Spaniards, executed it with two ships and seventy-three men, sacked the town of Nombre de Dios, and returned with great treasure. It is said that, in this voyage, he saw from the top of a high tree, i. e. fancied he saw, across the American isthmus, the Southern Ocean, and became inflamed with the desire of sailing to it in a ship of England.

For this expedition he prepared on a great scale: obtaining the commission of the Queen; and five vessels, one of 100 tons, another of eighty, one of fifty, another of thirty, and a pinnace of fifteen; manned with 164 select sailors. The historians of his voyage are anxious to display the taste and magnificence, as well as judgment, of his preparations; expert musicians, rich furniture, utensils of the most curious workmanship, all the vessels of his table silver, and many of those of his cook-room.

The expedition sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December, 1577. Having passed the Straits of Magellan, and ravaged the western coast of Spanish

* Purchas, b. iii. sect. 2. Anderson, ii. 210.

† Hakluyt, iii. 440. Harris's Collection of Voyages, i. 14. Camden's Annals, 301, &c.

America, Drake feared the encounter of a Spanish fleet should he attempt to return in the same direction, and formed the bold design of crossing the Pacific Ocean to India, and regaining England by the Cape of Good Hope.

With one ship, the only part of the fleet which remained, he steered along the coast of America to the latitude of 38° north, and then entered upon that immense navigation, in which Magellan, the only circumnavigator who preceded him, had suffered so much. No memorable occurrence attended the voyage. Of the islands which have been discovered in the Pacific Ocean none were observed till he approached the Asiatic coast. Fixing his attention on the Moluccas, of which the fame had been circulated in Europe by the rich spices thence imported by the Portuguese, he passed, with little observation, the more eastern part of the numerous islands which stud the Indian seas, and held his course for Tidore. From intelligence, received on the passage, he waved his intention of landing on that island, and steered for Ternate, the sovereign of which he understood to be at enmity with the Portuguese.

The intercourse which he there commenced forms a remarkable epoch in the history of the British in India, as it was the beginning of those commercial transactions which have led to such important results. The King, having received assurances that his new visitants came with no other intention than that of trading with his country, gave them a very favourable reception. This monarch possessed considerable power; since the English navigators were informed that he ruled over seventy islands, besides Ternate, the most valuable of all the Moluccas; and in the visits which they paid to his court they were eye-witnesses that he could display no contemptible share of magnificence. They exchanged presents with him, received him on board, and traded with his subjects; laid in a cargo of valuable spices, and acquainted themselves with the nature and facilities of a commerce which was so much the object of admiration in Europe.

Not satisfied with the information or the commodities which they received on one island, they visited several, being always amazed at their prodigious fertility, and in general delighted with the manners of the inhabitants. Among other places they landed in the great island of Java, famous afterwards as the seat of the Dutch government in India. They held some friendly intercourse with the natives, and departed with a tolerable knowledge both of the character of the people, and the productions of the country.

They now spread their sails for that navigation between Europe and India, to which the Portuguese claimed an exclusive right, and by which they monopolized the traffic with India. Those discoverers had craftily disseminated in

Book I. 1580.

Europe terrific accounts of dangers and horrors attending the navigation round the Cape of Good Hope. As the voyage of the English proved remarkably prosperous, they were surprised and delighted with the safety and ease which seemed to them to distinguish this envied passage, and conceived a still more lofty opinion of the advantages enjoyed by the nation that engrossed it. After leaving Java, the first land which they touched was the Cape of Good Hope. They landed once more at Sierra Leone, on the African coast, where they received such supplies as sufficed for the remainder of the voyage. They arrived at Plymouth on Monday the 26th of September, 1580, after a voyage of two years, ten months, and a few days, exhibiting to the wondering eyes of the spectators the first ship in England, and the second in the world, which had circumnavigated the globe. The news quickly spread over the whole kingdom, which resounded with the applauses of the man who had performed so daring and singular an enterprise. Whoever wished to be distinguished as the patron of merit hastened to confer some mark of his admiration on Captain Drake. The songs, epigrams, poems, and other pieces, which were composed in celebration of his exploits, amounted to several collections.* The Queen, after some delay, necessary to save appearances with the Spanish court, which loudly complained of the depredations of Drake, though as reprisals perhaps they were not undeserved, paid a visit in person to the wonderful ship at Deptford; accepted of an entertainment on board, and conferred the honour of knighthood on its captain; observing, at the same time, that his actions did him more honour than his title.†

We may form some conception of the ardour which at that time prevailed in England for maritime exploits, by the number of men of rank and fortune, who chose to forego the indulgences of wealth, and to embark their persons and properties in laborious, painful, and dangerous expeditions. Among them we find such names as those of the Earls of Cumberland and Essex, of Sir Richard Greenville, Sir Walter Ralegh, Sir Humphry Gilbert, Sir Robert Dudley, who prepared squadrons at their own expense, and sailed to various parts of the

* Harris is not satisfied with the merit of these productions, which reached not, in his opinion, the worth of the occasion; and seems to be rather indignant that no modern poet has rivalled the glory of Homer, "by displaying in verse the labours of Sir Francis Drake:" i. 20.

† Her Majesty appears to have been exquisitely gracious. The crowd which thronged after her was so great that the bridge, which had been constructed between the vessel and the shore, broke down with the weight, and precipitated 200 persons into the water. As they were all extricated from their perilous situation without injury, the Queen remarked that so extraordinary an escape could be owing only to the Fortune of Sir Francis Drake. Harris, i. 20.

CHAP. I.

1586.

world. No undertaking of this description was attended with more important circumstances than that of Thomas Cavendish.

Also Cavendish.

This gentleman, descended from a family of distinction, and inheriting a large estate in the county of Suffolk, had been early fired with a passion for maritime adventure: in a vessel of his own, he had accompanied Sir Richard Greenville in his unsuccessful voyage to Virginia; and now sold or mortgaged his estate, to equip a squadron with which he might rival the glory of Drake. It consisted of three ships, the largest of 140 tons, one of sixty, and a bark of about forty, supplied with two years' provisions, and manned with 126 officers and sailors, of whom several had served in the celebrated expedition of Drake.

They sailed from Plymouth on the 21st of July, 1586. Their voyage through the Straits of Magellan, and the depredations which they proceeded to commit along the western coast of the American continent, not only in the spirit of avarice, but even of wanton devastation, form no part of our present subject, and may without regret be left to other inquirers. They had reached the coast of Calefornia, and nearly 24° of northern latitude; when, having taken a very rich Spanish ship, and completed their schemes of plunder, they commenced their voyage across the Pacific Ocean. They left the coast of America on the 19th of November, and came in sight of Guam, one of the Ladrone islands, on the 3d of January. From this island they were visited by sixty or seventy canoes full of the inhabitants, who brought provisions to exchange for commodities, and so crowded about the ship, that the English, when they had finished their traffic, discharged some of their fire-arms to drive them away.* With the Philippines, to which they next proceeded, they opened a more protracted intercourse. They cast anchor at one of the islands, and lay there for nine days, during which they carried on an active trade with the inhabitants.

The cluster of islands to which the Europeans have given the name of the Philippines was discovered by Magellan. Philip II., shortly after his accession to the Spanish throne, planted there a colony of Spaniards, by an expedition from New Spain; and a curious commerce had from that time been carried on across the Great Pacific between this settlement and the dominions of

* I am sorry to observe that no great respect for human life seems to have been observed in this proceeding: since, directly implying that the guns had been charged with shot, and levelled at the men, the historian of the voyage jocosely remarks, "that 'tis ten to one if any of the savages were killed; for they are so very nimble that they drop immediately into the water, and dive beyond the reach of all danger, upon the least warning in the world." Harris's Collect. of Voyages, i. 27.

Book I. 1588.

Spain in the new world. To Manilla, the capital of the Philippine colony, the Chinese, who resorted thither in great numbers, brought all the precious commodities of India; and two ships were sent annually from New Spain, which carried to the Philippines the silver of the American mines, and returned with the fine productions of the East. The impatience, however, of the natives under the Spanish yoke, was easily perceived. When they discovered that the new visitors were not Spaniards, but the enemies of that people, they eagerly testified their friendship; and the princes of the island, where Cavendish landed, engaged to assist him with the whole of their forces, if he would return, and make war upon the common adversary.

This adventurous discoverer extensively explored the intricate navigation of the Indian Archipelago, and observed the circumstances of the new and extraordinary scene with a quick and intelligent eye. He visited the Ladrones; pursued a roving course among the Philippines, which brought most of them within his view; he passed through the Moluccas; sailed along that important chain of islands, which, extending from the Strait of Malacca, bounds the Indian Archipelago to the extremity of Timor; and passing the Strait of Bally, between the two Javas, cast anchor on the south-west side of the great island of that name. He traded here with the natives for provisions, and formed with them a sort of treaty, stipulating a favourable reception whenever his visit should be renewed.

He sailed for the Cape of Good Hope on the 16th of March, careful to treasure up information respecting a voyage which was now the channel of so important an intercourse. He made astronomical observations; he studied the weather, the winds, and the tides; he noted the bearing and position of lands; and omitted nothing which might facilitate a repetition of the voyage to himself or any of his countrymen. He passed the Cape with prosperous navigation about the middle of May, and, having touched at St. Helena to recruit his stores, he landed at Plymouth on the 9th of September, 1588. In the letter which, on the very day of his arrival, he wrote to Lord Hunsdon, then Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, he says, "I navigated to the islands of Philippines, hard upon the coast of China, of which country I have brought such intelligence as hath not been heard of in these parts; a country, the stateliness and riches of which I fear to make report of, lest I should not be credited. I sailed along the islands of Moluccas, where, among some of the heathen people, I was well entreated, and where our countrymen may have trade as freely as the Portugals, if they themselves will."

Chap. I. 1593.

The tide of maritime adventure which these splendid voyages were calculated to increase, flowed naturally towards India, by reason of the fancied opulence of the East, and the passion for Indian commodities which prevailed at that time in Europe. The impatience of our countrymen had already engaged them in a circuitous traffic with that part of the globe. They sailed to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, where they found cargoes of Indian goods conveyed over land; and a mercantile company, denominated the Levant Company, was instituted, according to the policy of the age, to secure to the nation the advantages of so important a commerce.* The Company too which, after the discovery of the port of Archangel, had been formed to carry on the trade with Russia, had opened a communication with Persia, whence they imported Indian goods to satisfy the demand of the English. Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, an active and enterprising agent of the Russia Company, sailed down the Volga, in 1558, to the Caspian Sea, which he crossed into Persia, and at Boghar, a city of some importance, found merchants from various parts of the Persian empire, from Russia, from India, and China. This voyage he performed seven times; and opened a considerable trade for raw and wrought silk, for carpets, spices, precious stones, and other Asiatic productions. In 1563, there was business enough to require the presence of three agents at Casbin, the seat of the Persian court; and the traffic flourished for several years.

Capture of two Portuguese East Indiamen.

Accidental circumstances contributed to enliven the admiration excited by the Indian trade. During that expedition to the coast of Spain, on which Sir Francis Drake was sent by Queen Elizabeth, to harass the Spanish shipping, and prevent as far as possible the preparations for the Invincible Armada, he took one of the Portuguese ships from India, known at that time by the name of Carracks. The value of her cargo inflamed the imaginations of the merchants; and the papers which she carried afforded information respecting the traffic in which she was engaged.† A still more important capture of the same sort was made in 1593. An expedition, fitted out for the West Indies by Sir Walter Ralegh, and commanded by Sir John Boroughs, encountered near the Azores the greatest of all the Portuguese Carracks, a vessel of 1,600 tons, carrying 700 men, and thirty-six brass cannon, and after an obstinate contest car-

* Monson's Naval Tracts. Hakluyt. Anderson's Hist. of Com. published in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 169, 198. Rymer's Fœdera.

† This is not a conclusion merely drawn from the circumstances of the case, which however would sufficiently warrant it; but stated on the testimony of Cambden, who related what he heard and saw. Cambden's Annals. Anderson's Hist. of Commerce.

Book I.
1593.

ried her into Dartmouth. She was the largest vessel ever seen in England, laden with spices, calicoes, silks, gold, pearls, drugs, porcelain, ebony, &c., and by her riches inflamed the impatience of the English to be engaged in so opulent and brilliant a commerce.*

Travels in India by members of the Turkey Company.

Some members of the Turkey or Levant Company finished about the same time an expedition into India.† They had carried some cloth, tin, and other goods from Aleppo to Bagdat, which they next conveyed down the Tigris to Ormus in the Persian Gulf, and thence transported to Goa, the great mart between the Portuguese and Indians on the coast of Malabar. From this place they commenced an extensive survey of the adjoining countries; repaired to Agra, at that time the capital and residence of the Mogul Emperor; visited Lahor; traversed Bengal; travelled to Pegu and Malacca; and, returning by sea to Ormus, retraced their steps to Aleppo, whence they sailed for England, bearing with them important and extensive information respecting the countries they had explored. Intelligence now poured itself upon the nation by a variety of channels. An Englishman, of the name of Stevens, had sailed with the Portuguese from Lisbon to Goa, by the Cape of Good Hope, and wrote an account of his voyage, which was read with avidity, and contributed to swell the general current of enterprise which now ran so vehemently toward India.‡

First application to Government in 1589.

The first application which was made to government was by a memorial, in the name of "divers merchants," addressed to the Lords of Council, in 1589, for the royal permission to send three ships, and as many pinnaces, on a voyage to India. They enumerated the different places, at which the Portuguese had already effected settlements, on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, in Malacca, and in the Banda and Molucca islands, places from which it seemed to be tacitly understood that other nations were bound to abstain. But they added, that the islands and shores of the Indian ocean presented many other places which were open to the enterprise of the English merchants, and from an intercourse with which the nation might reap the greatest advantage.§ What reception this application received is little known. But the unfortunate expedition of Captain Raymond, remarkable as being the first of which India was

* Anderson's Hist. of Commerce in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 201.

† They returned to London in 1591. Anderson, ut supra, ii. 198.

‡ Harris's Voyages, i. 875.

§ This Memorial is preserved in the State Paper Office, and a short account of it has been given us by Mr. Bruce, Annals of the East India Company, i. 109.

Chap. I. 1599.

the immediate destination, though its object was not so much trade as plunder, by cruising against the Portuguese, was fitted out in 1591. Disease had made such ravages among the crews, before they reached the Cape of Good Hope, that one of the vessels was obliged to be sent home with the sick; and the rest, two in number, had not long doubled the Cape, when the principal ship was lost in a storm. Captain James Lancaster, in the remaining vessel, after a disastrous voyage to the East, sailed to the West Indies, where he lost the ship, and with great difficulty found means to return in a French privateer.*

First association and subscription, 1599.

But while the English fluctuated between desire and execution in this important project, the Dutch, in 1595, boldly sent four ships to trade with India by the Cape of Good Hope.† This exploit added fuel at once to the jealousy and the ambition of the English. In 1599, an association was formed, and a fund subscribed, which amounted to 30,133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and consisted of 101 shares, the subscriptions of individuals varying from 100*l.* to 3,000*l.* It was agreed to petition the Queen for a warrant to fit out three ships, and export bullion; and also for a charter of privileges. A committee of fifteen, the origin and foundation of a Court of Directors, were chosen to manage. The approbation of the government was readily signified; but, as a treaty was then pending with Spain, policy counselled delay. The subscribers, known by the name of the adventurers, were impatient; and presented a memorial, setting forth the places with which the Spaniards and Portuguese had established an intercourse, and pointing out other parts to which, without any ground of complaint on the part of those nations, the English might with unspeakable advantage resort. The council replied, that "it was more beneficiall for the generall state of merchandise to entertayne a peace, then that the same should be hindered, by the standing wth ye Spanishe co̅missio̅ns, for the mayntayning of this trade, to forgoe the oportunety of the concluding of the peace."‡ The memorial was referred to Sir Foulke Greville, who made a favourable report: and in the course of the same year, the Queen sent John Mildenhall over land by Constantinople on an embassy to the Mogul.

It was attended with little success. The Portuguese and Venetian agents exerted themselves to raise suspicions against the designs of the English, and effectually obstructed the endeavours of the ambassador.

* Anderson's Hist. of Commerce in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 199. Harris's Voyages, i. 875.

† Anderson, ut supra, ii. 209. Harris's Voyages, i. 920.

‡ Minutes, &c. (Indian Register Office.) Bruce's Annals, i. 112.

BOOK I. 1600.

Towards the end of the year 1600 the efforts of the adventurers were renewed. The consent of government to proceed in preparations for an Indian voyage was obtained, while the patent of incorporation was still under consideration. Meanwhile an application was made from government, with what view does not appear, for the employment of Sir Edward Michelbourne in the expedition. The answer of the committee, whose situation (that of petitioners for a favour not yet conceded) might have counselled complaisance, affords a curious specimen of their independence, and of the mode of thinking of the times. They stated it as their resolution "not to employ any *gentleman* in any place of charge," and requested "that they may be allowed to sort theire business with men of their own qualitye, lest the suspicion of the employm[t] of *gentlemen* being taken hold uppon by the generalitie, do dryve a great number of the adventurers to withdraw their contributions." * The adventure was prosecuted with ardour. On the 8th of October the five following ships were already provided; the Malice Scourge, of 200 men, and 600 tons burden; the Hector, of 100 men, and 300 tons; the Ascension, of eighty men, and 260 tons; the Susan, of eighty men, and 240 tons; and a pinnace of forty men, and 100 tons. To provision these ships for twenty months the cost was computed at 6,600*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.*; and the cargo, consisting of iron and tin, wrought and unwrought, of lead, cloths, and some smaller articles, chiefly intended as presents for the persons in power at the different places at which the ships might touch, was estimated, exclusive of bullion, at 4,545*l.* It was determined that thirty-six factors or super-cargoes should be appointed for the voyage, divided into separate classes, rising above one another in trust and emoluments. Captain James Lancaster, whose difficult return from a predatory expedition to the Indian seas has already been mentioned, was chosen to command the fleet; and on the 31st of December the charter of privileges was obtained.†

First charter, 1600.

This charter, the origin of a power so anomalous and important as that which was afterwards accumulated in the hands of the East India Company, contained nothing which remarkably distinguished it from the other charters of incorporation, so commonly in that age bestowed upon trading associations. It constituted the adventurers a body politic and corporate by the name of "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East

* Minutes of a General Court of Adventurers, preserved in the Indian Register Office. Bruce's Annals, i. 128.

† Bruce's Annals, i. 129—136. Anderson's History of Commerce in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 216. Harris's Collection of Voyages, i. 875.

Indies," and vested them with the usual privileges and powers. The plan which they had already adopted for the management of their affairs, by a committee of twenty-four, and a chairman, both to be chosen annually, was confirmed and rendered obligatory. With a reservation in favour of the rights granted to other associations, and with prohibition extending to all such places as might be already occupied by the subjects of states in amity with her Majesty, and whose objection to rivals should be declared; the privilege of trading to the East Indies, that is, to all places beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, was bestowed upon the Company; with power to export in each voyage 30,000*l.* in gold and silver, to export English goods for the first four voyages exempt from duties, and to re-export Indian goods in English ships under the same privilege to the end of the charter. According to the principle of the times, the charter was exclusive; prohibiting the rest of the community from trading within the limits, but granting to the Company the power, whenever they pleased, of bestowing licenses for that purpose. It was granted for a period of fifteen years; but under condition that, if not found to be advantageous to the country, it might be annulled at any time after a notice of two years. If advantageous to the country, it might, if desired by the Company, be renewed for fifteen years.

The ardour of individuals, where any thing is to be risked, is more easily excited than upheld. Though the list of subscribers, while the scheme of Indian adventure was yet only in contemplation, had been readily filled up, the calls of the committees for the payment of the instalments were very imperfectly obeyed. Even when the charter was obtained, it was either understood to confer no power of compelling payment, or the directors were afraid to make use of that power. Instead of exacting the stipulated sums, and trading upon the terms of a joint-stock company, the subscribers who were disposed to adventure were invited to take upon themselves the expense of the voyage, and, as they sustained the whole of the risk, to reap the whole of the profit.

First voyage in 1601.

The sums which were thus advanced amounted to 68,373*l.* which greatly exceeded the capital originally subscribed. Of this, 39,771*l.* was expended in the purchase and equipment of ships—the four, excluding the pinnace, which were taken up by the committee of original adventurers: 28,742*l.* was expended in bullion: and 6,860*l.* in goods; consisting partly of British commodities, cloth, lead, tin, cutlery, glass, &c.; partly of foreign, as quicksilver, Muscovy hides, &c. The choice of Captain Lancaster to command the fleet was renewed; and it sailed from Torbay on the 2d of May, 1601, carrying letters of recommen-

Book I. 1603.

dations from the Queen to the sovereigns of the different ports to which it might resort.*

A first and experimental attempt was naturally unproductive of any remarkable result: but the first voyage of the East India Company was not discouraging. The first place in India to which the fleet repaired was Acheen, a principal city in the island of Sumatra, at which they were favourably received. They formed a treaty of commerce with the chief or sovereign of the place; obtained permission to erect a factory; and, having taken on board a quantity of pepper, set sail for the Moluccas. In the Straits of Malacca they captured a Portuguese vessel of 900 tons burthen, carrying calicoes and spices, which sufficed to lade them. They diverted their course, therefore, to Bantam in the island of Java, where the Captain, delivering his letters and presents, and meeting with a favourable reception, left some agents, the first rudiments of the Company's factories; and returned to England, where he arrived in September, 1603, with a handsome profit to his owners on the capital of the voyage. †

The eight succeeding voyages, 1603—1613.

In the course of the years from 1603 to 1613, eight other voyages were fitted out, on similar terms. The first in 1603, under the command of Captain Middleton, consisted of the ships which had but just returned from the preceding voyage: and the capital subscribed was 60,450*l.*; of which 48,140*l.* was laid out in the preparation and provision of the ships; 11,160*l.* in bullion, and 1,142*l.* in goods. The second, in 1606, consisted of three ships commanded by

* Bruce's Annals, i. 146. "But forasmuch," says Sir William Monson (Naval Tracts, iii. Churchill's Collection of Voyages, 475), "as every innovation commonly finds opposition, from some out of partiality, and from others as enemies to novelty; so this voyage, though at first it carried a great name and hope of profit, by the word India, and example of Holland, yet was it writ against." He then exhibits the objections, seven in number, and subjoins an answer. The objections were shortly as follows, the answers, may be conceived:

1. The trade to India would exhaust the treasure of the nation by the exportation of bullion.
2. It would consume its mariners by an unhealthy navigation.
3. It would consume its ships by the rapid decay produced in the southern seas.
4. It would hinder the vent of our cloth, now exported in exchange for the spices of the foreign merchants.
5. It was a trade of which the returns would be very slow.
6. Malice to the Turkey Company was the cause of it, and jealousy and hatred from the Dutch would be the unhappy effect.
7. It would diminish the Queen's customs, by the privilege of exporting bullion duty free.

These objections, with the answers, may also be seen in Anderson's History of Commerce, *ad an.*

† Harris, i. 875. Anderson, ut supra, ii. 217, 218. Bruce's Annals, i. 151, 152.

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1608

Captain Keeling; capital, 53,500*l.*; of which 28,620*l.* was for the equipment of the fleet, 17,600*l.* bullion, and 7,280*l.* goods. The third, in 1607, consisted of two ships, 33,000*l.* capital; 14,600*l.* of which for the ships, 15,000*l.* bullion, and 3,400*l.* in goods. The fourth voyage, in 1608, had but one ship; 13,700*l.* subscription; expense of equipment, 6,000*l.*; bullion, 6,000*l.*; goods, 1,700*l.* The fifth, in 1609, had three ships, larger than in any former voyage; capital subscribed 82,000*l.*; cost of shipping, 32,000*l.*; the investment, 28,500*l.* bullion, and 21,300*l.* goods. The sixth voyage, in 1610, had four ships; and subscription, 71,581*l.*; divided into 42,500*l.* for shipping, 19,200*l.* bullion, 10,081*l.* goods. The seventh, in 1611, of four vessels, had 76,355*l.* subscription, expended 48,700*l.* on the fleet, 17,675*l.* in bullion, and 10,000*l.* in goods. The eighth, in 1612, had one ship, and subscription 7,200*l.*; divided, 5,300*l.* for the vessel, 1,250*l.* bullion, and 650*l.* in goods. All these voyages, with one exception, that in 1607, of which both the vessels were lost, were prosperous: the clear profits, hardly ever below 100 per cent, being in general more than 200 on the capital of the voyage.*

The years in which these voyages were performed were not without other incidents of considerable importance. In 1604, the Company were alarmed by a licence in violation of their charter, granted to Sir Edward Michelborne and others, to trade to "Cathaia, China, Japan, Corea, and Cambaya, &c." This injury was compensated in 1609, when the facility and indiscretion of James encouraged the Company to aim at a removal of those restrictions which the more cautious policy of Elizabeth had imposed. They obtained a renewal of their charter, confirming all their preceding privileges, and constituting them a body corporate, not for fifteen years, or any other limited time, but for ever; still, however, providing that, on experience of prejudice to the nation, their exclusive privileges should, after three years' notice, cease and expire.

The Charter renewed, and the Company constituted a body corporate for ever.

The earliest of the Company's voyages were exclusively directed to the islands in the Indian Ocean, as Sumatra, Java, and Amboyna, the returns being raw silk, fine calicoes, indigo, cloves, and mace. In 1608, the factors at Bantam and in the Moluccas reported that the cloths and calicoes imported from the continent of India were in great request in the islands; and recommended the opening of a trade at Surat and Cambaya, to supply them with those commodities, which might be exchanged, with extraordinary profit, for the spice and other productions of the islands. To profit by these advantages, the fleet which sailed under the orders of Sir Henry Middleton, in 1609, was directed to steer for the western coast

* Bruce's Annals, i. 152—163.

Book I.

1612.

First establishment of the English on the continent of India.

of the Asiatic continent, where they made several attempts to establish a commercial intercourse. At Aden and Mocha they were opposed by the Turks; who surprised one of the ships, and made the Captain and seventy men prisoners. On the coast of India their endeavours were frustrated by the influence of the Portugese. A fleet which sailed in 1611 had better success: though attacked at Swally, a place at no great distance from Surat, by a large Portuguese armament, it made a successful defence; and, notwithstanding the intrigues and efforts of the Portuguese, obtained a favourable reception at Surat. The English now succeeded in forming a commercial arrangement. They obtained permission to establish factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Goga, which were pointed out, by the agents of the Company, as the best situations. Agreeing to a duty of 3½ per cent., they stipulated, that this should be the only exaction to which their merchandise should be exposed; that protection should be afforded to their factories; and their property, even in the case of the death of their agents, secured till the arrival of the following fleet. A phirmaun or decree of the Emperor, conferring these privileges, was received on the 11th of January, 1612. This was the first establishment of the English on the continent of India; at that time the seat of one of the most extensive and splendid monarchies on the surface of the globe.*

* Bruce's Annals, i. 164.

CHAP. II.

From the Change of the Company into a Joint-stock, instead of a Regulated, Company, in 1612, *till the Formation of the third Joint-stock in* 1631-2.

CHAP. II. 1612.

HITHERTO the voyages of the East India traders had been conducted on the terms of a regulated, rather than a joint-stock, company; each adventure being the property of a certain number of individuals, who contributed to it singly, and managed it for their own account; subject only to the general regulations of the Company. Whether or not this was more adapted to the nature of commerce and more favourable to the interests of the nation, certainly it was less favourable to the power and consequence of the Governor and Directors than the plan of trading strictly on a joint-stock, which threw into their hands the entire management and power of the whole concern. Accordingly *they* exerted themselves to decry the former method, and, in 1612, were enabled to come to a resolution that in future the trade should be carried on by a joint-stock only.*

First joint-stock.

Still it appears not to have been in their power to establish a general fund, fixed in amount, and divided into regular shares. The capital was still raised by a sort of arbitrary subscription: some individuals, whose names stood as members of the Company, advancing nothing, others largely; now, however, subscribing, not each man for a particular adventure, with an association of his own choosing, but all into the hands of the Governor and Directors; who were to employ the aggregate as one fund or capital for the benefit of those by whom it was advanced. On these terms 429,000*l.* was raised, which the Directors thought proper to divide for the purpose of four separate adventures or voyages, to be undertaken in as many successive years. The voyages were regulated, and composed as follows:

		Investment.	
Year.	Vessels.	Bullion.	Goods.
1613	8	£18,810	£12,446
1614	8	13,942	23,000
1615	6	26,660	26,065
1616	7	52,087	16,506

* Bruce, i. 165.

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1614.

The purchase, repair, and equipment of the vessels amounted to 272,544*l.* the remainder of the stock. The profit of these voyages was far from setting the management of a court of Directors, as compared with that of individuals taking charge of their own affairs, in a favourable light. The average of the profits on the eight voyages which preceded, leaving out of the account the small adventure of what is called the Company's fourth voyage, wholly unfortunate, was 171 per cent. The average of the profit on the four voyages in question, was only 87½ per cent.*

As the power of the Portuguese in the East carried the usual consequences of power along with it, that is, an overbearing and insolent spirit, they had already embroiled themselves with the Mogul government. This was favourable to the English, who became joined with that government in a common cause. By the splendour, too, of their achievements against an enemy whom the governments of India were ill able to resist, they acquired a formidable reputation for prowess in war. A Portuguese fleet burned the towns of Baroach and Goga: and a powerful armament arrived at Swally with the Portuguese Viceroy, in January 1614. It attacked the English; but was defeated, with a loss of 350 men. To improve these favourable circumstances, an agent of the Company repaired to the Mogul court, where he was well received, and obtained a royal phirmaun, for a general and perpetual trade. During the same year the celebrated embassy of Sir Thomas Roe was dispatched by the king of England. The character of an ambassador, and the respect attached to it by the discernment of more enlightened nations, were but little understood at the court of the Mogul. On that occasion the choice of the English Ambassador was good: Sir Thomas Roe was a man of discernment and temper, and he made the most of his situation; though he soon discovered it was not with good policy he was sent. He obtained redress of some of the grievances of which the English merchants complained; and concluded, though with difficulty, a sort of treaty, in which liberty was promised them of trading and establishing factories in any part of the Mogul dominions; Surat, Bengal, and Sindy being particularly named.†

Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.

Beside his negotiations, Sir Thomas gives the Company good advice. His grand injunction was, to avoid territorial acquisition and military expense. "At my first arrival," says he, "I understood a fort was very necessary; but experience teaches me we are refused it to our own advantage. If the Emperor would offer me ten, I

* Bruce, i. 166.

† Bruce, i. 171, &c. Sir Thomas Roe's Journal and Letters. Churchill, i. 770—809.

would not accept of one." He then states his reasons: first, he adduces evidence that it would be of no service to their trade: "secondly, the charge," he says, "is greater than the trade can bear; for to maintain a garrison will eat out your profit; a war and traffic are incompatible. By my consent you shall never engage yourselves but at sea, where you are like to gain as often as to lose. The Portugueses, notwithstanding their many rich residences, are beggared by keeping of soldiers; and yet their garrisons are but mean. They never made advantage of the Indies since they defended them: observe this well. It has also been the error of the Dutch, who seek plantations here by the sword. They turn a wonderful stock; they prole in all places; they possess some of the best: yet their dead pays consume all the gain. Let this be received as a rule, that if you will profit, seek it at sea, and in quiet trade; for, without controversies, it is an error to affect garrisons and land wars in India."

"It is not a number of ports, residences, and factories, that will profit you. They will increase charge, but not recompense it. The conveniency of one, with respect to your sails, and to the commodity of investments, and the well employing of your servants, is all you need." If Sir Thomas had lived to the present day, he might have urged the trade with China as proof, by experiment, of the proposition he advanced.

"The settling your traffic here will not need so much help at court as you suppose. A little countenance and the discretion of your factors will, with easy charge, return you most profit; but you must alter your stock. Let not your servants deceive you; cloth, lead, teeth, quicksilver, are dead commodities, and will never drive this trade; you must succour it by change."

"An ambassador lives not in fit honour here. A meaner agent would, among these proud Moors, better effect your business. My quality, often, for ceremonies, either begets you enemies, or suffers unworthily. Half my charge shall corrupt all this court to be your slaves. The best way to do your business in it is to find some Mogul, that you may entertain for 1000 rupees a year, as your solicitor at court. He must be authorized by the king, and then he will serve you better than ten ambassadors. Under him you must allow 500 rupees for another at your port to follow the Governor and customers, and to advertise his chief at court. These two will effect all; for your other smaller residences are not subject to much inconveniency."

The permission to the Company's servants to trade privately on their own account, which afterwards produced so many inconveniences, was, it seems, a source of great abuse, even at this early period. "Concerning this, it is my

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opinion," says Sir Thomas, "that you absolutely prohibit it, and execute forfeitures, for your business will be the better done. All your loss is not in the goods brought home; I see here the inconveniences you think not of; I know this is harsh to all men, and seems hard. Men profess they come not for bare wages. But you will take away this plea, if you give great wages to their content; and then you know what you part from; but then you must make good choice of your servants, and use fewer." Sir Thomas tells the Company that he was very industrious to injure the Dutch. "The Dutch," he says, "are arrived at Surat from the Red Sea, with some money and southern commodities. I have done my best to disgrace them; but could not turn them out without further danger. Your comfort is, here are goods enough for both." * If so, why seek to turn them out?

One of the objects at which the English adventurers most eagerly aspired was a share in the traffic of the Spice Islands. Various circumstances contributed to inflame this desire. The spices, from their novelty, were at that time a favourite object of consumption to those, the supply of whose wants is so naturally, but thoughtlessly, regarded by the dealer as peculiarly profitable—the fashionable and the great: and the commerce, brilliant as compared with that of other nations, which the enterprise and diligence of the Dutch now carried on with the East, was almost entirely confined to these valuable commodities. The English, by their connexion with Sumatra and Java, had their full share in the article of pepper; but were excluded from cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, and all the finer spices. Agents were now sent from Bantam to Amboyna, Banda, and other islands, who fired the jealousy and cupidity of the Dutch. The English agents, defeated in their endeavours at all the places where the Dutch had already established a footing, projected, as a last resource, a factory at Macassar, of which the produce was only rice, but which might serve as a magazine for spices collected from the neighbouring islands.†

In the year 1617, or the year of the last of the four voyages in which the

* Churchill, i. 106—108. He gives another account of his endeavours to injure the Dutch, in the following words:—"The 10th, 11th, and 12th, I spent in giving the king and prince advice that a Dutch ship lay before Surat, and would not declare upon what design it came, till a fleet arrived; which was expected with the first fit season. This I improved to fill their heads with jealousies of the designs of the Dutch, and the dangers that might ensue from them; which was well taken: and, being demanded, I gave my advice to prevent coming to a rupture with them, and yet exclude them the trade of India." Ib. 774.

† Bruce, i. 174, 178.

general subscription had been employed, the Company's agents abroad reported; That Surat was the place at which the cloths of India could best be obtained, though nothing could there be disposed of in return except China goods, spices, and money: That large quantities of Indian wove goods might be sold, and gold, camphor, and benjamin obtained, at the two factories of Acheen and Tekoo on the island of Sumatra: That Bantam afforded a still larger demand for the wove goods of India, and supplied pepper for the European market: That Jacatra, Jambee, and Polania, agreed with the two former places in the articles both of demand and supply, though both on a smaller scale: That Siam might afford a large market for similar commodities, and would yield gold, silver, and deer skins for the Japan market: That English cloth, lead, deer skins, silks, and other goods might be disposed of at Japan for silver, copper, and iron, though hitherto want of skill had rendered the adventures to that kingdom unprofitable: That, on the island of Borneo, diamonds, bezoar stones, and gold, might be obtained at Succadania, notwithstanding the mischief occasioned by the ignorance of the first factors; but from Banjarmassin, where the same articles were found, it would be expedient, on account of the treacherous character of the natives, to withdraw the factory: That the best rice in India could be bought, and the wove goods of India sold at Macassar: And that at Banda the same goods could be sold, and nutmegs and mace procured, even to a large amount, if the obstructions of European rivals were removed.*

CHAP. II. 1618. Report by the Company's agents, on the state of the trade abroad.

Surat and Bantam were the seats of the Company's principal establishments.

Second joint-stock.

In the year 1617-18, a subscription was opened for a new fund, and was carried to the large amount of 1,600,000*l.* This was denominated the Company's Second Joint-stock. They were now, we are told, possessed of thirty-six ships, from 100 to 1,000 tons burthen; and the proprietors of stock amounted to 954.† But as the accounts of the Company have never been remarkable for clearness, or their historians for precision, we are not informed whether these ships belonged to the owners of the first joint-stock, or to the owners of the second; or if to both, in what proportion; whether the 954 proprietors of stock were the subscribers to both funds, or to the last only; whether any part of the first joint-stock had been paid back to the owners, as the proceeds came in; or whether both funds were now in the hands of the Directors at once, employed for

* Bruce, i. 188.

† Sir Jeremy Sambrooke's Report on East India Trade (MS. in East India Register Office) quoted by Bruce, i. 193.

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the respective benefit of the respective lists of subscribers: two trading capitals in the same hands, employed separately for the separate account of different associations. That such was the case to a certain extent may be drawn from this, that of the last of the voyages upon the first of the funds the returns were not yet made. We shall see that, afterwards, the Directors had, at one and the same time, in their hands, the funds of several bodies of subscribers, and were bound to employ them separately, for the separate benefit of each; that they, as well as their agents abroad, experienced great inconvenience in preserving their accounts and concerns separate and distinct; and that the interests and pretensions of the several bodies were prone to interfere.

The new subscription was divided into portions for three separate voyages.

The passion, as natural, of the Company's agents, at the different stations abroad, was to grasp at every thing, with little regard to the narrowness of the funds upon which their operations depended. In one point of view this was advantageous. While the ground was yet imperfectly explored it yielded a wider field for selection. The factors at Surat were captivated with the project of a trade to Persia. It promised a vent for English woollens to a large amount, and would furnish silks and other goods, which, both in Europe and in India, would sell to the greatest advantage. Sir Thomas Roe dissuaded the speculation, on the ground, that the Portuguese were already in possession of the commerce; and that it would cost the Company more to protect themselves in it, than they could even hope to gain by it. The views of the factors, because the most flattering, were the most persuasive: Agents were sent to the court of Persia; grants of privileges were obtained; and a trade was opened, which experience proved to be of little importance.

Rivalship between the English and other Europeans in India.

The rivalship which the East India Company experienced from the other nations of Europe includes, for a considerable time, the principal portion of their history. The Portuguese had long, on the pretence of discovery, maintained a claim to the exclusive enjoyment of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. They had, partly by conquest, partly by agreement, made themselves masters of Goa, Bombay, and other places on the Malabar coast; of Aden at the entrance of the Red Sea; of Ormus in the Persian Gulf; of part of the Malay coast in the Straits of Malacca; of the Molucca islands; and of the coasts of Ceylon, the most valuable of all the eastern islands: they had factories in Bengal, factories in Siam; and they had erected the city of Macao on the coast of China.

While the Dutch continued subject to the crown of Spain, they had been ac-

customed to repair to Lisbon for the productions of the East; which, even at that early period, they were employed in distributing to the rest of Europe. When they resolved to shake off the yoke of their ancient masters, one of the means which Philip employed to distress them was, to deprive them of the commerce of his dominions. The Dutch, prevented from obtaining Indian commodities by traffic with the subjects of Philip, resolved to become competitors for the trade with India itself.

At the time when the Dutch commenced their voyages to the East, the crown of Spain was engaged in enterprises of so much importance in other quarters of the globe, and so much engrossed with the contemplation of its splendid empire in the New World, that the acquisitions of the Portuguese, now its subjects, in the East Indies, were treated with comparative neglect. The Dutch, accordingly, who entered upon the trade to India with considerable resources and the utmost ardour, were enabled to supplant the Portuguese in the spice trade, and, after a struggle, to expel them from the Molucca islands. That celebrated people, now freed from the oppression of a bad government, were advancing in the career of prosperity with prodigious strides. The augmentation of capital was rapid, in Holland, beyond what has often been witnessed in any other part of the globe. A proportional share of this capital naturally found its way into the channel of the India trade, and gave both extent and vigour to the enterprises of the nation in the East. The English, whose country, poor, oppressed by misgovernment, or scourged with civil war, afforded little capital to extend their trade, or means to afford it protection, found themselves unequal competitors with a people so favourably situated as the Dutch.

During that age, when the principles of public wealth were very imperfectly understood, hardly any trade was regarded as profitable, but that which was exclusive. The different nations which traded to India all traded by way of monopoly; and the several companies treated every proposal for a participation in their traffic as a proposal for their ruin. In the same spirit, every nation which obtained admittance into any newly explored channel of commerce endeavoured to exclude from it all participators, and considered its own profits in that particular track as depending on the absence of all competition.

The Dutch, who were governed by the same prejudices as their contemporaries, and who were actuated, at least in that age, to rather more perhaps than the usual intensity, with the appetite for gain, beheld, with great impatience, the attempts of the English to share with them in the spice trade. While contending for their independence against the power of Spain, and looking to England

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for support, they were constrained to practise moderation and forbearance. During this time the English were enabled to form a connexion with Sumatra, to establish themselves at Bantam, and to obtain a share in the traffic of pepper. This being a commodity so generally produced in the East, it could not easily become the subject of monopoly: and before the English made efforts on any considerable scale to interfere with the trade of the further India, where the finer spices were produced, the power and confidence of the Dutch had greatly increased.

The Dutch more formidable opponents than the Portuguese.

The Dutch were more formidable rivals, and hurtful opponents, than the Portuguese. The interference was less direct between the English and the Portuguese. The principal settlements of the Portuguese on the continent of India were on the Malabar coast, and at a great distance from Surat, which was the principal seat of the English traffic. It was only in the Persian trade where much incompatibility of interests existed: and feeble as the English at that time really were in India, it is remarkable that they were an overmatch at sea for the Portuguese; and hardly ever encountered them without a brilliant victory, or at least decided advantages. The case was different in regard to the Dutch. The pretensions of the English to the spice trade interfered with the very vitals of the Dutch commerce in the East; and the fleets which the prosperous enterprise of the new republic enabled it to maintain were so far superior to those which the restricted means of the English Company allowed them to send, that contention became altogether hopeless and vain.

It was not till the year 1617-18, that the hostility of the two nations displayed itself in operations of force. In those places where the Dutch had formed any establishments, they had in general been able, by intrigue and artifice, to defeat the attempts of the English to introduce themselves. The English took possession of two small islands, called Polaroon and Rosengin, which were not formally occupied by the Dutch, but intimately connected with some other possessions. They raised pretensions to them, and attacked the English. The English, however, had already so well fortified themselves, that the Dutch found it impracticable at the first attempt to expel them; but they found the means, partly by force and partly by artifice, to get possession of two English ships, on their voyage to these islands, carried them to a Dutch settlement, and refused to deliver them up, unless all pretensions to the Spice Islands were renounced.*

* Bruce, i. 199.

CHAP. II. 1618.

The proceedings of the Dutch, though regarded by the English as in the highest degree rapacious and unjust, were founded on pretensions, not inferior to those on which the English Company endeavoured to establish rights and to realize claims. They were pretensions which the Dutch at least regarded as valid and equitable; since they presented them to the English monarch himself, as the ground of complaint against his subjects, and of a demand for his interference to prevent the recurrence of similar injuries. In 1618, the Dutch Company presented a memorial to King James, in which they set forth, that, at their own cost and hazard, they had expelled the Portuguese from the Spice Islands, and had established a treaty with the natives, on the express condition that they should afford the natives protection against the Portuguese, and on the other hand enjoy the exclusive advantage of their trade; that the agents, however, of the English Company had interfered with those well-established rights; and had not only endeavoured to trade with the natives, but to incite them against the Dutch; who possessed rights with regard to Bantam similar, and similarly infringed.

To these complaints the English Company replied by an enumeration of the injuries which, from the resistance, the intrigues, and violence of the Dutch, they had sustained in their attempts to introduce their trade even in those places where no factories of the Dutch had ever existed: Among those grievances, however, they enumerated the hostilities experienced at Tydore and Amboyna, places to which the pretensions of the Dutch applied in all their force.* According to the ideas, which then prevailed, that priority of occupancy constituted sovereignty in newly-discovered countries, and that the will of the natives was to be counted for nothing, ideas on which the English grounded their proceedings as confidently as any other nation, the truth is, that the English had not a shadow of right to the trade of the Moluccas: for though Polaroon and Rosengin might not, by actual occupancy, have accrued to the Dutch, they form part of a narrow and closely connected cluster of islands, of which the Dutch had seized the principal, and with the security of which the presence of an enemy in any of the rest could not be reconciled. If the French should take possession of any of the Hebrides under pretence that no British magistrate was ever established on it, or even that it was uninhabited, would it less be regarded as usurpation and injustice? With respect to Java, and the settle-

* Memorial of the Dutch East India Company to King James, and Reply of the London East India Company thereto, in the year 1616, (East India Papers in the State Paper Office) quoted, Bruce, i. 202.

Book I. 1619.

ments at Bantam and Jacatra, the English had an equitable plea, of which they appear not to have availed themselves. They might have insisted on the consent of the Dutch, who had not resisted their early settlement on that island, now sanctioned by time.

Compromise with the Dutch.

After a tedious interchange of hostile efforts, in which intrigue and force were combined; the practice of buying up the pepper, at prices higher than the English could afford, forming one of the principal subjects of English complaint; it was agreed between the two governments in Europe, at that time allies, to institute a mutual inquiry, and form an arrangement respecting the claims of their subjects in the East. Commissioners were appointed on the part of each; and, after repeated conferences, a treaty was concluded at London, on the 17th July, 1619. In this it was stipulated, that a mutual amnesty should take place, and a mutual restitution of ships and property; that the pepper trade at Java should be equally divided; that the English should have a free trade at Pullicate, on the Coromandel coast, on paying half the expenses of the garrison; and that of the trade of the Moluccas and Bandas, they should enjoy one third, the Dutch two, paying the charges of the garrisons in the same proportion. Besides these conditions, which regarded their opposite pretensions, the treaty included arrangements for mutual profit and defence. Each Company was to furnish ten ships of war, which were not to be sent in the European voyages, but employed in India for mutual protection; and the two nations were to unite their efforts to reduce the duties and exactions of the native governments at the different ports. To superintend the execution of this treaty a council was appointed, to be composed of four members of each Company, called the *Council of Defence*. And the treaty was to be in force during twenty years.*

This solemn engagement is a proof, if there was not another, of the imperfection which still adhered to the art of legislation. The principal stipulations were so vague, and the execution of them depended on so many unascertained circumstances, that the grounds of dispute and contention were multiplied rather than reduced. For these evils, as far as they were foreseen, the Council of Defence seems to have been devised as the remedy. But experience here taught, what experience has uniformly taught, that in all vague arrangements the advantages are reaped by the strongest party. The voice of four Englishmen in the Council of Defence was but a feeble protection against the superior capital and fleets of the Dutch. To secure the pretensions of the English they

* Rymer's Fœdera, xvii. 170. Bruce, i. 212.

should have maintained a naval and military force superior to that of their opponents; and in that case they would have been the oppressors; the Dutch would have been expelled from the spice trade; the spice trade would have remained in the hands of the English, who would have overlooked the continent of India, because their capital would not have sufficed to embrace it; the continent would have been left to the enterprise of other nations; and that brilliant empire which the English have established would not, it is probable, have begun to exist.

In consequence of this treaty, by which the English were bound to send a fleet of ten ships to India, a larger fund was this year raised than had been provided for any preceding voyage: 62,490*l.* in the precious metals, and 28,508*l.* in goods, were exported with the fleet. The return was brought back in a single ship, and sold at 108,887*l.**

The Dutch evade the treaty.

In the interval which passed, from the time of concluding the treaty till the establishment of the *Council of Defence* at Jacatra, the Dutch had committed various acts of oppression to the English; and when the council began its operations, the Dutch, after executing some of the least important conditions of the treaty, endeavoured to evade the rest. They consented to restore the ships taken from the English, but refused to restore the goods or stores taken by individuals: The pretext was, that the Company could not be responsible for any acts but their own; though, if credit may be given to the letters of the English factors at Jacatra, they exploded the same pretension when advanced on the opposite side: They refused to admit the English to their share of the pepper trade, till they should indemnify them for the expenses incurred at the siege of Bantam, and by the fortifications which they had raised: They insisted that at Jacatra, and all other places where they had erected fortifications, they possessed the rights of sovereignty; and that in those places the English could claim permission to reside only under the Dutch laws: They set forth the large expense which they had incurred in fortifying the Spice Islands, and estimated the charges of their maintenance at 60,000*l.* per annum; of all which they required the English to advance their due proportion before they could be admitted to the stipulated share of the trade. On these latter demands, the English objected, that some of the fortifications were at places where no produce was obtained, and that none of them were useful but for defence against the Spaniards and Portuguese, with whom the English were not at war. If there were fortifica-

* Bruce, i. 213.

Book I.
1622.

tions at places where none were required, the English had a right to decline paying for the blunders of the Dutch; but as they claimed a share of the trade upon the foundation of the Dutch conquests, and would not have been admitted to it without a war had not those conquests taken place, it was not a very good plea against paying for the fortifications that they were not at war with the Spaniards and Portuguese. In framing the treaty, no distinction was made between past expenses and future: the English intended to bind themselves only for a share of the future: the Dutch availed themselves of the ambiguity to demand a share of the past. On these pretensions they acted with so high a hand, that the English commissioners of the Council of Defence reported the impracticability of continuing the English trade, unless measures were taken in Europe to check the overbearing and oppressive proceedings of the Dutch.*

Advantages gained over the Portuguese.

In the circle of which Surat was the centre, the English, as they were a better match for their antagonists, had a better prospect of success. In 1620, two of the Company's ships, which sailed from Surat to Persia, found the port of Jasques blockaded by a Portuguese fleet, consisting of five larger and sixteen smaller vessels: unable to cope with so disproportionate a force, they sailed back to Surat: being joined by two ships they returned, attacked the Portuguese, and, after an indecisive action, entered the port. The Portuguese retired to Ormus, but, after refitting, came back for revenge. An obstinate conflict ensued, in which the English were victorious over a vast superiority of force. Such an event was calculated to produce a great impression on the minds of the Persians.

It was stipulated between the English and Persians, to attack with joint forces the Portuguese on the island of Ormus, which that nation in the days of its prosperity had seized and fortified. The English furnished the naval, the Persians the military force. The city and castle were taken on the 22d of April, 1622. For this service the English received part of the plunder of Ormus, and a grant of half the customs at the port of Gombroon; which became their principal station in the Persian gulf. The agents of the Company at Bantam, who were already vested with the superb title of President and Council, and with a sort of control over the other factories, condemned this enterprise; as depriving them of the ships and effects, so much required to balance the power, and restrain the injustice, of the Dutch.*

Voyages from 1621 to 1624.

The domestic proceedings of the Company at this period were sufficiently

* Bruce, i. 223. † Bruce, i. 237, 238.

humble. In 1621-22 they were able to fit out only four ships, supplied with 12,900*l.* in gold and silver, and 6,253*l.* in goods; the following year, they sent five ships, 61,600*l.* in money, and 6,430*l.* in goods; in 1623-24, they equipped seven vessels, and furnished them with 68,720*l.* in money, and 17,340*l.* in goods. This last was a prosperous year to the domestic exchequer. Five ships arrived from India with cargoes, not of pepper only, but of all the finer spices, which, notwithstanding the increasing complaints against the Dutch, the Company's agents had been enabled to procure. The sale of this part alone of the cargoes amounted to 485,593*l.*; that of the Persian raw silk to 97,000*l.*; while 80,000*l.* in pursuance of the treaty of 1619, was received as compensation money from the Dutch.*

CHAP. II. 1624.

Demands upon the Company by the King and the Duke of Buckingham.

Other feelings than those which sprang from these receipts were occasioned by a demand of the King, and another of the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord High Admiral, for shares, to the one as droits of the crown, to the other as droits of the admiralty, of the prize money gained by the various captures of the Company, particularly that of Ormus. The Company, who deemed it prudent to make little opposition to the claims of the King, objected to those of the Duke of Buckingham, as not having acted under letters of marque from the Admiral, but under their charter. The question was referred to the Judge of the Admiralty court; witnesses were examined to ascertain the amount of the prize money, which was estimated at 100,000*l.* and 240,000 reals of eight. The Company urged the expense of their equipments, the losses they had sustained, and the detriment to their mercantile concerns by withdrawing their ships from commerce to the operations of war. All possible modes of solicitation to the King and the Admiral were employed; but the desire for their money was stronger than their interest. Buckingham, who knew they must lose their voyage, if the season for sailing was lost, made the ships be detained; and the Company, to escape this calamity, were glad of an accommodation. The Duke agreed to accept of 10,000*l.*, which he received. A like sum was demanded for the King, but there is no direct evidence that it ever was paid. †

Trial and execution of the English at Amboyna.

The animosities between the English and Dutch in the islands, were now approaching to a crisis. The English complained of oppression, and found themselves so weak, as to be at the mercy of their rivals. They stated that, in the execution of the joint articles of the treaty, the English were charged with every

* Accounts in the Indian Register Office. Bruce, i. 225, 234, 241.

† East India Papers in the State Paper Office. Bruce, i. 241.

Book I. 1624.

item of expense, though their voice was entirely disregarded in the disposal of the money, in the employment of the naval and military force, and even in the management of the trade; that, instead of being admitted to their stipulated share of the spice commerce, they were almost entirely extruded from it; and that, under the pretext of a conspiracy, the Dutch had executed great numbers of the natives at Banda, and reduced Polaroon to a desert.* At last arrived that event which made so deep an impression on the minds of Englishmen. In February, 1623, Captain Towerson and nine Englishmen, nine Japanese, and one Portuguese sailor, were seized at Amboyna, under the accusation of a conspiracy to surprise the garrison, and to expel the Dutch; and, being tried, were pronounced guilty, and executed. The accusation was treated by the English as nothing but a pretext to cover a plan for their extermination. But the facts of an event, which roused so high and permanent indignation in England, have never been exactly ascertained. The nation, whose passions were kindled, was more disposed to paint a scene to itself in the deepest colours of atrocity, and to believe whatever could inflame its resentment, than to enter upon a rigid investigation of facts. If it be improbable, however, on the one hand, that the English, whose numbers were small, and by whom ultimately so little advantage could be gained, were really guilty of any such design as the Dutch imputed to them; it is on the other hand equally improbable that the Dutch, without believing them to be guilty, would have proceeded against them by the evidence of a judicial trial. Had simple extermination been their object, a more quiet and safe expedient presented itself: they had it in their power at any time to make the English disappear, and to lay the blame upon the natives. The probability is, that, from certain circumstances which roused their suspicion and jealousy, the Dutch really believed in the conspiracy, and were hurried on, by their resentments and interests, to bring the helpless objects of their fury to a trial; that the judges before whom the trial was conducted were in too heated a state of mind to see the innocence, or believe in any thing but the guilt, of the accused; and that in this manner, as many both before and after them, the sufferers perished. Enough, assuredly, of what is hateful may be found in this transaction, without supposing the spirit of demons in beings of the same nature with ourselves, men reared in a similar state of

* The Dutch, in their vindication, stated that the English intrigued with the Portuguese, and underhand assisted the natives in receiving the Portuguese into the islands. See Anderson's History of Commerce, in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 305.

society, under a similar system of education, and a similar religion. To bring men rashly to a trial whom a violent opposition of interests has led us to detest, rashly to believe them criminal, to decide against them with minds too much blinded by passion to discern the truth, and put them to death, without remorse are acts of which our own nation, or any other, would have been then, and would still be, too ready to be guilty. Happy would it be, how trite soever the reflection, if nations, from the scenes which excite their indignation against others, would learn temper and forbearance in cases where they become the actors themselves!

One of the circumstances, the thought of which most strongly incited the passions of the English, was the application of the torture. This, however, according to the Civil Law, was an established and regular part of judicial inquiry. In all the kingdoms of continental Europe, and Holland among the rest, the torture was a common method of extorting evidence from supposed criminals, and would have been applied by the Dutch judges to their own countrymen. As both the Japanese, who were accused of being accessaries to the imputed crime, and the Englishmen themselves, made confession of guilt under the torture, this, however absurd and inhuman the law, constituted legal evidence in the code of the Dutch, as well as in the codes of all the other continental nations of Europe. By this, added to other articles of evidence which would have been insufficient without it, proof was held to be completed; and death, in all capital cases, authorized and required. This was ancient and established law; and as there are scarcely any courses of oppression to which Englishmen cannot submit, and which they will not justify and applaud, provided only it has ancient and established law for its support, they ought, of all nations, to have been the most ready to find an excuse and apology for the Dutch.* From the first moment of

* The English had not been so long strangers to the torture themselves, that it needed to excite in their breasts any emotions of astonishment. "The rack itself," says Hume in his History of Elizabeth, v. 457, "though not admitted in the ordinary execution of justice, was frequently used upon any suspicion, by authority of a warrant from a secretary or the Privy Council. Even the Council in the Marches of Wales were empowered, by their very commission, to make use of torture whenever they thought proper. There cannot be a stronger proof how lightly the rack was employed, than the following story, told by Lord Bacon. We shall give it in his own words: 'The Queen was mightily incensed against Haywarde, on account of a book he dedicated to Lord Essex, thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the people's head boldness and faction: [*to our apprehension, says Hume, Haywarde's book seems rather to have a contrary tendency; but Queen Elizabeth was very difficult to please on that head.*] She said, she had an opinion that there was treason in it, and asked me if I could not find any places in it, that might be drawn within

Book I. 1624.

acting upon the treaty, the Dutch had laid it down, as a principle, that, at all the places where they had erected fortifications the English should be subject to the Dutch laws; and though the English had remonstrated, they had yet complied.

It was in vain that the English President and Council at Java, on hearing of the massacre as they called it, remonstrated in the most indignant terms; and even intimated their design of withdrawing from the island. In their representations to the Court of Directors at home, they declared, what might have been seen from the beginning, that it was impossible to trade on a combination of interests with the Dutch; and that, as negotiation had been found unavailing, nothing but a force in the islands, equal to that of their rivals, could ensure to their countrymen a share of the trade.

Rage in England at the Dutch.

When the news of the execution at Amboyna arrived in England, the people, whose minds had been already inflamed against the Dutch, by continual reports of injustice to their countrymen, were thrown into the most violent combustion. The Court of Directors exerted themselves to feed the popular fury. They had a most hideous picture prepared, in which their countrymen were represented, with all the most shocking expressions of horror and agony in their countenance and attitudes, and all the most frightful instruments of torture applied to their bodies, expiring upon the rack. The press teemed with publica-

the case of treason?........Another time when the Queen could not be persuaded that it was his writing whose name was to it, but that it had some more mischievous author, she said, with great indignation, that she would have him racked to produce his author.'..........Thus, continues Hume, "had it not been for Bacon's humanity, or rather his wit, this author, a man of letters, had been put to the rack for a most innocent performance."—The truth is, that the Company themselves, at this very time, were in the regular habit of perpetrating tortures upon their own countrymen, and even their own servants—of torturing to death by whips or famine. Captain Hamilton (New Account of the East Indies, i. 362,) informs us, that before they were intrusted with the powers of martial law, having no power to punish capitally any but pirates, they made it a rule to whip to death, or starve to death, those of whom they wished to get rid. He produces (Ib. 376,) an instance of a deserter at Fort St. George, "whipt," as he expresses it, "out of this world into the next." The power too, of executing as for piracy, the same author complains, was made use of to murder many private traders. "That power (he says, Ib. 362,) of executing pirates is so strangely stretched, that if any private trader is injured by the tricks of a Governor, and can find no redress—if the injured person is so bold as to talk of *lex talionis*, he is infallibly declared a pirate." He gives an account of an attempt of an agent of the Company, and a creature of the Governor of Fort St. George, to swear away his life by perjury at Siam. (Ib. ii. 183.)—These parallels are presented, not for the sake of clearing the one party at the expense of the other; but, by showing things as they were, to give the world at last possession of the real state of the case.

Chap. II.
1624.

tions which painted in the blackest colours the horrid scene at Amboyna. And to such a degree of rage were the populace excited, that the Dutch merchants in London became justly alarmed, and applied to the Privy Council for protection. They complained of the inflammatory publications; and particularly of the picture, which, being exposed to the people, had contributed to work them up to the most desperate resolutions. The Council called the Directors before them to answer these complaints. Denying that they had any concern with the publications, they acknowledged that the picture was produced by their order, and was intended by them to be preserved in their house as a perpetual memorial of the cruelty and treachery of the Dutch. The Directors were aware that the popular tide had reached the table of the council room, and that they had nothing to apprehend from confessing how far they had been instrumental in raising the waters.*

Conduct of the Dutch government.

Application was made to the King, to obtain signal reparation from the Dutch government, for so great a national insult and calamity. The whole nation was too violently agitated to leave any suspicion that the application could be neglected. A commission of inquiry was formed of the King's principal servants, who reported in terms confirming the general belief and indignation; and recommended an order, which was immediately issued, for intercepting and detaining the Dutch East India fleets, till satisfaction was obtained. With great gravity the Dutch government returned for answer; that they would send orders to their Governor General in the Indies to permit the English to retire from the Dutch settlements without paying any duties; that all disputes should be referred to the Council of Defence; that the English might build forts for the protection of their trade, provided they were at the distance of thirty miles from any fort of the Dutch; that the "administration, however, of politic government, and particular jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, at all such places as owe acknowledgment to the Dutch," should remain wholly in their hands; and that to the Dutch belonged the exclusive right to the Moluccas, Bandas, and Amboyna.†

This was an undisguised assumption of all the rights for which their subjects were contending in India. It is remarkable enough that the English East India Company, who were highly dissatisfied with the other parts of this answer, declared their acceptance of the first article, which permitted their servants to

* East India Papers in the State Paper Office. Bruce, i. 256.

† Bruce, i. 258.

Book I. 1627.

retire from the Dutch settlements. And here, for the present, the matter rested.

The Company entrusted with the exercise of martial law.

In 1624, the Company applied, by petition to the King, for authority to punish their servants abroad, by martial, as well as municipal law. It appears not that any difficulty was experienced in obtaining their request; or that any parliamentary proceeding, for transferring unlimited powers over the lives and fortunes of the citizens, was deemed even a necessary ceremony. This ought to be regarded as an era in the history of the Company.*

Company's trade.

In the year 1624-5, the Company's voyage to India consisted of five ships; but of the amount of the capital with which they were supplied, no account, it should seem, remains. In 1625-26, it consisted of six ships; other circumstances equally unknown. In 1626-27, it amounted to seven ships; farther information wanting as before.† In this year we gain the knowledge, collaterally, of one of those important facts, in the Company's history, which it has been their sedulous care to preserve concealed, except when some interest, as now, was to be served by the disclosure. Sir Robert Shirley, who had been ambassador at the court of Persia, made application to the King and Council to order the East India Company to pay him 2,000*l.* as a compensation for his exertions and services in procuring them a trade with Persia. The Company, beside denying the pretended services, urged their inability to pay; stating that they had been obliged to contract so large a debt as 200,000*l.*; and that their stock had fallen to 20 per cent. discount, shares of 100*l.* selling for no more than 80*l.*‡

The Company's Persian trade was not prosperous, under the caprice and extortions of the Persian magistrates. At Java their agents, tired out with the mortifications and disasters to which they were exposed from the Dutch, retired to the island of Lagundy, in the Straits of Sunda; having abandoned both Bantam and Jacatra, at which the Dutch had now established their principal seat of government, and called it Batavia. This conduct was rash and imprudent; for the island was found to be so unhealthy that, in less than a year, they wished to return. So great was their distress that, ot of 250 individuals, 120 were sick; and they had not a sufficient crew to dispatch a single ship to any of the English factories. In these circumstances the Dutch lent them assistance, and brought them back to Batavia.§ On the coast of Coromandel some feeble

* Bruce, i. 252.

† Ib. 252, 265, 271.

‡ East India Papers in the State Paper Office. Bruce, i. 272.

§ Bruce, i. 262, 264, 268.

efforts were continued. The Company had established factories at Masulipatam and Pullicat; but the rivalship of the Dutch pursued them, and obliged them to relinquish Pullicat. In 1624-5, they projected an establishment in the kingdom of Tanjore, but were opposed by a new rival, the Danes. At Armegum, however, at some distance south from Nellore, they purchased, in the succeeding year, a piece of ground from the chief of the district; erected and fortified a factory; and, suffering at Masulipatam oppression from the native government, they withdrew the factory in 1628, and transferred it to Armegum.*

Reparation sought for the injury at Amboyna.

Shortly after the first application to James on account of the injury at Amboyna, that monarch died. In 1627-8, the application was renewed to Charles; and three large Dutch Indiamen from Surat, which put into Portsmouth, were detained. The Company, watching the decline of the King's authority, and the growing power of the House of Commons, were not satisfied with an application to the throne, but in the following year presented, for the first time, a memorial to the Commons. They represented that, by their failure in the spice trade, and the difficulties they experienced in opening a trade for wove goods on the coast of Coromandel, they were nearly driven from all their factories. They assigned as causes, partly the opposition of the native powers, but chiefly the hostility of the Dutch. The narrowness of their own funds, and their unskilful management by the negligent Directors of a joint-stock, far more powerful causes, they overlooked or suppressed. They set forth, however, the merits of the Company, as towards the nation, in terms exactly resembling those which continue to be repeated to the present day: they employed many seamen: they exported much goods! As if the capital they employed would have remained idle; as if it would not have maintained seamen, and exported goods, if such were its most profitable employment, had the East India Company, or East India traffic, never existed.†

The detention of the ships, and the zeal with which the subject seemed now to be taken up in England, produced explanation and remonstrance on the part of the Dutch: That they had appointed judges to take cognizance of the proceedings at Amboyna, even before the parties had returned from Europe: That delay had arisen from the situation of the judges on whom other services devolved, and from the time necessary to translate documents in a foreign tongue: That the detention of the ships, the property of private individuals altogether

* Bruce, i. 264, 269, 290.

† Ib. i. 276, 277, 282. Anderson in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 351.

BOOK I. 1628.

unconcerned with the transaction, might bring unmerited ruin on them, but could not accelerate the proceedings of the judges; on the other hand, by creating national indignation, it would only tend to unfit them for a sober and impartial inquiry: That were the dispute unfortunately to issue in a war, however the English in Europe might detain the fleets of the Dutch, the English Company must suffer in India far greater evils than those of which they were now seeking for redress. At last, on a proposal that the States should send to England commissioners of inquiry, and a promise that justice should be speedily rendered, the ships were released. It was afterwards recommended by the ministry, that the East India Company should send over witnesses to Holland to afford evidence before the Dutch tribunal; but to this the Company objected, and satisfaction was still deferred.*

Company's trade.

In 1627-28, the Company provided only two ships and a pinnace for the outward voyage. They deemed it necessary to assign reasons for this diminution; dreading the inferences which might thence be drawn. They had many ships in India which, from the obstructions of the Dutch, and the state of their funds, had been unable to return: The stock would be large, though the number of ships was small; 60,000*l.* or 70,000*l.* in money and goods: And they hoped to bring home, richly laden, all their ships the following year. In 1628-29, five ships were sent out; two for the trade with India, and three for that with Persia; and though no account is preserved of the stock with which they were supplied, a petition to the King remains for leave to export 60,000*l.* in gold and silver in the ships destined to Persia. In the succeeding year four ships were sent to Persia, and none to India. Of the stock which they carried with them no account is preserved.†

As the sums in gold and silver, which the Company had for several years found it necessary to export, exceeded the limits to which they were confined by the terms of their charter, they had proceeded annually upon a petition to the King, and a special permission. It was now, however, deemed adviseable to apply for a general license, so large as would comprehend the greatest amount which any occasion they contemplated would render it necessary to send. The sum for which they solicited this permission was 80,000*l.* in silver, and 40,000*l.* in gold; and they recommended, as the best mode of authenticating the privilege, that it should be incorporated in a fresh renewal of their charter; which was accordingly bestowed.‡

* Bruce, i. 285, 287. † Ib. i. 278, 293. ‡ Ib. 293.

Notwithstanding the terms on which the English stood with the Dutch, they were allowed to re-establish their factory at Bantam after the failure of the attempt at Lagundy: a war in which the Dutch were involved with some of the native princes of the island lessened, perhaps, their disposition or their power to oppose their European rivals. As Bantam was now a station of inferior importance to Surat, the government of Bantam was reduced to an agency, dependent upon the Presidency of Surat, which became the chief seat of the Company's government in India. Among the complaints against the Dutch, it was one of the heaviest, that they sold European goods cheaper, and bought Indian goods dearer, at Surat, than the English; who were thus extruded from the market. To sell cheaper and buy dearer is competition, the soul of trade. If the Dutch sold so cheap and bought so dear, as to be losers, all that was wanting on the part of the English was a little patience. The fact, however, was, that the Dutch, trading on a larger capital and with more economy, were perfectly able to outbid the English both in purchase and sale. The English at Surat had to sustain at this time not only the commercial rivalship of the Dutch but also a powerful effort of the Portuguese to regain their influence in that part of the East. The Viceroy at Goa had in April, 1630, received a reinforcement from Europe of nine ships and 2,000 soldiers, and projected the recovery of Ormus. Some negotiation to obtain the exclusive trade of Surat was tried in vain with the Mogul Governor; and in September an English fleet of five ships endeavoured to enter the port of Swally. A sharp, though not a decisive, action was fought. The English had the advantage; and, after sustaining several subsequent skirmishes, and one great effort to destroy their fleet by fire, succeeded in landing their cargoes.*

* Bruce, i. 296, 304, 300, 302.

CHAP. III.

From the Formation of the third Joint-stock, in 1632, *till the Coalition of the Company with the Merchant Adventurers in* 1657.

Book I.
1635.
Third joint-stock.

In 1631-32, a subscription was opened for a third joint-stock. This amounted to 420,700*l.** Still we are left in darkness with regard to some important circumstances. We know not in what degree the capital which had been placed in the hands of the Directors by former subscriptions had been repaid; not even so much as whether any part of it had been repaid, though the Directors were now without money to carry on the trade.

With the funds which the new subscription supplied, seven ships were fitted out in the same season; but of the money or goods embarked in this voyage no account remains. In the following year, 1633-34, the fleet consisted of five ships, the amount of the capital or cargoes in like manner unknown. In 1634-35, it amounted to no more than three ships, the money or goods unstated as before.†

During this period, however, some progress was made in extending the connexions of the Company with the eastern coast of Hindustan. It was thought adviseable to replace the factory at Masulipatam not long after it had been removed; and certain privileges, which afforded protection from former grievances, were obtained from the King of Golconda, the sovereign of the place. Permission was given by the Mogul Emperor to trade to Pipley in Orissa; and a factor was sent to it from Masulipatam. For the more commodious government of these stations, Bantam was again raised to the rank of a Presidency, and the eastern coast was placed under its jurisdiction. Under the hopeless prospect of contending with the Dutch for the trade of the islands, the Company had, for some time, dispatched their principal fleets to Surat; and the trade with this part of India and with Persia now chiefly engaged their attention. From servants at a vast distance, and the servants of a great and negligent master, the best service could not be easily procured. For this discovery the Directors were

* Papers in the Indian Register Office. Sir Jeremy Sambrooke's Report on the East India Trade. Bruce, i. 306.

† Bruce, i. 306, 320, 323.

indebted, not to any sagacity of their own, but to a misunderstanding among the agents themselves: Who, betraying one another, acknowledged that they had neglected the affairs of their employers to attend to their own; and, while they pursued with avidity a private trade for their private benefit, had abandoned that of the Company to every kind of disorder.*

As pepper was a product of the Malabar coast, a share in the trade of that commodity was now aimed at, through a channel, which the Dutch would not be able to obstruct: There was concluded, between the English and Portuguese, in 1634-35, and confirmed with additional articles the following year, a treaty, according to which it was ordained that the English should have free access to the ports of the Portuguese, and the Portuguese should be treated as friends by the English factories.†

The Company resembled other unskilful, and for that reason unprosperous, traders, in this; that they always had competitors, of one description or another, to whose proceedings they ascribed their own want of success. For several years they had spoken with loud condemnation of the clandestine trade carried on by their own servants; whose profits, they said, exceeded their own. Their alarms, too, with regard to their exclusive privilege, had for some time been sounded; and would have been sounded much louder, but for the ascendancy which the sentiments of liberty (the contentions between Charles and his parliament were already high) had gained in the nation, and the probability that their monopoly would escape the general wreck with which institutions at variance with the spirit of liberty were threatened, only if its pretensions were prudently kept in the shade. The controversy, whether monopolies, and among others that of the Company, were not injurious to the wealth and prosperity of the nation, had already been agitated through the press: but though the Company had entered boldly enough into the lists of argument, they deemed it their wisest course, at the present conjuncture, not to excite the public attention by any invidious opposition to the infringements which private adventure was now pretty frequently committing on their exclusive trade.

Courten's Association.

An event at last occurred which appeared to involve unusual danger. A number of persons, with Sir William Courten at their head, whom the new arrangements with the Portuguese excited to hopes of extraordinary gain, had the art, or the good fortune, to engage in their schemes one Endymion Porter, Esq., a gentleman of the bedchamber to the King, who prevailed upon

* Bruce i. 306, 320, 324, 327.

† Ib. 325, 334.

BOOK I. 1638.

the sovereign himself to accept of a share in the adventure, and to grant his license for a new association to trade with India. The preamble to the grant declared that it was founded upon the misconduct of the East India Company, who had accomplished nothing for the good of the nation in proportion to the great privileges they had obtained, or even the funds of which they had disposed. This was not only true, but, it is highly probable, was the general opinion of the nation; as nothing less seems to have been necessary to embolden the King to such a violation of their charter. Allowing that instrument to have been contrary to the interests of the nation, it was not productive of consequences so ruinous, but that the stipulated notice of three years might have been given, and a legal end put to the monopoly. The Company petitioned the King, but without success. They sent instructions, however, to their agents and factors in India to oppose the interlopers, at least indirectly. After a little time an incident occurred of which they endeavoured to avail themselves to the utmost. One of their ships from Surat reported that a vessel of Courten's had seized two junks belonging to Surat and Diu, had plundered them, and put the crews to the torture. The latter part at least of the story was, in all probability, false; but the Directors believed, or affected to believe, the whole. The consequences of the outrage were, that the English President and Council at Surat had been imprisoned, and the property of the factory confiscated to answer for the loss. A memorial was presented to the King, setting forth, in the strongest terms, the injuries which the Company sustained by the license to Courten's Association, and the ruin which threatened them unless it were withdrawn. The Privy Council, to whom the memorial was referred, treated the facts alleged as little better than fabrication, and suspended the investigation till Courten's ships should return.*

The arrival of Courten's ships at Surat seems to have thrown the factory into an extraordinary state of confusion. It is stated as the cause of a complete suspension of trade on the part of the Company, for the season, at that principal seat of their commercial operations.† The inability early and constantly displayed by the Company to sustain even the slightest competition is apt to excite a suspicion, in those who distrust the voice of interested praise, that the system labours under inherent infirmities.

In 1637-38, several of Courten's ships returned, and brought home large investments, which sold with an ample profit to the adventurers. The fears and

* Bruce, i. 329, 337. † Ib. 342.

jealousies of the Company were now raised to the greatest height. They presented to the crown a petition for protection; placing their chief reliance, it should seem, in the lamentable picture of their own distresses. Their remonstrances were, however, disregarded; for a new grant was issued to Courten's Association, continuing their privileges for five years; and appointing, as a boundary between them and the Company, that neither should they trade at those places where the Company had factories, nor the Company at the places where Courten's Association might form their establishments.*

The Directors were thrown into dejection; and, as if they abandoned all other efforts for sustaining their affairs, betook themselves to complaint and petition.† They renewed their addresses to the throne: They dwelt upon the calamities which had been brought upon them by competition; first, that of the Dutch, next that of Courten's Association: They endeavoured to pique the honour of the King, by remarking that the redress which he had demanded from the States General had not been received: And they desired to be at least distinctly informed what line of conduct in regard to their rivals they were required to pursue. The affairs of the King were now at a low ebb; which may account in part for the tone which the Company assumed with him. They were heard before the Privy Council, of which a committee was formed to inquire into their complaints. This committee had instructions to direct their attention, among other points, to the means of obtaining reparation from the Dutch, and the measure of a union between the Company and Courten's Association. One thing is remarkable; because it shows that, in the opinion of the Privy Council of that day, the mode of trading to India by a joint-stock Company was not good: The committee were expressly instructed, "to form regulations for this trade, which might satisfy the noblemen and gentlemen who were adventurers in it; and to vary the principle on which the India trade had been conducted, or that of a general joint-stock, in such a manner as to enable each adventurer to employ his stock to his own advantage, to have the trade under similar regulations with those observed by the Turkey and other English Companies." ‡

The committee of the Privy Council seem to have given themselves but little concern about the trust with which they were invested. No report from them ever appeared. The Company continued indefatigable in pressing the King by petitions and remonstrances. At last they affirmed the necessity of abandoning the trade altogether, if the protection for which they prayed was withheld.

* Bruce, i. 345, 349. † Ib. 349, 350, 353. ‡ Ib. 353, 354.

Book I.
1640.

Their importunity prevailed. On the condition that they should raise a new joint-stock, to carry on the trade on a sufficient scale, it was agreed that Courten's license should be withdrawn.*

Two or more Courts of Directors; and two or more bodies of proprietors under the same charter.

On this occasion we are made acquainted incidentally with an important fact; that the Proprietors of the third joint-stock had made frequent but unavailing calls upon the Directors to close that concern, and bring home what belonged to it in India.† We thus learn, for the first time, that there were occasions on which payment was demanded of the capital of those separate funds, called the joint-stocks of the Company. In these circumstances it was a difficult question, to whom the immoveable property of the Company belonged. It had been acquired, both in houses and lands, both in India and England, by parts, indiscriminately, of all the joint-stocks. Amid the confusion which pervaded all parts of the Company's affairs, this was a question which yet had not begun to be agitated: as an encouragement, however, to subscribe to the new joint-stock, it was laid down as a condition, "That to prevent inconvenience and confusion, the old Company or adventurers in the third joint-stock should have sufficient time allowed for bringing home their property, and should send no more stock to India, after the month of May."‡ It would thus appear, that of their share in the *dead stock*, as it is technically called, the Proprietors of the third joint-stock and by the same rule of all preceding stocks with whose money it was purchased were, without any scruple, to be deprived. There was another condition, to which inferences of some importance may be attached; that the subscribers to the new stock should themselves, in a general court, elect the Directors to whom the management of the fund should be committed, and should renew that election annually.§ As this was a new Court of Directors, entirely belonging to the fourth joint-stock, it seems to follow that the Directors in whose hands the third joint-stock had been placed, must still have remained in office, for the winding up of that concern. And thus were there, to all intents and purposes, two East India Companies, two separate bodies of Proprietors, and two separate Courts of Directors, under one charter.

Fourth joint-stock.

So low, however, was the credit of East India adventure, under the bad success of joint-stock management, now reduced, that the project of a new subscription almost totally failed. Only the small sum of 22,500*l.* was raised.

* Bruce, i. 355, 361, 362.

† Ib. 363.

‡ Preamble to a subscription for a new joint-stock for trade to the East Indies, 28th January, 1640, (East India Papers in the State Paper Office), Bruce, i. 364.

§ Ib.

Upon this a memorial was presented to the King, but in the name of whom it does not appear; whether of the new subscribers, or the old; whether of the Court of Directors belonging to the old joint-stock, or of a Court of Directors chosen for the new. It set forth a number of unhappy circumstances, to which was ascribed the distrust which now attended joint-stock adventures to India; and it intimated, but in very general terms, the necessity of encouragement, to save that branch of commerce from total destruction.

The King takes the Company's pepper.

In the mean time a heavy calamity fell upon the Proprietors of the third joint-stock. The King resolved to draw the sword for terminating the disputes between him and his people; and finding himself destitute of money, fixed his eyes, as on the most convenient mass of property within his reach, on the magazines of the East India Company. A price being named, which was probably a high one, he bought upon credit the whole of their pepper, and sold it again at a lower price for ready money.* Bonds, four in number, one of which was promised to be paid every six months, were given by the farmers of the customs and Lord Cottington for the amount; of which only a small portion seems ever to have been paid. On a pressing application, about the beginning of the year 1642, it was stated, that 13,000*l.* had been allowed them out of the duties they owed; the remainder the farmers declared it to be out of their power to advance. A prayer was presented that the customs now due by them, amounting to 12,000*l.* might be applied in liquidation of the debt; but for this they were afterwards pressed by the parliament. The King exerted himself to protect the parties who stood responsible for him; and what the Company were obliged to pay to the parliament, or what they succeeded in getting from the King or his sureties, no where appears.†

A settlement made at Madras.

About the period of this abortive attempt to form a new joint-stock, a settlement was first effected at Madras; the only station as yet chosen, which was destined to make a figure in the future history of the Company. The desire of a place of strength on the coast of Coromandel, as a security both to the property of the Company and the persons of their agents, had suggested, some years ago, the fortification of Armegum. On experience, Armegum was not found a convenient station for providing the piece goods, ‡ for which chiefly the trade

* See Bruce, i. 371. The quantity was, 607,522 bags, bought at 2*s.* 1*d.* per pound, total 63,283*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.*; sold at 1*s.* 8*d.* per pound; total 50,626*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.*

† Bruce, i. 379, 380.

‡ *Piece goods* is the term which, latterly at least, has been chiefly employed by the Company and their agents to denote the muslins and wove goods of India and China in general.

Book I. 1648.

to the coast of Coromandel was pursued. In 1740-41, the permission of the local chief to erect a fort at Madraspatam was, therefore, eagerly embraced. The works were begun, and the place named Fort St. George; but the measure was not approved by the Directors.*

Efforts to obtain subscribers.

Meanwhile the trade was languishing, for want of funds. The agents abroad endeavoured to supply, by borrowing, the failure of receipts from home.†

An effort was made in 1642-43 to aid the weakness of the fourth joint-stock by a new subscription. The sum produced was 105,000*l.*; but whether including or not including the previous subscription does not appear. This was deemed no more than what was requisite for a single voyage: of which the Company thought the real circumstances might be concealed under a new name. They called it, the *First General Voyage.*‡ Of the amount, however, of the ships, or the distribution of the funds, there is nothing on record. For several years, from this date, no account whatever is preserved of the annual equipments of the Company. It would appear from instructions to the agents abroad, that, each year, funds had been supplied; but from what source is altogether unknown. The instructions sufficiently indicate that they were small; and for this the unsettled state of the country, and the distrust of Indian adventure, will sufficiently account.

In 1644, the Dutch followed the example of the English in forming a convention with the Portuguese at Goa. Though it is not pretended that in this any partiality was shown to the Dutch, or any privilege granted to them which was withheld from the English, the Company found themselves as usual unable to sustain competition, and complained of this convention as an additional source of misfortune.§

In 1647-48, when the power of the parliament was supreme, and the King a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, a new subscription was set on foot, and a pretty obvious policy was pursued. Endeavours were used to get as many as possible of that Ruling Body to subscribe. If the members of the ruling body had a personal interest in the gains of the Company, its privileges would not fail to be both protected and enlarged. Accordingly, an advertisement, which fixed the time beyond which ordinary subscribers would not be received, added, that, in deference to members of parliament, a further period would be allowed to them, to consider the subject, and make their subscriptions.‖

* Bruce, i. 377, 393. † Ib. 385. ‡ Ib. 389, 390.
§ Ib. 407, 412, 423. ‖ Ib. 423.

1650.

It appears not that any success attended this effort; and in 1649-50, the project of completing the fourth joint-stock was renewed, partly as a foundation for an application to the Council of State, partly in hopes that the favours expected from the Council would induce the public to subscribe.*

Union with Courten's Association.

In the memorial, presented on this occasion to the ruling powers, Courten's Association was the principal subject of complaint. The consent of the King, in 1639, to withdraw the license granted to those rivals, had not been carried into effect; nor had the condition on which it had been accorded, that of raising a respectable joint-stock, been fulfilled. The destruction, however, to which the Association of Courten thus saw themselves condemned, deprived them of the spirit of enterprise: with the spirit of enterprise, the spirit of vigilance naturally winged its flight: their proceedings from the time of this condemnation had been feeble and unsuccessful: but their existence was a grievance in the eyes of the Company; and an application which they had recently made for permission to form a settlement on the island of Assada, near Madagascar, kindled anew the Company's jealousies and fears. What the Council proposed to both parties was, an agreement. But the Assada merchants, so Courten's Association were now denominated, regarded joint-stock management with so much aversion, that, low as the condition to which they had fallen, they preferred a separate trade on their own funds to incorporation with the Company.† To prove, however, their desire of accommodation, they proposed certain terms, on which they would forego the advantage of the separate management of their own affairs.

Objections were offered on the part of the Company; but, after some discussion, a union was effected, nearly on the terms which the Assada merchants proposed.‡ Application was then made for an act to confirm and regulate the trade. The parliament passed a resolution, directing it to be carried on by a joint-stock; but suspending for the present all further decision on the Company's affairs.§ A stock was formed, which from the union recently accomplished was denominated *the united joint-stock*; but in what manner raised, or how great the sum, is not disclosed. All we know for certain is that two ships were fitted out in this season, and that they carried bullion with them to the amount of 60,000*l.* ||

The extreme inconvenience and embarrassment, which arose from the management by the same agents, in the same trade, of a number of separate capitals, belonging to separate associations; the toil and vexation of keeping the receipt

* Bruce, i. 434.
† Ib. 435, 436.
‡ Ib. 437, 438.
§ Ib. 439, 440.
|| Ib. 440.

Book I.
1654.

and expenditure of each entirely distinct from the receipt and expenditure of the rest, began now to make themselves seriously and formidably felt. From each of the presidencies complaints arrived of the difficulties, or rather the impossibilities, which they were required to surmount; and it was urgently recommended to obtain, if it were practicable, an act of parliament to combine the whole of these separate stocks into one.* Under this confusion, we have hardly any information respecting the internal transactions of the Company at home. We know not so much as how the Courts of Directors were formed; whether there was a body of Directors for each separate fund, or only one body for the whole; and if only one court of Directors, whether they were chosen by the voices of the contributors to all the separate stocks, or the contributors to one only; whether, when a Court of Proprietors was held, the owners of all the separate funds met in one body, or the owners of each separate fund met by themselves for the regulation of their own particular concern. †

Peculiar privileges obtained for the first time in Bengal.

In 1651-52, the English obtained in Bengal the first of those peculiar privileges, which were the forerunners of their subsequent power. It happened, that some surgeons were among the persons, belonging to the factories, whom there was occasion to send to the Imperial court. One of them, a gentleman of the name of Boughton, is particularly named. Obtaining great influence, by the cures which they effected, they employed their interest in promoting the views of the Company. Favourable circumstances were so well improved, that, on the payment of 3000 rupees, a government license for an unlimited trade without payment of customs, in the richest province of India, was happily obtained. ‡ On the Coromandel coast, the wars, which then raged among the natives, rendered commerce difficult and uncertain; and the Directors were urged, by the agents at Madras, to add to the fortifications. This they refused, on the ground of expense. As it was inconvenient, however, to keep the business of this coast dependant on the distant settlement of Bantam, Fort St. George was erected into a presidency in 1653-54. §

When the disputes began which ended in hostilities between Cromwell and the States General, the Company deemed it a fit opportunity to bring forward those

* Bruce, i. 441.

† If we hear of committees of the several stocks; the bodies of Directors were denominated committees. And if there were committees of the several stocks, how were they constituted? were they committees of Proprietors, or committees of Directors? And were there any managers or Directors besides?

‡ Bruce, i. 406, 463.

§ Ib. 454, 462, 484.

CHAP. III.
1654.

claims of theirs against the Dutch, which amid the distractions of the government had lain dormant for several years. The war which succeeded, however favourable to the British arms in Europe, was extremely dangerous, and not a little injurious, to the feeble Company in India. On the appearance of a Dutch fleet of eight large ships off Swally in 1653-54, the English trade at Surat was suspended. In the Gulf of Persia, three of the Company's ships were taken, and one destroyed. The whole of the coasting trade of the English, consisting of the interchange of goods from one of their stations to another, became, under the naval superiority of the Dutch, so hazardous as to be almost suspended; and at Bantam, near the principal seat of the Dutch power, traffic seems to have been rendered wholly impracticable.*

Claims upon the Dutch.

As Cromwell soon reduced the Dutch to the necessity of desiring peace; and of submitting to it on terms nearly such as he thought proper to dictate; a clause was inserted in the treaty concluded at Westminster in 1654, in which they engaged to conform to whatever justice might prescribe in regard to the massacre at Amboyna. It was agreed to name four commissioners on each side, who should meet at London, and make an adjustment of the claims of the two nations. One remarkable, and by no means ill-advised condition, was, that if, within a specified time, the appointed commissioners should be unable to come to an agreement, the differences in question should be submitted to the judgment and arbitration of the Protestant Swiss cantons.†

The Commissioners met on the 30th of August, 1654. The English Company, who have never found themselves at a loss to make out heavy claims for compensation, whether it was their own or a foreign government with which they had to deal, stated the amount of their damages, ascertained by a series of accounts, from the year 1611 to the year 1652, at the vast sum of 2,695,999*l.* 15*s.* The Dutch, however, seem to have been a match for them, even in the business of accounts. They too had their claims for compensation, on account of joint expenses not paid, or injuries and losses occasioned; which counter claims amounted to 2,919,861*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* It is impossible to pronounce with accuracy on the justice, comparative or absolute, of these several demands. There is no doubt that both were excessively exaggerated. But if we consider, that, under the domineering ascendency which the Protector had acquired with regard to the Dutch, it was expedient for them to submit, and natural for the English to overreach; while we observe that the award, pronounced by the Commissioners,

* Bruce, i. 458, 482, 484, 485.

† Ib. 489.

Book I.
1654.

allotted to the English no more than 85,000*l.*, to be paid by two instalments, we shall not find any reason, distinct from national partiality, to persuade us that the Dutch demands were at the greatest distance from justice and truth. All the satisfaction obtained for the massacre of Amboyna, even by the award of the same commissioners, was 3,615*l*, to be paid to the heirs or executors of those who had suffered.* Polaroon was given up to the English, but not worth the receiving.

Petition against joint-stock management.

Various occurrences strongly mark the sense, which appears to have been generally entertained, of the unprofitable nature of joint-stock. That particular body of proprietors, including the Assada merchants, to whom the united joint-stock belonged, presented to the Council of State, in 1654, two separate petitions; in which they prayed that the East India Company should no longer proceed exclusively on the principle of a joint-stock trade, but that the owners of the separate funds should have authority to employ their own capital, servants, and shipping, in the way which they themselves should deem most to their own advantage.† The Directors, whose power and consequence were threatened, shook with alarm. They hastened to present those pleas which are used as their best weapons of defence to the present day. Experience had proved the necessity of a joint-stock; since the trade had been carried on by a joint-stock during forty years: Such competitions as those with the Portuguese and the Dutch could only be supported by the strength of a joint-stock: The equipments for the India trade required a capital so large as a joint-stock alone could afford: The failure of Courten's experiment proved that voyages on any other principle could not succeed: The factories requisite for the Indian trade could be established only by a joint-stock, the East India Company having factories in the dominions of no less than fourteen different sovereigns: The native princes required engagements to make good the losses which they or their subjects might sustain at the hand of Englishmen; and to this a joint-stock company alone was competent.

Reasons for.

On these grounds they not only prayed that the trade by joint-stock should be exclusively continued; but, as it had been impracticable for some time to obtain sufficient subscriptions, that additional encouragement should be given by new

* Bruce, i. 491.

† The reasons on which they supported their request, as stated in their petition, exhibit so just a view of the infirmities of joint-stock management, as compared with that of individuals pursuing their own interests, that they are highly worthy of inspection as a specimen of the talents and knowledge of the men by whom joint-stock was now opposed. See Bruce, i. 518.

privileges; and, in particular, that assistance should be granted, sufficient to enable them to recover and retain the Spice Islands.* CHAP. III. 1654.

Reasons against.

In their reply, the body of petitioners, who were now distinguished by the name of Merchant Adventurers, chiefly dwelt upon the signal want of success, which had attended the trade to India, during forty years of joint-stock management. They asserted, that private direction and separate voyages would have been far more profitable; as the prosperity of those open Companies, the Turkey, Muscovy, and Eastland Companies, sufficiently evinced. They claimed a right, by agreement, to a share in the factories and privileges of the Company in India; and stated that they were fitting out fourteen ships for the trade.† They might have still further represented, that every one of the arguments advanced by the Directors, without even a single exception, was a mere assumption of the thing to be proved. That the trade had, during forty years, or four hundred years, been carried on by a joint-stock, proved not that, by a different mode of carrying on, it would not have yielded much greater advantage: if the trade had been in the highest degree unprosperous, it rather proved that the management had been proportionally defective. The Directors, who with their joint-stock had so ill supported competition, asserted that for this purpose private adventure would altogether fail; though Courten's Association had threatened to drive them out of every market in which they had appeared; and though they themselves had repeatedly and solemnly declared to government that, unless the license to Courten were withdrawn, the ruin of the East India Company was sure. With regard to *mercantile* competition, at any rate, the skill and vigilance of individuals transacting for their own interest was sure to be a more powerful instrument than the imbecility and negligence of joint-stock management: and as to *warlike* competition, a few ships of war, with a few companies of marines, employed by the government, would have yielded far more security than all the efforts which a feeble joint-stock could make. The failure of Courten's Association was sufficiently accounted for by the operation of particular causes, altogether distinct from the general circumstances of the trade; the situation, in fact, in which the jealousy and influence of the Company had placed them. The establishment of factories was by no means so necessary as the Company ignorantly supposed, and interestedly strove to persuade; as they shortly after found to their cost, when they were glad to reduce the greater number. Where factories were really useful, it would be for

* Bruce, i. 492, 493. † Ib. i. 494.

Book I. 1655.

the interest of all the traders to support them. And all would join in an object of common utility in India, as they joined in every other quarter of the globe. As to the native princes, there was no such difficulty as the Company pretended; nor would individual merchants have been less successful than the directors of a joint-stock, in finding the means of prosecuting the trade.

These contending pretensions were referred to a committee of the Council of State; and they, without coming to a decision, remitted the subject to the Protector and Council, as too difficult and important for the judgment of any inferior tribunal.*

Disputes among the owners of the different stocks.

Nothing could exceed the confusion which, from the clashing interests of the owners of the separate stocks, now raged in the Company's affairs. There were no less than three parties, who set up claims to the Island of Polaroon, and to the compensation money which had been obtained from the Dutch: The respective proprietors of the third, fourth, and united joint-stocks. The proprietors of the third joint-stock claimed the whole, as the fourth joint-stock and the united stock were not in existence at the time when the debt obtained from the Dutch was incurred; and they prayed that the money might be lodged in safe and responsible hands, till government should determine the question. The owners of the two other stocks demanded that the money should be divided into three equal shares for the three several stocks, and that they should all have equal rights to the Island of Polaroon.

Five arbitrators, to whom the dispute was referred, were chosen by the Council of State. In the mean time Cromwell proposed to borrow the 85,000*l.* which had been paid by the Dutch, and could not be employed till judgment determined to whom it belonged.

The Directors, however, had expected the fingering of the money, and they advanced reasons why it should be immediately placed in their hands. The pecuniary distresses of the Company were great: The different stocks were 50,000*l.* in debt; and many of the proprietors were in difficult circumstances: From gratitude to the Protector, however, they would make exertions to spare him 50,000*l.* to be repaid in eighteen months by instalments, provided the remainder 35,000*l.* were immediately assigned them, to pay their most pressing debts, and make a dividend to the Proprietors.† It thus appears, that these Directors wanted to forestall the decision of the question; and to distribute the money at their own pleasure, before it was known to whom it belonged. At the same

* Bruce, i. 503. † Ib. 503, 504.

time it is matter of curious uncertainty who these Directors were, whom they represented, by what set or sets of Proprietors they were chosen, or to whom they were responsible.

The Dutch monopoly terrified at the prospect of free trade in England.

While this dispute was yet undecided, the Merchant Adventurers, or Proprietors of the united stock, obtained a commission from the Protector to fit out four ships for the Indian trade, under the management of a committee.* We are upon this occasion made acquainted with a very interesting fact. The news of this event being carried to Holland, it was interpreted and understood by the Dutch as being an abolition of the exclusive charter, and the adoption of the new measure of a free and open trade. The interests of the Dutch Company made them see, in this supposed revolution, very different consequences from those which the interests of the English Directors made them believe or pretend that they beheld in it. Instead of rejoicing at the loss of a joint-stock in England, which they ought to have done, if by joint-stock alone the trade of their rivals could successfully be carried on; they were filled with dismay at the prospect of freedom, as likely to produce a trade with which they would attempt a competition in vain.†

Meanwhile the Company, as well as the Merchant Adventurers, were employed in the equipment of a fleet. The petition of the Company to the Protector for leave to export bullion specified the sum of only 15,000*l.*: the fleet consisted of three ships. They continued to press the government for a decision in favour of their exclusive privileges; and in a petition which they presented in October, 1656, affirmed, that the great number of ships, sent by individuals under licenses, had raised the price of India goods from 40 to 50 per cent., and reduced that of English commodities in the same proportion. The Council resolved at last to come to a decision. After some inquiry, they gave it as their advice to the Protector to continue the exclusive trade and the joint-stock. In consequence of this, a committee of the Council was appointed to consider the terms of a charter.‡

While the English Company languish the Dutch flourish.

While the want of funds almost annihilated the operations of the Company's

* Bruce, i. 508.

† Thurloe's State Papers, iii. 80. Anderson says, "The merchants of Amsterdam having heard that the Lord Protector would dissolve the East India Company at London, and declare the navigation and commerce to the Indies to be free and open, were greatly alarmed, considering such a measure as ruinous to their own East India Company." Anderson's History of Commerce, in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 459. See Bruce, i. 518.

‡ Bruce, i. 514—516.

BOOK I. 1657. agents in every part of India; and while they complained that the competition of the ships of the Merchant Adventurers rendered it, as usual, impracticable for them to trade with a profit in the markets of India, the Dutch pursued their advantages against the Portuguese. They had acquired possession of the island of Ceylon, and in the year 1656-57 blockaded the port of Goa, after which they meditated an attack upon the small island of Diu, which commanded the entrance into the harbour of Swally. The success of these plans would give them a complete command of the navigation on that side of India, and the power of imposing on the English trade duties which it would be unable to bear.*

* Bruce, i. 522—529.

CHAP. IV.

From the Coalition between the Company and the Merchant Adventurers, till the Project for a new and a rival East India Company.

CHAP. IV. 1658. Union between the Company and Merchant Adventurers.

AFTER the decision of the Council of State in favour of the joint-stock scheme of trading to India, the Company and the Merchant Adventurers effected a coalition. On the strength of this union a new subscription, in 1657-58, was opened, and filled up to the amount of 786,000*l.** Whether the expected charter had been actually received is not ascertained.

Preliminary proceedings.

The first operation of the new body of subscribers was the very necessary one of forming an adjustment with the owners of the preceding funds. A negotiation was opened for obtaining the transfer of the factories, establishments, and privileges in India. After the lofty terms in which the Directors had always spoken of these privileges and possessions, when placing them in the list of reasons for opposing an open trade, we are apt to be surprised at the smallness of the sum which, after all, and "though situated in the dominions of fourteen different sovereigns," they were found to be worth. They were made over in full right for 20,000*l.*, to be paid in two instalments. The ships, merchandise in store, and other trading commodities of the preceding adventurers were taken by the new subscribers at a price; and it was agreed that the sharers in the former trade, who on that account had property in the Indies, should not traffic on a separate fund, but, after a specified term, should carry the amount of such property to the account of the new stock.† There was, in this manner, only one stock now in the hands of the Directors, and they had one distinct interest to pursue: a prodigious improvement on the preceding confusion and embarrassment, when several stocks were managed and as many contending interests pursued at once.

Some new regulations were adopted for the conduct of affairs. The whole of the factories and presidencies were rendered subordinate to the President and Council at Surat. The presidencies, however, at Fort St. George and at Bantam were continued; the factories and agencies on the Coromandel coast and

* Bruce, i. 529.

† Bruce, i. 529, 530.

BOOK I. 1661.

in Bengal being made dependent on the former, and those in the southern islands on the latter.*

As heavy complaints had been made of trade carried on, for their own account, by the agents and servants of the Company, who not only acted as the rivals of their masters, but neglected and betrayed the interests of their masters, this practice was prohibited, and, in compensation, additional salaries were allowed.†

First voyages. After these preliminary proceedings, the first fleet was dispatched. It consisted of five ships; one for Madras carrying 15,500*l.* in bullion; one for Bengal; and three for Surat, Persia, and Bantam.‡ The following year, that is the season 1658-59, one ship was consigned to Surat, one to Fort St. George, and two to Bantam. The latter were directed to touch at Fort St. George to obtain coast clothes for the islands, and to return to Bengal and Fort St. George to take in Bengal and Coromandel goods for Europe. Instructions were given to make great efforts for recovering a share of the spice trade.§ Bantam, however, was at this time blockaded by the Dutch, and no accounts were this year received of the traffic in the southern islands.‖

The operations of the new joint-stock were not more prosperous than those of the old. Transactions at the several factories were feeble and unsuccessful. For two years, 1659-60, and 1660-61, there is no account of the Company's equipments; and their advances to India were no doubt small.** "The embarrassed state of the Company's funds at this particular period," says Mr. Bruce, "may be inferred from the resolutions they had taken to relinquish many of their out-stations, and to limit their trade in the Peninsula of India to the presidencies of Surat and Fort St. George, and their subordinate factories."††

Meanwhile Cromwell had died, and Charles II. ascended the throne. Amid the arrangements which took place between England and the continental powers, the Company were careful to press on the attention of government a list of grievances, which they represented themselves as still enduring at the hands of the Dutch; and an order was obtained, empowering them to take possession of the island of Polaroon. They afterwards complained that it was de-

* Bruce, i. 532. † Ib. ‡ Ib. 533.

§ Ib. 539, 540. The state of interest, both in India and England, appears incidentally in the accounts received by the Company from the agents at Surat, in the year 1658-59. These agents, after stating the narrowness of the funds placed at their disposal, recommend to the Directors rather to borrow money in England, which could easily be done at 4 per cent., than leave them to take up money in India at 8 or 9 per cent. Ib. 542.

‖ Ib. 544. ** Ib. 549—551. †† Ib. 555.

livered to them in such a state of prepared desolation as to be of no service.* The truth is, that it was an island of hardly any value at best.

CHAP. IV.

1665.

A new charter by Charles II.

On every change in the government of the country it had been an important object with the Company to obtain a confirmation of their exclusive privileges from the new rulers. The usual policy was not neglected on the accession of Charles II.; and a petition was presented to him for a renewal of the East India charter. As there appears not to have been at the time any body of opponents to make interest or importunity for a contrary measure, it was far easier to grant without inquiry than to inquire and refuse; and Charles and his ministers had a predilection for easy rules of government. A charter, bearing date the 3d of April, 1661, was accordingly granted, confirming the ancient privileges of the Company, and vesting in them authority to make peace and war with any prince or people, not being Christians; and to seize unlicensed persons within their limits, and send them to England.† The two last were important privileges; and, with the right of administering justice, consigned almost all the powers of government to the discretion of the Directors and their servants.

State of the capital and trade.

It appears not that, on this occasion, the expedient of a new subscription for obtaining a capital was attempted. A new adjustment with regard to the privileges and dead stock in India would have been required. The joint-stock was not as yet a definite and invariable sum, placed beyond the power of resumption, at the disposal of the Company, the shares only transferable by purchase and sale in the market. The capital was variable and fluctuating; formed by the sums which, on the occasion of each voyage, the individuals who were free of the Company chose to pay into the hands of the Directors, receiving credit for the amount in the Company's books, and proportional dividends on the profits of the voyage. Of this stock 500*l.* entitled a proprietor to a vote in the general courts; and the shares were transferable, even to such as were not free of the Company, upon paying 5*l.* for admission.‡

Of the amount either of the shipping or stock of the first voyage upon the renewed charter we have no account; but the instructions sent to India prescribed a reduction of the circle of trade. In the following year, 1662-63, two ships sailed for Surat, the cargo of which, in goods and bullion, amounted to 65,000*l.*, of which it would appear that 28,300*l.* was consigned to Fort St. George. Next season there is no account of equipments. In 1664-65, two

* Bruce, i. 553, 554. † Ib. 557.

‡ Anderson's Hist. of Commerce in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 495, 605.

Book I. 1667.

ships were sent out with the very limited value of 16,000*l.* The following season the same number only of ships was equipped; and the value in money and goods consigned to Surat was 20,600*l.*; whether any thing in addition was afforded to Fort St. George does not appear; there was no consignment to Bantam. In 1666-67, the equipment seems to have consisted but of one vessel, consigned to Surat with a value of 16,000*l.**

With these inadequate means the operations of the Company in India were by necessity languid and humble. At Surat the out-factories and agencies were suppressed. Instructions were given to sell the English goods, at low rates, for the purpose of ruining the interlopers. The Dutch, however, revenged the private traders; and, by the competition of their powerful capital, rendered the Company's business difficult and unprofitable.† On the Coromandel coast the wars among the native chiefs, and the overbearing influence of the Dutch, cramped and threatened to extinguish the trade of the English. And at Bantam, where the Dutch power was most sensibly felt, the feeble resources of their rivals hardly sufficed to keep their business alive.‡

Bombay ceded by the Portuguese to the King, and by the King to the Company.

During these years of weakness and obscurity, several events occurred, which by their consequences proved to be of considerable importance. The island of Bombay was ceded to the King of England as part of the dowry of the Infanta Catharine; and a fleet of five men of war commanded by the Earl of Marlborough, with 500 troops commanded by Sir Abraham Shipman, were sent to receive the possession. The armament arrived at Bombay on the 18th September, 1662; but the Governor evaded the cession. The English understood the treaty to include Salsette and the other dependencies of Bombay. As it was not precise in its terms, the Portuguese denied that it referred to any thing more than the island of Bombay. Even Bombay they refused to give up till further instructions, on the pretext that the letters or patent of the King did not accord with the usages of Portugal. The commander of the armament applied in this emergency to the Company's President to make arrangements for receiving the troops and ships at Surat, as the men were dying by long confinement on board. But that magistrate represented the danger of incurring the suspicion of the Mogul government, which would produce the seizure of the Company's investment, and the expulsion of their servants from the country. In these circumstances the Earl of Marlborough took his resolution of

* Bruce, ii. 108, 119, 152, 186.

† Ib. 110, 138, 157, 158, 174.

‡ Ib. ii. 130, 159.

returning with the King's ships to England; but Sir Abraham Shipman, it was agreed, should land the troops on the island of Angedivah, twelve leagues distant from Goa. On the arrival of the Earl of Marlborough in England in 1663, the King remonstrated with the government of Portugal, but obtained nothing more than unsatisfactory explanations; and all intention of parting with the dependencies of Bombay was denied. The situation in the mean time of the troops at Angedivah proved extremely unhealthy, and their numbers were greatly reduced by disease; when the commander made offer to the President and Council at Surat, to cede the King's rights to the Company. This offer, on consultation, the President and Council declined; as well because, without the authority of the King, the grant was not valid, as because in their feeble condition they were unable to take possession of the place. When Sir Abraham Shipman and the greater part of the troops had died by famine and disease, Mr. Cooke, on whom the command devolved, accepted of Bombay on the terms which the Portuguese were pleased to prescribe; renounced all claim to the contiguous islands; and allowed the Portuguese exemption from the payment of customs. This convention the King refused to ratify, as contrary to the terms of his treaty with Portugal; but sent out Sir Gervase Lucas to assume the government of the place. As a few years' experience showed that the government of Bombay cost more than it produced, it was once more offered to the Company; and now accepted. The grant bears date in 1668. It was "to be held of the King in free and common soccage, as of the manor of East Greenwich, on the payment of the annual rent of 10*l.* in gold, on the 30th September, in each year;" and with the place itself was received authority to exercise all political powers, necessary for its defence and government.*

Disputes with the Dutch.

Subterfuges of a similar kind were invented by the Dutch to evade the cession of the island of Polaroon. The Governor pretended that he could not deliver up the island without instructions from the Governor of Banda; and the Governor of Banda pretended that he could not give such instructions without receiving authority from the Governor-General of Batavia. After much delay and negotiation the cession was made in 1665; but not, if we believe the English accounts, till the Dutch had so far exterminated the inhabitants and the spice trees, that the acquisition was of little importance. On the recommencement, however, of hostilities between England and Holland, the Dutch made haste to expel the English, and to re-occupy the island. And by the treaty of Breda, both Pola-

* Bruce, ii. 104, 106, 126, 134, 141, 155, 168, 199. Macpherson's Annals, ii. 503.

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1668.

roon and Damm, on which the English had attempted an establishment, were finally ceded to the Dutch.*

English factory at Surat, defended against the Mharattas.

In the beginning of 1664, Sevagee, the founder of the Mharatta power, in the course of his predatory warfare against the territories of the Mogul Sovereign, attacked the city of Surat. The inhabitants fled, and the Governor shut himself up in the castle. The Company's servants, however, taking shelter in the factory, stood upon their defence, and having called in the ships' crews to their aid, made so brave a resistance that Sevagee retired after pillaging the town. The gallantry and success of this enterprise so pleased the Mogul government as to obtain its thanks to the President, and new privileges of trade to the Company. The place was again approached by the same destructive enemy in 1670, when the principal part of the Company's goods were transported to Swally, and lodged on board the ships. The English again defended themselves successfully, though some lives were lost, as well as some property in their detached warehouses. †

First instance of refractory conduct by the servants of the Company.

At this period occurred one of the first instances of refractory and disobedient conduct on the part of the Company's servants. This is a calamity to which they have been much less frequently exposed than, from the distance and employments of those servants, it would have been reasonable to expect. The efforts of the Directors to suppress the trade which their agents carried on for their own account had not been very successful. Sir Edward Winter, the chief servant at Fort St. George, was suspected of this delinquency, and in consequence recalled. When Mr. Foxcroft, however, who was sent to supersede him, arrived at Fort St. George, in June, 1665, instead of resigning, he placed his intended successor in confinement, under a pretext which it was easy to make, that he had uttered disloyal expressions against the King's government. Notwithstanding remonstrances and commands, he maintained himself in the government of the place till two ships arrived, in August 1668, with peremptory orders from the Company, strengthened by a command from the King, to resign; when his courage failed him, and he complied. He retired to Masulipatam, a station of the Dutch, till the resentment excited against him in England should cool: and his name appears no more in the annals of the Company. ‡

In Bengal the English factory at Hoogley had been involved in an unhappy dispute with the Mogul government, on account of a junk which they imprudently seized on the river Ganges. For several years, this incident had been used as a pretext for molesting them. In 1662-63, the chief at Madras sent an

* Bruce, ii. 132, 161, 184, 198. † Ib. 144, 145, 284. ‡ Ib. ii. 179, 245.

agent to endeavour to reconcile them with Meer Jumlah the Nabob of Bengal; and to establish agencies at Balasore and Cossimbuzar.* The Company's funds, however, were too confined to push to any extent the trade of the rich province of Bengal.

The pay of the Company's servants at this time small.

The scale was very small on which the Company's appointments were at this time formed. In 1662, Sir George Oxenden was elected to be "President and chief Director of all their affairs at Surat, and all other their factories in the north parts of India, from Zeilon to the Red Sea," at a salary of 300*l.* and with a gratuity of 200*l.* per annum as compensation for private trade. Private trade in the hands of the servants, and still more in those of others, the Company were now most earnestly labouring to suppress. Directions were given to seize all unlicensed traders and send them to England; and no exertion of the great powers entrusted to the Company was to be spared, to annihilate the race of merchants who trenched upon the monopoly, and to whom, under the disrespectful name of interlopers, they ascribed a great part of their imbecility and depression. †

Altercation between the two houses of parliament, on a transaction of the Company.

Their determination to crush all those of their countrymen who dared to add themselves to the list of their competitors, failed not to give rise to instances of great hardship and calamity. One was rendered famous by the altercation which in 1666 it produced between the two houses of parliament. Thomas Skinner, a merchant, fitted out a vessel in 1657. The agents of the Company seized his ship and merchandize in India, his house, and the island of Barella which he had bought of the King of Jambee. They even denied him a passage home; and he was obliged to travel over land to Europe. The sufferer failed not to seek redress, by presenting his complaint to the government; and after some importunity it was referred first to a committee of the Council, and next to the House of Peers. When the Company were ordered to answer, they refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Peers, on the ground that they were only a court of appeal, and not competent to decide in the first resort. The objection was over-ruled. The Company appealed to the House of Commons; the Lords were highly inflamed, and, proceeding to a decision, awarded to the petitioner 5,000*l.* The Commons were now enraged in their turn; and being unable to gratify their resentments upon the House of Peers which was the cause of them, they were pleased to do so upon the unfortunate gentleman who had already paid so dearly for the crime (whatever its amount,) of infringing

* Bruce, i. 560; ii. 110, 131.

† Ib. ii. 107—109.

BOOK I. 1668.

the Company's monopoly. He was sent a prisoner to the Tower. The Lords whom these proceedings filled with indignation, voted the petition of the Company to the Lower House to be false and scandalous. Upon this the Commons resolved that whoever should execute the sentence of the other house in favour of Skinner, was a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the Commons of England, and an infringer of the privileges of their house. To such a height did these contentions proceed, that the King adjourned the parliament seven times; and when the controversy after an intermission revived, he sent for both houses to Whitehall, and by his personal persuasion induced them to erase from their journals all their votes, resolutions, and other acts relating to the subject. A contest of which both parties were tired being thus ended, the sacrifice and ruin of an individual appeared as usual of little importance: Skinner had no redress.* Another class of competitors excited the fears and jealousies of the Company. Colbert, the French minister of finance, among his projects for rendering his country commercial and opulent, conceived, in 1664, the design of an East India Company. The report which reached the court of Directors in London represented the French as fitting out eight armed vessels for India, commanded by Hubert Hugo, whom in their instructions to the settlements abroad, the Directors described as a Dutch pirate. The hostilities of the Company were timid. They directed their agents in India to afford these rivals no aid or protection, but to behave towards them with circumspection and delicacy. The subservience of the English government to that of France was already so apparent, as to make them afraid of disputes in which they were likely to have their own rulers against them.†

The war which took place with Holland in 1664, and which was followed in 1665 by a temporary quarrel with France, set loose the powers of both nations against the Company in India. The French Company, however, was too much in its infancy to be formidable; and the Dutch, whose mercantile competition pressed as heavily during peace as during war, added to the difficulties of the English, chiefly by rendering their navigation more hazardous and expensive.

Factories, a grand source of expense, not necessary upon a scale so large as that of the Company.

A fact, to which it is probable that an enlightened attention would have been productive of important consequences, was at this time forced upon the notice of the Company. One grand source of the expenses which devoured the profits of their trade was their factories, with all that mass of dead stock which they re-

* Macpherson's Annals, ii. 493.

† Raynal, Hist. Philos. et Polit. des Etabliss. &c. dans les Deux Indes, ii. 183. Ed. 8vo. Geneve, 1781. Bruce, ii. 137, 150, 167. Macpherson's Annals, ii. 516.

quired, houses, lands, fortifications, and equipments. The Dutch, who prosecuted their interests with vigilance and economy, carried on their trade in a great many places without factories, and entirely free of the expenses which they created. Upon receiving instructions to make preparations and inquiry for opening a trade with Japan, Mr. Quarles Brown, the Company's agent at Bantam, who had been at Japan, reported to the Court, that it would be necessary, if a trade with Japan was to be undertaken, to follow the plan of the Dutch; who procured the commodities in demand at Japan, in the countries of Siam, Cambodia, and Tonquin; not by erecting expensive factories, but by forming contracts with the native merchants. These merchants, at fixed seasons, brought to the ports the commodities for which they had contracted, and though it was often necessary to advance to them the capital with which the purchases were effected, they had regularly fulfilled their engagements.* Even the Company itself, and that in places where their factories cost them the most, had made experiments, and with great advantage, on the expedient of employing the native merchants in providing their investments. At Surat, in 1665-66, "the investments of the season were obtained by the employment of a native merchant, who had provided an assortment of pepper at his own risk, and though the Dutch had obstructed direct purchases of pepper, the agents continued the expedient of employing the native merchants, and embarked a moderate assortment."† Factories to carry on the traffic of Asia, at any rate on the scale or any thing approaching to the scale of the East India Company, not necessary, and by their expense ruinous, were the natural offspring of a joint-stock; the Managers or Directors of which had a much greater interest in the patronage they created, which was wholly their own; than in the profits of the Company of which they had only an insignificant share. Had the trade to India been conducted from the beginning on those principles of individual adventure and free competition, to which the nation owes its commercial grandeur, it is altogether improbable that many factories would have been established. The agency of the native merchants would have performed much; and where it was not sufficient, the Indian trade would have naturally divided itself into two branches. One set of adventurers would have established themselves in India, by whom investments would have been provided for the European ships, and to whom the cargoes of the European goods would have been

* Letters from the Agent and Council of Bantam (in the East India Register Office), Bruce, ii. 163.

† Bruce, ii. 178, from a letter from the President and Council of Surat.

Book I. 1672.

The prosperity of the nation enables the Company to increase their funds.

consigned. Another class of adventurers, who remained at home, would have performed the business of export and import from England, as it is performed to any other region of the globe.

The time, however, was now approaching when the weakness which had so long characterized the operations of the English in India was gradually to disappear. Notwithstanding the imperfections of the government, at no period, perhaps, either prior or posterior, did the people of this country advance so rapidly in wealth and prosperity, as during the time, including the years of civil war, from the accession of James I. to the expulsion of James II.* We are not informed of the particular measures which were pursued by the Directors for obtaining an extension of funds; but the increase of capital in the nation was probably the principal cause which enabled them, in the year succeeding the acquisition of Bombay, to provide a grander fleet and cargo than they had ever yet sent forth. In the course of the year 1667-68, six ships sailed to Surat, with goods and bullion to the value of 130,000*l.*; five ships to Fort St. George, with a value of 75,000*l.*; and five to Bantam, with a stock of 40,000*l.* In the next season we are informed that the consignments to Surat consisted of 1,200 tons of shipping, with a stock of the value of 75,000*l.*; to Fort St. George, of five ships, and a stock of 103,000*l.*; and to Bantam of three ships and 35,000*l.* In the year 1669-70, 1,500 tons of shipping were sent to Surat, six ships to Fort St. George, and four to Bantam, and the whole amount of the stock was 281,000*l.* The vessels sent out in 1670-71 amounted to sixteen, and their cargoes and bullion to 303,500*l.* In the following year, four ships were sent to Surat, and nearly 2000 tons of shipping to Fort St. George; the cargo and bullion to the former, being 85,000*l.*, to the latter, 160,000*l.*: shipping to the amount of 2,800 tons was consigned to Bantam, but of the value of the bullion and goods no account seems to be preserved. In 1672-73, stock and bullion to the amount of 157,700*l.* were sent to Surat and Fort St. George. On account of the war, and the more exposed situation of Bantam, the consignment to that settlement was postponed. In the following year, it appears that cargoes and bullion were con-

* Sir William Petty, who wrote his celebrated work, entitled Political Arithmetic in 1676, says; 1. The streets of London showed that city to be double what it was forty years before; great increase was also manifested at Newcastle, Yarmouth, Norwich, Exeter, Portsmouth, and Cowes; and in Ireland, at Dublin, Kingsale, Coleraine, and Londonderry. 2. With respect to shipping, the navy was triple or quadruple what it was at that time; the shipping of Newcastle was 80,000 tons, and could not then have exceeded a quarter of that amount. 3. The number and splendour of coaches, equipages, and furniture, had much increased since that period. 4. The postage of letters had increased from one to twenty. 5. The King's revenue had tripled itself. See too Macpherson's Annals, ii. 580.

signed, of the value of 100,000*l.* to Surat; 87,000*l.* to Fort St. George; and 41,000*l.* to Bantam.*

CHAP. IV. 1674.

New attempts of the French to cultivate a trade with India.

Other events of these years were of inconsiderable importance. In 1667-68, appears the first order of the Company for the importation of tea. † Attempts were now recommended for resuming trade with Sumatra. ‡ In 1671-72, considerable embarrassment was produced at Surat by the arrival of a French fleet of twelve ships, and a stock computed at 130,000*l.* The inconsiderate purchases and sales of the French reduced the price of European goods, and raised that of Indian; but so little did these adventurers exhibit of the spirit and knowledge of commerce, that they, the Company's agents were soon convinced, would not prove formidable rivals. §

As England and France were now united in alliance against the Dutch, the Company might have exulted in the prospect of humbling their oppressors, but the thought of a new set of competitors seems effectually to have repressed these triumphant emotions. In 1673, the island of St. Helena, which had several times changed its masters, being recaptured from the Dutch, was granted anew and confirmed to the Company by a royal charter. ||

Pecuniary difficulties of the Company.

Notwithstanding the funds which in such unusual quantity the Directors had been able to supply for the support of the trade in India, this did not suffice to remove, it would appear that it hardly served to lighten, the pecuniary difficulties under which it laboured. To an order to provide a large investment, the President and Council at Surat, in 1673-74, replied, that the funds at their disposal were only 88,228*l.* and their debts 100,000*l.* besides interest on the same at 9 per cent; and in November, 1674, they represented that the debt arose to no less a sum than 135,000*l.*; and that all returns must in a great measure be suspended till, by the application of the funds received from Europe, the Company's credit should be revived. **

Sir Josiah Child's exaggerated statement of the benefits of the trade with India.

Of the sort of views held out at this period to excite the favour of the nation towards the East India Company, a specimen has come down to us of considerable value. Sir Josiah Child, an eminent member of the body of Directors, in his celebrated Discourses on Trade, written in the year 1665, and published in

* Bruce, ii. 201, 206, 209—224, 227, 230—256, 258, 259—278, 281, 282, 283—293, 296, 297—312, 313—327, 328, 331.

† Ib. ii. 210. The words of this order are curious, "to send home by these ships 100 lb. waight of the best tey that you can gett.

‡ Ib. ii. 211. § Ib. 302. || Ib. 232, 334.

** Bruce, ii. 337, 342, 366.

BOOK I. 1674.

1667, represents the trade to India as the most beneficial branch of English commerce; and in proof of this opinion asserts, that it employs from twenty-five to thirty sail of the most warlike mercantile ships of the kingdom, manned with mariners from 60 to 100 each; that it supplies the kingdom with saltpetre, which would otherwise cost the nation an immense sum to the Dutch; with pepper, indigo, calicoes, and drugs, to the value of 150,000*l.* or 180,000*l.* yearly, for which it would otherwise pay to the same people an exorbitant price; with materials for export to Turkey, France, Spain, Italy, and Guinea, to the amount of 200,000*l.* or 300,000*l.* yearly, countries with which, if the nation were deprived of these commodities, a profitable trade could not be carried on.

These statements are gross fallacies or gross exaggerations. The imports, exclusive of saltpetre, are here asserted to exceed 400,000*l.* a year; though the stock which was annually sent to effect the purchases, and to defray the whole expense of factories and fortifications abroad, hardly amounted in any of a number of years preceding 1665, to 100,000*l.*, often to not one fourth part of that amount; though the Company were always labouring under the severest pecuniary difficulties; and, instead of making great savings, always contracting debt. Thus early, in the history of this Company, is it found necessary to place reliance on their accounts and statements, only after a rigid scrutiny, and when something very different from the authority of their advocates is found to constitute the basis of our belief.

Contrasted with the real value of the fisheries.

It will be highly instructive to confront one exaggerated statement with another. About the same time with the discourses of Sir Josiah Child, appeared the celebrated work of De Witt on the state of Holland; in which he exhibits a summary account of the fishery carried on by the province of Holland alone. Proceeding on the statement of Sir Walter Raleigh, who in the investigation which he made of the Dutch fishery for the information of James I. in 1603, affirmed, that "the Hollanders fished on the coasts of Great Britain with no fewer than 3,000 ships, and 50,000 men; that they employed and set to sea, to transport and sell the fish so taken, and to make returns thereof, 9,000 ships more, and 150,000 men; and that twenty busses do, one way or other, maintain 8,000 people;" De Witt adds, that from the time when Sir Walter Raleigh wrote, to the time at which he produced his work, the traffic of Holland in all its branches could not have increased less than one third. Allowing this account to be exaggerated in the same proportion as that of the East India Director, which, from the nature of the circumstances, so much better known, is highly improbable; it is yet evident to what a remarkable degree the fisheries of the

British coasts, to which the Dutch confined themselves, constituted a more important commerce than the highly vaunted, but comparatively insignificant business of the East India Company.* The English fishery itself, at the single station of Newfoundland, exceeded the value, in every respect, of the trade to the East Indies. In the year 1676, no fewer than 102 ships, carrying twenty guns each, and eighteen boats, with five men to each boat, 9,180 men in all, were employed in that traffic; and the total value of the fish and oil, in that year, was computed at 386,400*l.*† Such was the amount of a trade the capital of which was returned in less than a year, compared with that to the East Indies, of which the capital was not returned in less than two or three.

Value of the Company's adventures from 1674 to 1682.

The equipments were, in 1674-75, five ships to Surat with 189,000*l.* in goods and bullion; five to Fort St. George with 202,000*l.*; and 2,500 tons of shipping to Bantam with 65,000*l.*: In 1675-76, to Surat, five ships and 96,500*l.*; to Fort St. George, five ships and 235,000*l.*; to Bantam, 2,450 tons of shipping and 58,000*l.*: In 1676-77, three ships to Surat and three to Fort St. George, with 97,000*l.* to the one, and 176,600*l.* to the other; and eight ships to Bantam with no account of the stock. The whole adventure to India, in 1677-78, seems to have been seven ships and 352,000*l.*; of which a part, to the value of 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.*, was to be forwarded from Fort St. George to Bantam: In 1678-79, eight ships and 393,950*l.*: In 1679-80, ten ships and 461,700*l.*: In 1680-81, eleven ships and 596,000*l.*: And, in 1681-82, seventeen ships, and 740,000*l.*‡

An agency first established in Bengal.

The events by which the proceedings of the East India Company were affected during this period were still common and unimportant. In 1674-75, a mutiny, occasioned by retrenchment, but not of any serious magnitude, was suppressed at Bombay. In trying and executing the ringleaders, the Company exercised the formidable powers of martial law. The trade of Bengal had grown to such importance, that, instead of a branch of the agency at Fort St. George, an agency was now constituted for it in Bengal itself. Directions were forwarded

* An anonymous author, whom Anderson in his History of Commerce quotes as an authority, says, in 1679, that the Dutch herring and cod fishery employed 8,000 vessels, and 200,000 sailors and fishers, whereby they annually gained five millions sterling; besides their Iceland, Greenland, and Newfoundland fisheries, and the multitude of trades and people employed by them at home. Macpherson's Annals, ii. 596. See in the same work, ii. 547 and 552, a summary of the statements of Child and De Witt. For ampler satisfaction the works themselves must be consulted.

† Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, Macpherson's Annals, ii. 579.

‡ Bruce, ii. 356, 360, 361—375, 379—392, 393, 395—406, 409, 410—435, 438, 439—446, 451, 453—459, 465, 468.

Book I.
1678.

to make attempts for opening a trade with China; and tea, to the value of 100 dollars, was, in 1676-77, ordered on the Company's account. Beside the ordinary causes of depression which affected the Company at Bantam, a particular misfortune occurred in 1667. The principal persons belonging to the factory having gone up the river in their prows, a number of Javanese assassins, who had concealed themselves in the water, suddenly sprung upon them, and put them to death.*

In 1677-78, "the Court," says Mr. Bruce, "recommended temporising expedients to their servants, with the Mogul, with Sevagee, and with the petty Rajahs; but at the same time they gave to President Aungier and his council discretionary powers, to employ armed vessels, to enforce the observation of treaties and grants:—in this way, the Court shifted from themselves the responsibility of commencing hostilities, that they might be able, in any questions which might arise between the King and the Company, to refer such hostilities to the errors of their servants."† This cool provision of a subterfuge, at the expense of their servants, is a policy ascribed to the Company, in this instance, by one of the most unabashed of their eulogists. We shall see, as we advance, in what degree the precedent has been followed.

New regulations for the Company's servants.

The difficulties which now occurred in directing the operations of the various individuals employed in the business of the East India Company began to be serious. The Directors, from ignorance of the circumstances in which their servants were placed, often transmitted to them instructions which it would have been highly imprudent to execute. The functionaries abroad often took upon themselves, and had good reasons for their caution, to disregard the orders which they received. A door being thus opened for discretionary conduct, the instructions of the Directors were naturally as often disobeyed for the convenience of the actors abroad, as for the benefit of the Company at home. The disregard of their authority, and the violation of their commands, had been a frequent subject of uneasiness and indignation to the Directors. Nor was this all. From discordant pretensions to rank and advancement in the service, animosities arose among the agents abroad. Efforts were made by the Directors for the cure of these troublesome, and even dangerous, diseases. Seniority was adopted as the principle of promotion. The nomination to the important office of a Member of Council at the Agencies, as well as Presidencies, was reserved to the Court of Directors.‡

* Bruce, ii. 367, 466, 396, 404. † Ib. 405. ‡ Ib. 355, 374, 449, 453.

CHAP. V.

From the Project of forming a new and rival Company, till the Union of the two Companies by the Award of Godolphin, in the year 1711.

CHAP. V.

1685.
Project of a new East India Company.

THE Company were now again threatened by that competition with their fellow-citizens which they have always regarded as their greatest misfortune. From the renewal of their charter, shortly after the accession of Charles II., their monopoly had not been disturbed, except by a few feeble interlopers whom they had not found it difficult to crush. In the year 1682-83, the design was disclosed of opening a subscription for a new joint-stock, and establishing a rival East India Company. The scheme was so much in unison with the sentiments of the nation, and assumed an aspect of so much importance, as to be taken into consideration by the King and Council.

The project had so much effect upon the views of the Company, though for the present the Council withheld their sanction, that, in Mr. Bruce's opinion, it introduced into their policy of 1682-83 a refinement, calculated and intended to impose upon the King and the public. It induced them to speak of the amount of their equipments, not, as usual, in terms of exact detail, but in those of vague and hyperbolical estimate. What we know of their adventure of that year is only the information they forwarded to their Indian stations, that the stock to be sent out would exceed one million sterling. In the course of the next season they equipped four ships to Surat. Of that year we only further know that 100,000*l.* in bullion was intended for Bengal. In 1684-85, information was forwarded to Surat, in general terms, that the tonnage and stock would be considerable: Five ships sailed for Fort St. George and Bengal, with 140,000*l.* in bullion: Of other circumstances *nothing* is adduced: And for several succeeding years no statement of the tonnage and stock of the annual voyages appears.†

Debts of the Company.

Under the skill which the Court of Directors have all along displayed in suppressing such information as they wished not to appear, it is often impossible to collect more than gleanings of intelligence respecting the Company's debts. At

* Bruce, ii. 475.

† Ib. 476, 481—496, 506—528, 531.

Book I. 1685.

the present period, however, they appear to have been heavy and distressing. In 1676, it was asserted by their opponents in England that their debts amounted to 600,000*l.*;* and we have already seen that, in 1674, the debt of Surat alone amounted to 135,000*l.*† In 1682-83, the Directors authorized the Agency in Bengal to borrow 200,000*l.*, and, in 1683-84, it is stated that the debt upon the dead stock at Bombay alone amounted to 300,000*l.*‡ It seems highly probable that at this time their debts exceeded their capital.

Loss of Bantam, and removal of the Presidency to Fort St. George.

In a war between the King of Bantam and his son, in which the English sided with the former, and the Dutch with the latter, the son prevailed; and in consequence expelled the English from the place. The agents and servants of the factory took shelter at Batavia, and the Dutch Governor made offer of his assistance to bring the property of the Company from Bantam. As the English, however, accused the Dutch of being the real authors of the calamity, they declined the proposal, as precluding those claims of redress which the Company might prosecute in Europe. Various efforts were made to regain possession of Bantam, but the Dutch from this time remained sole masters of Java. §

Upon the loss of Bantam, the Presidency for the government of the Eastern Coast, which had hitherto, with a fond desire for the traffic of the islands, been stationed at that place, was removed to Fort St. George. ||

Powers of Admiralty Jurisdiction extended to the Company.

The nation becoming gradually more impatient under the monopoly, the numbers multiplied of those who ventured to break through the restraint which it imposed upon the commercial ardour of the times. The Company, not satisfied with the power which they had already obtained of common and martial law, and of seizing, with their property, and sending to England, as many of their countrymen as their interests or caprice might direct, still called for a wider range of authority; and, under the favour with government which they now enjoyed, obtained the powers of Admiralty jurisdiction, for the purpose of seizing and condemning, safe from the review of the courts of municipal law in England, the ships of the interlopers.** The servants of the Company were now invested with unlimited, that is, despotic power, over the British people in India.

Revolt of Keigwin.

Insurrection again appeared at Bombay, and assumed a very formidable aspect. The causes were such as have commonly, in the Company's affairs, been attended with similar effects. Efforts had been made to retrench expenses; and this was very unpleasant to the Company's servants. The earliest experi-

* Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, Macpherson's Annals, ii. 579. † Supra, p. 65.
‡ Bruce, ii 482, 499. § Ib. 492. || Ib. 502. ** Ib. 496.

Chap. IV.
1687.

ment of the Company in territorial sovereignty agreed with the enlarged experience of succeeding times: the expense of the government exceeded the revenue which the population and territory could be made to yield. The Directors, new to the business of government, were disappointed; and having first laboured to correct the deficit by screwing up the revenue, they next attempted the same arduous task by lessening the expense. By the two operations together, all classes of their subjects were alienated: First, the people, by the weight of taxation; next the instruments of government, by the diminution of their profits. Accordingly Captain Keigwin, commander of the garrison at Bombay, was joined by the troops and the great body of the people, in renouncing the authority of the Company, and declaring by proclamation, dated December 27, 1683, that the island belonged to the King. Keigwin was by general consent appointed Governor; and immediately addressed letters to the King and to the Duke of York, stating such reasons as were most likely to avert from his conduct the condemnation to which it was exposed.*

The President and Council at Surat, conscious of their inability to reduce the island by force, had recourse to negotiation. A general pardon, and redress of grievances were promised. First three commissioners were sent, and afterwards the President repaired to Bombay in person. But neither entreaties nor threats were of any avail.†

As soon as intelligence arrived in England, the King's command was procured, directing Captain Keigwin to deliver up the island: and instructions were forwarded to proceed against the insurgents by force. When Sir Thomas Grantham, the commander of the Company's fleet, presented himself at Bombay, invested with the King's commission, Keigwin offered, if assured of a free pardon to himself and adherents, to surrender the place. On these terms the island was restored to obedience. And for the more effectual coercion of any turbulent propensities in future, the expedient was adopted of removing the seat of government from Surat to Bombay. Nor could the humble title and pretensions of a President and Council any longer satisfy the rising ambition of the Company. The Dutch had established a regency at Batavia and Columbo. It was not consistent with the grandeur of the English Company to remain contented

Bombay elevated to a regency, with power over all the Company's establishments in India.

* Bruce, ii. 512. Governor Child is accused by Hamilton of wanton and intolerable oppressions; and that author states some facts which indicate excessive tyranny. New Account of the East Indies, i. 187—199.

† Bruce, ii. 515.

BOOK I.
1687.

with inferior distinction. In 1687, Bombay was elevated to the dignity of a Regency, with unlimited power over the rest of the Company's settlements. Madras was formed into a corporation, governed by a mayor and aldermen.*

War with the native powers in Bengal.

The English had met with less favour, and more oppression, from the native powers in Bengal, than in any other part of India.† In 1685-86, the resolution was adopted of seeking redress and protection by force of arms. The greatest military equipment the Company had ever provided was sent to India. Ten armed vessels, from twelve to seventy guns, under the command of Captain Nicholson, and six companies of infantry, without captains, whose places were to be supplied by the Members of Council in Bengal, were dispatched, with instructions to seize and fortify Chittagong as a place of future security, and to retaliate in such a manner upon the Nabob and Mogul as to obtain reparation for the injuries and losses which had been already sustained. In addition to this force the Directors, in the following year, made application to the King for an entire company of regular infantry with their officers; and power was granted to the Governor in India to select from the privates such men as should appear qualified to be commissioned officers in the Company's service. By some of those innumerable casualties inseparable from distant expeditions, the whole of the force arrived not at one time in the Ganges; and an insignificant quarrel between some of the English soldiers and the natives was imprudently allowed to bring on hostilities before the English were in a condition to maintain them with success. They were obliged to retire from Hoogly, after they had cannonaded it with the fleet, and took shelter at Chutanuttee, afterwards Calcutta, till an agreement with the Nabob, or additional forces, should enable them to resume their stations. The disappointment of their ambitious schemes was bitterly felt by the Court of Directors. They blamed their servants in Bengal in the

* Bruce, ii. 526, 540, 584, 591. It was debated in the Privy Council, whether the charter of incorporation should be under the King's or the Company's seal. The King asked the Governor his opinion, who replied, "that no person in India should be employed by immediate commission from his Majesty, because, if they were, they would be prejudical to our service by their arrogancy, and prejudical to themselves, because the wind of extraordinary honour in their heads would probable make them so haughty and overbearing, that we should be forced to remove them." Letter from the Court to the President of Fort St. George, (Ib. 591). Hamilton, ut supra, (189—192). Orme's Historical Fragments, 185, 188, 192, 198.

† Mr. Orme is not unwilling to ascribe part of the hardships they experienced to the interlopers, who, seeking protection against the oppressions of the Company, were more sedulous and skilful in their endeavours to please the native governors. Hist. Frag. 185.

CHAP. V. 1687.

severest terms, not only for timidity, but infidelity, as having turned the resources of the Company, which ought to have been effectually employed in obtaining profitable and honourable terms from the Nabob and Mogul, to their own schemes of private avarice and emolument. A hollow truce was agreed to by the Nabob, which he only employed for preparing the means of an effectual attack. The English, under the direction of Charnock, the Company's agent, made a gallant defence. They not only repulsed the Nabob's forces in repeated assaults, but stormed the fort of Tanna, seized the island of Injellee, in which they fortified themselves, and burnt the town of Balasore, with forty sail of the Mogul fleet; the factories, however, at Patna and Cossimbuzar were taken and plundered. In September, 1687, an accommodation was effected, and the English were allowed to return to Hoogley, with their ancient privileges. But this was a termination of the contest ill-relished by the Court of Directors, who repeating their accusations of Charnock and their other functionaries, sent Sir John Child, the governor of Bombay, to Madras and Bengal, for the purpose of reforming abuses, and re-establishing, if possible, the factories at Cossimbuzar and other places, from which they had been driven by the war. A large ship, the Defence, accompanied by a frigate, arrived from England under the command of a captain of the name of Heath, with instructions for war. The Company's servants had made considerable progress by negotiation in regaining their ancient ground; when Heath precipitately commenced hostilities, plundered the town of Balasore, and proceeded to Chittagong, which he found himself unable to subdue. Having taken the Company's servants and effects on board, agreeably to his orders, he sailed to Madras; and Bengal was abandoned.*

The Mogul government, rashly provoked, threatens the expulsion of the English.

These proceedings, with the rash and presumptuous behaviour of Sir John Child on the western side of India, exasperated Aurengzebe, the most powerful of all the Mogul sovereigns, and exposed the Company's establishments to ruin in every part of India. The factory at Surat was seized; the island of Bombay was attacked by the fleet of the Siddees; the greater part of it taken, and the governor besieged in the town and castle. Aurengzebe issued orders to expel the English from his dominions. The factory at Masulipatam was seized; as was also that at Visigapatam, where the Company's agent and several of their

* These events occurred under the government of the celebrated imperial deputy Shaista Khan; "to the character of whom (says Mr. Stewart, Hist. of Bengal, 300.) it is exceedingly difficult to do justice. By the Mohammedan historians he is described as the pattern of excellence; but by the English he is vilified as the oppressor of the human race. Facts are strongly on the side of the Mohammedans."

Book I. 1692.

servants were slain. The English stooped to the most abject submissions. With much difficulty they obtained an order for the restoration of the factory at Surat, and the removal of the enemy from Bombay. Negotiation was continued, with earnest endeavours, to effect a reconciliation. The trade of the strangers was felt in the Mogul treasuries; and rendered the Emperor, as well as his deputies, not averse to an accommodation. But the interruption and delay sustained by the Company made them pay dearly for their premature ambition, and for the unseasonable insolence, or the imprudence of their servants.*

The French improve their footing in India.

During these contests the French found an interval, in which they improved their footing in India. They had formed an establishment at Pondicherry, where they were at this time employed in erecting fortifications.†

The equipments for 1689-90 were on a scale of great reduction; consisting of three ships only, two for Bombay, and one for Fort St. George. They were equally small the succeeding year. We are not informed to what the number of ships or value of cargo amounted in 1691-2. In the following year, however, the number of ships was eleven; and was increased in 1693-4, to thirteen. In the following year there was a diminution, but to what extent does not appear. In each of the years 1695-6 and 1696-7, the number of ships was eight. And in 1697-8 it was only four.‡

The Company determine to acquire territory.

It was now laid down as a determinate object of policy, that independance was to be established in India; and dominion acquired. In the instructions forwarded in 1689, the Directors expounded themselves in the following words: "The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade:—'tis that must maintain our force, when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India;—without that we are but as a great number of interlopers, united by his Majesty's royal charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us;—and upon this account it is that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices which we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write

* Bruce, ii. 558, 569, 578, 594, 608, 620, 630, 639, 641, 646, 650. The lively and intelligent Captain Hamilton represents the conduct of Sir John Child at Surat as exceptionable in the highest degree. But the Captain was an interloper, and though his book is strongly stamped with the marks of veracity, his testimony is to be received with the same caution on the one side as that of the Company on the other. New Account of India, i. 199—228.

† Bruce, ii. 655.

‡ Ib. iii. 75, 87, 122, 139, 181, 203, 231.

CHAP. V. 1692.

concerning trade."* It thus appears at how early a period, when trade and sovereignty were blended, the trade, as was abundantly natural, but not less unfortunate, became an object of contempt, and from an object of contempt, by necessary consequence, a subject of neglect. A trade, the subject of neglect, is of course a trade without profit.

Fort St. David built.

This policy was so far gratified, about the same period, that Tegnapatam, a town and harbour on the Coromandel coast, a little to the south of Pondicherry, was obtained by purchase, and secured by grant from the country powers. It was strengthened by a wall and bulwarks, and named Fort St. David.†

The Armenians better agents than the Company's servants.

A fact of much intrinsic importance occurs at this part of the history. Among the Christians of the East, the Armenians, during the power of the successors of Constantine, had formed a particular sect. When the countries which they inhabited were overrun by the Mahomedan arms, they were transplanted by force, in great numbers, into Persia, and dispersed in the surrounding countries. Under oppression, the Armenians adhered to their faith; and, addicting themselves to commerce, became, like the Jews in Europe, the merchants and brokers in the different countries to which they resorted.‡ A proportion of them made their way into India, and, by their usual industry and acuteness, acquired that share in the business of the country which was the customary reward of the qualities they displayed. The pecuniary pressure under which the Company at this time laboured, and under which, without ruinous consequences, the increase of patronage could not be pursued, constrained the Directors to look out for economical modes of conducting their trade. They accordingly gave instructions, that, instead of multiplying European agents in India, natives, and especially Armenians, should be employed; "because," to use the words of Mr. Bruce, copying or abridging the letters of the Court, "that people could vend English woollens, by carrying small quantities into the interior provinces, and could collect fine muslins, and other new and valuable articles, suited to the European demands, *better* than any agents of the Company could effect, under any phirmaund or grant which might be eventually purchased."§

* Bruce, iii. 78.

† Ib. 120.

‡ See, in Gibbon, viii. 357 to 360, a train of allusions, as usual, to the history of the Armenians; and in his notes a list of its authors.—The principal facts regarding them, as a religious people, are collected with his usual industry and fidelity by Mosheim, Ecclesiast. Hist. iii. 493, 494, 495, and 412, 413.

§ Bruce, iii. 88.

Book I.
1691.

National and parliamentary proceedings against the Company's monopoly.

The prosperity which the nation had enjoyed, since the death of Charles I., having rendered capital more abundant, the eagerness of the mercantile population to enter into the channel of Indian enterprise and gain had proportionally increased; and the principles of liberty being now better understood, and actuating more strongly the breasts of Englishmen, not only had private adventure, in more numerous instances, surmounted the barriers of the Company's monopoly, but the public in general at last disputed the power of a royal charter, unsupported by Parliamentary sanction, to limit the rights of one part of the people in favour of another, and to debar all but the East India Company from the commerce of India. Applications were made to Parliament for a new system of management in this branch of national affairs; and certain instances of severity, which were made to carry the appearance of atrocity, in the exercise of the powers of martial law assumed by the Company, in St. Helena and other places, served to augment the unfavourable opinion which was now rising against them.*

The views of the House of Commons were hostile to the Company. A committee, appointed to investigate the subject, delivered it as their opinion on the 16th January, 1690, that a new Company should be established, and established by Act of Parliament; but that the present Company should carry on the trade exclusively, till the new Company were established.† The House itself in 1691, addressed the King to dissolve the Company, and incorporate a new one; when the King referred the question to a committee of the Privy Council.‡

Company's virulence against the private traders.

In the mean time the Company proceeded, in a spirit of virulence, to extinguish the hated competition of the general traders. "The Court," says Mr. Bruce, transcribing the instructions of 1691, "continued to act towards their opponents, the interlopers, in the same manner as they had done in the latter years of the two preceding reigns; and granted commissions to all their captains, proceeding this season to India, to seize the interlopers of every description, and to bring them to trial before the Admiralty Court at Bombay;—explaining, that, as they attributed all the differences between the Company and the Indian powers to the interlopers, if they continued their depredations on the subjects of the Mogul or King of Persia, they were to be tried for their lives as

* Bruce, iii. 81; Macpherson's Annals, ii. 648; and Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, iii. 132, who with his usual sagacity brings to view the causes of the principal events in the history of the Company.

† Bruce, iii. 82.

‡ Macpherson's Annals, ii. 648.

pirates, and sentence of death passed; but execution stayed till the King's pleasure should be known."* CHAP. V. 1691.

The cruelty which marks these proceedings is obvious; and would hardly be credible if it were less strongly attested. The Company seized their opponents, and carried them before their own Admiralty Courts, that is, before themselves, to judge and pass sentence in their own cause, and inflict almost any measure of injury which it suited minds, inflamed with all the passions of disappointed avarice and ambition, to perpetrate. They accused their competitors of piracy, or of any other crime they chose; tried them, as they pleased, and sentenced them even to death: as if it were an act of mercy that they did not consign them to the executioner before the royal pleasure was known;—as if that pleasure could be as quickly known, in India, as it could in England;—as if the unfortunate victim might not remain for months and years in the dungeons of the Company, in a climate, where a sentence of imprisonment, for any length of time, to a European constitution, is a sentence of almost certain death; and where he could hardly fail to suffer the pains of many executions beside the ruin of his affairs, in a land of strangers and enemies, even if his wretched life were protracted till his doom, pronounced at the opposite side of the globe, could be known. Mr. Bruce, with his usual alacrity of advocation, says, "This proceeding of the Court rested upon the opinion of the twelve Judges, which was, that the Company had a right to the trade to the East Indies, according to their charter."† Because the Judges said they had a right to the trade to the East Indies, they assumed a right to be judges and executioners of their fellow subjects, in their own cause. This was a bold conclusion. It was impossible that, under any

* Bruce, iii. 102.

† Ib. iii. 103. Sir Josiah Child, as chairman of the Court of Directors, wrote to the Governor of Bombay, to spare no severities to crush their countrymen who invaded the ground of the Company's pretensions in India. The Governor replied, by professing his readiness to omit nothing which lay within the sphere of his power to satisfy the wishes of the Company; but the laws of England unhappily would not let him proceed so far as might otherwise be desirable. Sir Josiah wrote back with anger:—"That he expected his orders were to be his rules, and not the laws of England, which were an heap of nonsense, compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make laws for the good of their own private families, much less for the regulating of Companies, and foreign commerce." (Hamilton's New Account of India, i. 232.) "I am the more particular," adds Captain Hamilton, "on this account, because I saw and copied both those letters in Anno 1696, while Mr. Vaux [the Governor to whom the letters were addressed] and I were prisoners at Surat, on account of Captain Evory's robbing the Mogul's great ship, called the Gunsway." Ib. 233.

Book I. 1693.

colour of justice, the powers of judicature entrusted to the Company, by kingly without parliamentary authority, even if allowed, could be extended beyond their own servants, who voluntarily submitted to their jurisdiction. With regard to the rest of their fellow-subjects, it was surely power enough, if they were permitted to send them to England, to answer for their conduct if challenged, before a tribunal, which had not an overbearing interest in destroying them.

King grants a new charter; but parliament determine that he has not the power.

The King of 1693, like the King of any other period, preferred power in his own hands to power in the hands of the parliament, and would have been pleased to retain without participation the right of making or annulling exclusive privileges of trade. Notwithstanding the resolution of the committee of the House of Commons, that parliament should determine whatever regulations might be deemed expedient for the Indian trade, a new charter was granted by letters patent from the crown, as the proper mode of terminating the present controversies. The principal conditions were, that the capital of the Company, which was 756,000*l.* should be augmented by 744,000*l.*, so as to raise it to 1,500,000*l.*; that their exclusive privileges should be confirmed for twenty one years; that they should export 100,000*l.* of British produce annually; that the title to a vote in the court of Proprietors should be 1000*l.*; and that no more than ten votes should be allowed to any individual.*

The pretensions, however, of the House of Commons brought this important question to a different issue. Towards the close of the very same season, that assembly came to a vote, "that it was the right of all Englishmen to trade to the East Indies, or any part of the world, unless prohibited by act of parliament:"† And William knew his situation too well to dispute their authority.

Pecuniary embarrassments of the Company.

The Company laboured under the most pressing embarrassments. Though their pecuniary difficulties, through the whole course of their history, have been allowed as little as possible to meet the public eye, what we happen to be told of the situation at this time of the Presidency at Surat affords a lively idea of the financial distresses in which they were involved. Instead of eight lacks of rupees, which it was expected would be sent from Bombay to Surat, to purchase goods for the homeward voyage, only three lacks and a half were received. The debt at Surat already amounted to twenty lacks. Yet it was absolutely necessary to borrow money to purchase a cargo for even three ships. A loan of one lack and 80,000 rupees was necessary to complete this small investment. To raise

* Bruce, iii. 133—135. Macpherson's Annals, ii. 649. † Ib. 142.

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this sum, it was necessary to allow to individuals the privileges of the contract which subsisted with the Armenian merchants.* And after all these exertions the money could only be obtained by taking it up on loans from the Company's own servants.†

Company in the habit of bribing men in power.

The Company meanwhile did not neglect the usual corrupt methods of obtaining favours at home. It appeared that they had distributed large sums of money to men in power before obtaining their charter. The House of Commons were at the present period disposed to inquire into such transactions. They ordered the books of the Company to be examined; where it appeared that it had been the practice, and even habit of the Company, to give bribes to men in power; that, previous to the revolution, their annual expense under that head had scarcely ever exceeded 1,200*l.*; that since the revolution it had gradually increased; and that in the year 1693, it had amounted to nearly 90,000*l.* The Duke of Leeds, who was charged with having received a bribe of 5,000*l.*, was impeached by the Commons. But the principal witness against him was sent out of the way, and it was not till nine days after it was demanded by the Lords that a proclamation was issued to stop his flight. Great men were concerned in smothering the inquiry; parliament was prorogued; and the scene was here permitted to close.‡

Piracy.

As the science and art of government were still so imperfect as to be very unequal to the suppression of crimes; and robberies and murders were prevalent even in the best regulated countries in Europe: so depredation was committed on the ocean under still less restraint, and pirates abounded wherever the amount of property at sea afforded an adequate temptation. The fame of Indian riches attracted to the Eastern seas adventurers of all nations; some of them professed pirates; others, men who would have preferred honest trade; though, when they found themselves debarred from this source of profit by the pretensions and power of monopoly, they had no such aversion to piracy as to reject the only other source of which they were allowed to partake. The moderation which, during some few years, the Company had found it prudent to observe in their operations for restraining the resort of private traders to India, had permitted an increase of the predatory adventurers. As vessels belonging to Mogul subjects

* We know not the terms of that contract, nor how a participation in its privileges could be granted to individuals without a breach of faith toward the Armenian merchants.

† Bruce, iii. 167.

‡ Macpherson's Annals, ii. 652, 662; 10,000*l.* is said to have been traced to the King.

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1698.

fell occasionally into the hands of plunderers of the English nation, the Mogul government, too ignorant and headlong to be guided by any but the rudest appearances, held the Company responsible for the misdeeds of their countrymen; and sometimes proceeded to such extremities as to confiscate their goods and confine their servants. The Company, who would have been justified in requiring aid at the hands of government for the remedy of so real a grievance, made use of the occasion as a favourable one for accumulating odium upon the independent traders. They endeavoured to confound them with the pirates. They imputed the piracies in general to the interlopers as they called them. In their complaints to government they represented the interlopers and the depredations of which they said they were the authors, as the cause of all the calamities to which, under the Mogul government, the Company had been exposed. The charge, in truth, of piracy became a general calumny, with which all the different parties in India endeavoured to blacken their competitors; and the Company itself, when the new association of merchants trading to India began to rival them, were as strongly accused of acting the pirates in India, as the individual traders had been by themselves.*

The Company and their rivals bid for the favour of government, by offering it loans.

Such was the situation of the Company in England, and in India, when the influence of the rival association threatened them with destruction. In the year 1698 both parties were urging their pretensions with the greatest possible zeal, when the necessities of the government pointed out to both the project of bribing it by the accommodation of money. The Company offered to lend to government 700,000*l.* at 4 per cent. interest, provided their charter should be confirmed, and the monopoly of India secured to them by act of parliament. Their rivals, knowing on how effectual an expedient they had fallen, resolved to augment the temptation. They offered to advance 2,000,000*l.* at 8 per cent, provided they should be invested with the monopoly free from obligation of trading on a joint-stock, except as they themselves should afterwards desire.†

A bill was introduced into parliament for carrying the project of the new association into execution. And the arguments of the two parties were brought forward in full strength and detail.‡

* Bruce, iii. 146, 186. "Sir Nicolas Waite [Consul of the Association] addressed a letter," says Mr. Bruce, "to the Mogul, accusing the London Company of being sharers and abettors of the piracies, from which his subjects and the trade of his dominions had suffered, or, in the consul's coarse language, *of being thieves and confederates with the pirates.*" Ib. 337.

† Anderson's Hist. Macpherson's Annals, ii. 694. Bruce, iii. 252, 253.

‡ Bruce, iii. 253. Macpherson, ii. 694.

Chap. V. 1698. Arguments of the Company in favour of their charter.

On the part of the existing Company, it was represented; That they possessed charters; that the infringement of charters was contrary to good faith, contrary to justice, and in fact no less imprudent than it was immoral, by destroying that security of engagements on which the industry of individuals and the prosperity of nations essentially depend: That the East India Company, moreover, had property, of which to deprive them would be to violate the very foundation on which the structure of society rests; that they were the Lords-Proprietors, by royal grant, of Bombay and St. Helena; that they had in India at their own expense, and by their own exertions, acquired immoveable property, in lands, in houses, in taxes and duties, the annual produce of which might be estimated at 44,000*l.*: That at great expense they had erected fortifications in various parts of India, by which they had preserved to their country the Indian trade; and had built factories and purchased privileges of great importance to the nation: enterprises to which they could have been induced by nothing but the hope and prospect of national support: That the resources and abilities of the Company were proved by the estimate which was shown of their quick and dead stock: And that a capital of two millions would be raised immediately by subscription: That the project, on the contrary, of the new association made no provision for a determinate stock; and the trade, which experience proved to require an advance of 600,000*l.* annually, might thus be lost to the nation, for want of sufficient capital to carry it on: That justice to individuals, as well as to the public, required the continuance of the charter, as the property and even subsistence of many families, widows, and orphans, was involved in the fate of the Company: In short, that humanity, law, and policy, would be all equally violated by infringing the chartered rights of this admirable institution.*

Of the New Association against it.

The new association replied; That it was no infringement of good faith or justice, to annul, by a legislative act, a charter which was hostile to the interests of the nation; because that would be to say that, if a government has once committed an error, it is not lawful for it to correct itself; it would be indeed to say that, if a nation has once been rendered miserable by erroneous institutions of government, it is never lawful to deliver itself from its misery: That the practical rule of the British government, as many precedents abundantly testified, had accordingly been, to set at nought the pretended inviolability of charters, as often as they were proved to be unprofitable or injurious; that not only had charters been destroyed by act of parliament, but even the judges at

* Bruce, iii. 253. Anderson's History of Commerce; Macpherson, ii. 694, 695.

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law (so little in reality was the respect which had been paid to charters) had often set them aside by their sole authority; on the vague and general ground that the King had been deceived in his grant: That, if any chartered body was entitled to complain of being dissolved, in obedience to the dictates of utility, it was certainly not the East India Company, whose charter had been originally granted, and subsequently renewed, on the invariable condition of being terminated, after three years' notice, if not productive of national advantage: To display the property which the Company had acquired in India, and to pretend that it gave them a right to perpetuity of charter, was nothing less than to insult the supreme authority of the state; by telling it, that, be the limitations what they might, under which the legislature should grant a charter, it was at all times in the power of the chartered body to annul those limitations, and mock the legislative wisdom of the nation, simply by acquiring property: That, if the Company had erected forts and factories, the question still remained, whether they carried on the trade more profitably by their charter than the nation could carry it on if the charter were destroyed: That the nation and its constituted authorities were the sole judge in this controversy; of which the question whether the nation or the Company were most likely to fail in point of capital, no doubt formed a part: That if inconvenience, and in some instances distress, should be felt by individuals, this deserved consideration, and in the balance of goods and evils, ought to be counted to its full amount; but to bring forward the inconvenience of individuals, as constituting in itself a conclusive argument against a political arrangement, is as much as to say that no abuse should be ever remedied; because no abuse is without its profit to somebody, and no considerable number of persons can be deprived of customary profits without inconvenience to most, hardship to many, and distress to some.*

The New Association prevail.

The new associators, though thus strong against the particular pleas of their opponents, were debarred the use of those important arguments which bore upon the principle of exclusion; and which, even in that age, were urged with great force against the Company. They who were themselves endeavouring to obtain a monopoly could not proclaim the evils which it was the nature of monopoly to produce. The legislature, however, regarding as totally destitute of foundation those pretended rights of the Company to a perpetuity of their exclusive privileges, for to that extent did their arguments reach, produced an act, empowering the King to convert the new association into a corporate body, and to bestow

* Bruce, iii. 253, 254. Anderson's History of Commerce; Macpherson, ii. 695.

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upon them the monopoly of the Indian trade. The charters, the property, the privileges, the forts and factories of the Company in India, and their claims of merit with the nation, if not treated with contempt, were at least held inadequate to debar the legislative wisdom of the community from establishing for the Indian trade whatever rules and regulations the interest of the public appeared to require.*

Provisions of the Act in their favour.

The following were the principal provisions of the act: That a sum of two millions should be raised by subscription, for the service of government: that this subscription should be open to natives or foreigners, bodies politic or corporate: that the money so advanced should bear an interest of 8 per cent per annum: that it should be lawful for his Majesty, by his letters patent, to make the subscribers a body politic and corporate, by the name of the "General Society:" that the subscribers severally might trade to the East Indies, each to the amount of his subscription: that if any or all of the subscribers should be willing and desirous, they might be incorporated into a joint-stock Company: that the subscribers to this fund should have the sole and exclusive right of trading to the East Indies: that on three years' notice, after the 29th of September, 1711, and the repayment of the capital of 2,000,000*l.* this act should cease and determine: that the old or London Company, to whom three years' notice were due, should have leave to trade to India till 1701: that their estates should be chargeable with their debts: and that if any further dividends were made before the payment of their debts, the members who received them should be responsible for the debts with their private estates to the amount of the sums thus unduly received.

This measure, of prohibiting dividends while debt is unpaid, or of rendering the Proprietors responsible with their fortunes to the amount of the dividends received, befitted the legislative justice of a nation.

A clause, on the same principle, was enacted with regard to the New Company, that they should not allow their debts at any time to exceed the amount of their capital stock; or, if they did, that every proprietor should be responsible for the debts with his private fortune, to the whole amount of whatever he should have received in the way of dividend or share after the debts exceeded the capital. †

This good policy was little regarded in the sequel.

In conformity with this act a charter passed the great seal, bearing date the 3d of September, constituting the subscribers to the stock of 2,000,000*l.* a body

* Bruce, iii. 255. Macpherson, ii. 696.

† Statute 9 & 10 W. III. c. 44.

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corporate under the name of the "General Society." This charter empowered the subscribers to trade, on the terms of a regulated Company, each subscriber for his own account. The greater part, however, of the subscribers desired to trade upon a joint-stock: and another charter, dated the 5th of the same month, formed this portion of the subscribers, exclusive of the small remainder, into a joint-stock Company, by the name of "the English Company trading to the East Indies." *

Imperfections of the measure.

"In all this very material affair," says Anderson, "there certainly was a strange jumble of inconsistencies, contradictions, and difficulties, not easily to be accounted for in the conduct of men of judgment." † The London Company, who had a right by their charter to the exclusive trade to India till three years after notice, had reason to complain of this injustice that the English Company were empowered to trade to India immediately, while they had the poor compensation of trading for three years along with them. There was palpable absurdity in abolishing one exclusive company only to erect another; when the former had acted no otherwise than the latter would act. Even the departure from joint-stock management, if trade on the principle of individual inspection and personal interest had been looked to as the source of improvement, might have been accomplished, without the erection of two exclusive companies, by only abolishing the joint-stock regulation of the old one. But the chief mark of the ignorance, at that time, of parliament, in the art and science of government, was their abstracting from a trading body, under the name of loan to government, the whole of their trading capital; and expecting them to traffic largely and profitably when destitute of funds. The vast advance to government, the place of which they feebly supplied by credit, beggared the English Company, and ensured their ruin from the first.

Efforts and powers of the Old Company.

The old, or London Company, lost not their hopes. They were allowed to trade for three years on their own charter; and availing themselves of the clause in the act, which permitted corporations to hold stock of the New Company, they resolved to subscribe into this fund as largely as possible, and, under the privilege of private adventure, allowed by the charter of the English Company, to trade separately and in their own name, after the three years of their charter should be expired. The sum which they were enabled to appropriate to this purpose was 315,000*l.* ‡

* Macpherson's Annals, ii. 699. Bruce, iii. 257, 258. Preamble to the Stat. 6. A. c. 17.

† Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, Macpherson, ii. 700.

‡ Bruce, iii. 256, 257. Macpherson, ii. 700. Smith's Wealth of Nations, iii. 133.

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In the instructions to their servants abroad they represented the late measures of parliament as rather the result of the power of a particular party than the fruit of legislative wisdom: "The Interlopers," so they called the New Company, "had prevailed by their offer of having the trade free, and not on a joint-stock;" but they were resolved by large equipments (if their servants would only second their endeavours) to frustrate the speculations of those opponents: "Two East India Companies in England," these are their own words, "could no more subsist without destroying one the other, than two Kings, at the same time regnant in the same kingdom: that now a civil battle was to be fought between the Old and the New Company; and that two or three years must end this war, as the Old or the New must give way: that, being veterans, if their servants abroad would do their duty they did not doubt of the victory: that if the world laughed at the pains the two Companies took to ruin each other they could not help it, as they were on good ground and had a charter."*

Feebleness of the New Association.

When the time arrived for paying the instalments of the subscriptions to the stock of the New Company, many of the subscribers, not finding it easy to raise the money, were under the necessity of selling their shares. They fell to a discount; and the despondency hence arising operated to produce still greater depression.†

The first voyage, which the New Company fitted out, consisted of three ships with a stock of 178,000*l*.‡ To this state of imbecility did the absorption of their capital reduce their operations. The sum to which they were thus limited for commencing their trade but little exceeded the interest which they were annually to receive from government.

Greater strength of the Old Company.

With such means the New Company constituted a very unequal competitor with the Old. The equipments of the Old Company, for the same season, 1698-99, amounted to thirteen sail of shipping, 5,000 tons burthen, and stock estimated at 525,000*l*. Under the difficulties with which they had to contend at home, they resolved by the most submissive and respectful behaviour, as well as by offer of services, to cultivate the favour of the Moguls. Their endeavours were not unsuccessful. They obtained a grant of the towns of Chuttanuttee, Govindpore, and Calcutta, and began, but cautiously, so as not to alarm the native government, to construct a fort. It was denominated Fort William; and the station was constituted a Presidency.§

To secure the advantages to which they looked from their subscription of

* Bruce, iii. 257. † Ib. 259, 260. ‡ Ib. 285. § Ib. 264, 268, 300.

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315,000*l.* into the stock of the English Company, they had sufficient influence to obtain an act of parliament, by which they were continued a corporation, entitled, after the period of their own charter, to trade, on their own account, under the charter of the New Company, to the amount of the stock they had subscribed.*

Effects of the rivalship of the two Companies.

The rivalship of the two Companies produced, in India, all those acts of mutual opposition and hostility, which naturally flowed from the circumstances in which they were placed. They laboured to supplant one another in the good opinion of the native inhabitants and the native governments. They defamed one another. They obstructed the operations of one another. And at last their animosities and contentions broke out into undissembled violence and oppression. Sir William Norris, whom the New Company, with the King's permission, had sent as their Ambassador to the Mogul court, arrived at Surat in the month of December, 1700. After several acts, insulting and injurious to the London Company, whom he accused of obstructing him in all his measures and designs, he seized three of the Council, and delivered them to the Mogul Governor, who detained them till they found security for their appearance. The President and the Council were afterwards, by an order of the Mogul government, put in confinement; and Sir Nicholas Waite, the English Company's Consul at Surat, declared, in his correspondence with the Directors of that Company, that he had solicited this act of severity, because the London Company's servants had used treasonable expressions towards the King; and had made use of their interest with the Governor of Surat to oppose the privileges which the Ambassador of the English Company was soliciting at the court of the Mogul.†

Attempts to form a coalition.

As the injury which these destructive contentions produced to the nation soon affected the public mind, and was deplored in proportion to the imaginary benefits of the trade, an union of the two Companies was generally desired, and strongly recommended. Upon the first depression in the market of the stock of the New Company, an inclination had on their part been manifested towards a coalition. But what disposed the one party to such a measure, suggested the hope of greater advantage, and more complete revenge, to the other, by holding back from it. The King himself, when in March, 1700, he received the Directors of the London Company, on the subject of the act which continued them a corporate body, recommended to their serious consideration an union of the two Companies, as the measure which would most promote

* Bruce, iii. 293, 326, 350.

† Ib. 260 to 370, 374 to 379, 410.

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what they both held out as a great national object, the Indian trade. The Company paid so far respect to the royal authority as to call a General Court of Proprietors for taking the subject into consideration; but after this step they appeared disposed to let the subject rest. Toward the close, however, of the year, the King, by a special message, required to know what proceedings they had adopted in consequence of his advice. Upon this the Directors summoned a General Court, and the following evasive resolution was voted:—"That this Company, as they have always been, so are they still ready to embrace every opportunity by which they may manifest their duty to his Majesty, and zeal for the public good, and that they are desirous to contribute their utmost endeavours for the preservation of the East India trade to this kingdom, and are willing to agree with the New Company upon reasonable terms." The English Company were more explicit; they readily specified the conditions on which they were willing to form a coalition; upon which the London Company proposed that seven individuals on each side should be appointed, to whom the negotiation should be entrusted, and by whom the terms should be discussed.*

As the expiration approached of the three years which were granted to the London Company to continue trade on their whole stock, they became more inclined to an accommodation. In their first proposal they aimed at the extinction of the rival Company. As a committee of the House of Commons had been formed, "to receive proposals for paying off the national debts, and advancing the credit of the nation," they made a proposition to pay off the 2,000,000*l.* which government had borrowed at usurious interest from the English Company, and to hold the debt at five per cent. The proposal, though entertained by the committee, was not relished by the House; and this project was defeated.† The distress, however, in which the Company were now involved, their stock having within the last ten years fluctuated from 300 to 37 per cent.,‡ rendered some speedy remedy indispensable. The committee of seven, which had been proposed in the Answer to the King, was now resorted to in earnest, and was empowered by a General Court, on the 17th April, 1701, to make and receive proposals for the union of the two Companies.

Union effected.

It was the beginning of January, in the succeeding year, before the following general terms were adjusted and approved: That the Court of twenty-four Managers or Directors should be composed of twelve individuals chosen by each Company; that of the annual exports, the amount of which should be fixed by

* Bruce, iii. 290, 293, 355. † Ib. 424.

‡ Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, Macpherson, ii. 705.

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the Court of Managers, a half should be furnished by each Company; that the Court of Managers should have the entire direction of all matters relating to trade and settlements subsequent to this union; but that the factors of each Company should manage separately the stocks which each had sent out previous to the date of that transaction; that seven years should be allowed to wind up the separate concerns of each Company; and that, after that period, one great joint-stock should be formed by the final union of the funds of both. This agreement was confirmed by the General Courts of both Companies on the 27th April, 1702.*

An indenture tripartite, including the Queen and the two East India Companies, was the instrument adopted for giving legal efficacy to the transaction. For equalizing the shares of the two Companies the following scheme was devised. The London Company, it was agreed, should purchase at par as much of the capital of the English Company lent to government, as, added to the 315,000*l.* which they had already subscribed, should render the proportion of each equal. The dead stock of the London Company was estimated at 330,000*l.*; and that of the English Company at 70,000*l.*; upon which the latter paid 130,000*l.* for equalizing the shares of this part of the common estate. On the 22d July, 1702, the indenture passed under the great seal; and the two parties took the common name of *The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies.*†

On the foundation on which the affairs of the two Companies were in this manner placed, they proceeded with considerable jarrings and contention, especially between the functionaries in India, till the season 1707-8, when an event occurred, which necessitated the accommodation of differences, and accelerated

* Bruce, iii. 424 to 426. Of the subtleties which at this time entered into the policy of the Company, the following is a specimen. Sir Basil Firebrace, or Firebrass, a notorious jobber, who had been an interloper, and afterwards joined with the London Company, was now an intriguer for both Companies. At a General Court of the London Company, on the 23d April, 1701, this man stated, that he had a scheme to propose, which he doubted not would accomplish the union desired; but required to know what recompense should be allowed him, if he effected this important point. By an act of the Court, the committee of seven were authorized to negotiate with Sir Basil, the recompense which he ought to receive. The committee, after repeated conferences with the gentleman, proposed to the Court of Committees, that if he effected the union, 150,000*l.* of the stock of the Company should be transferred to him on his paying 80*l.* per cent. In other words, he was to receive 20 per cent. on 150,000*l.*, or a reward of 30,000*l.* for the success of his intrigues. Ibid. See also Macpherson, ii. 663.

† Bruce, iii. 486 to 491.

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the completion of the union. A loan of 1,200,000*l.*, without interest, was exacted of the two Companies for the use of government. The recollection of what had happened, when the body of private adventurers were formed into the English East India Company, made them dread the offers of a new body of adventurers, should any difficulty on their part be found to exist. It was necessary, therefore, that the two Companies should lay aside all separate views, and cordially join their endeavours to avert the common danger.

Union effected on the award of Godolphin.

It was at last agreed, that all differences subsisting between them should be submitted to the arbitration of the Earl of Godolphin, then Lord High Treasurer of England; and that the union should be rendered complete and final upon the award which he should pronounce. On this foundation, the act, 6th Anne, ch. 17, was passed; enacting that a sum of 1,200,000*l.* without interest should be advanced by the United Company to government, which, being added to the former advance of 2,000,000*l.* at 8 per cent. interest, constituted a loan of 3,200,000*l.* yielding interest at the rate of 5 per cent. upon the whole; that to raise this sum of 1,200,000*l.* the Company should be empowered to borrow to the extent of 1,500,000*l.* on their common seal, or to call in moneys to that extent from the Proprietors; that this sum of 1,200,000*l.* should be added to their capital stock; that instead of terminating on three years' notice after the 29th of September, 1711, their privileges should be continued till three years notice after the 25th of March, 1726, and till repayment of their capital; that the stock of the separate adventurers of the General Society, amounting to 7,200*l.*, which had never been incorporated into the joint-stock of the English Company, might be paid off, on three years' notice after the 29th of September, 1711, and merged in the joint-stock of the United Company; and that the award of the Earl of Godolphin, settling the terms of the Union, should be binding and conclusive on both parties.*

The award of Godolphin was dated and published on the 29th of September, 1708. It referred solely to the winding up of the concerns of the two Companies; and the blending of their separate properties into one stock, on terms equitable to both. As the assets or effects of the London Company in India fell short of the debts of that concern, they were required to pay by instalments to the United Company the sum of 96,615*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*: and as the effects of the English Company in India exceeded their debts, they were directed to receive from the United Company the sum of 66,005*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*; the debt due by Sir

* Bruce, iii. 635 to 639; Stat. 6 A. c. 17.

Book I. 1708.

Edward Littleton in Bengal, viz. 80,437 rupees and 8 anas, remaining to be discharged by the English Company on their own account. On these terms the whole of the property and debts of both Companies abroad became the property and debts of the United Company. With regard to the debts of both Companies in Britain, it was in general ordained that they should all be discharged before the 1st of March, 1709; and as those of the London Company amounted to the sum of 399,795*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* they were empowered to call upon their Proprietors, by three several instalments, for the means of liquidation.*

As the intercourse of the English nation with the people of India was destined now to become, by a very rapid progress, both extremely intimate, and extremely extensive, it will be necessary for the understanding of the subsequent proceedings that a full account should be rendered of the character and circumstances of the men whom these proceedings peculiarly regarded.

The population of those great countries consisted chiefly of two races; one, which may be here called the Hindu race; another, which may be called the Mahomedan race. The first were the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. The latter were subsequent invaders; and insignificant, in point of number, compared with the first.

The next two Books will be devoted to the purpose of laying before the reader all that appears to be useful in what is known concerning both these classes of the Indian people. To those who delight in tracing the phenomena of human nature, in all, particularly the more remarkable, combinations of circumstances; as well as to those who only desire to know completely the foundation upon which the actions of the British people have proceeded in India, this will not appear the least interesting department of the work.

* Bruce, iii. 667 to 679. Macpherson, iii. 1, 2.

BOOK II.

OF THE HINDUS.

CHAP. I.

Chronology and Ancient History of the Hindus.

RUDE nations seem to derive a peculiar gratification from pretensions to a high antiquity.* As a boastful and turgid vanity distinguishes remarkably the oriental nations, they have in most instances carried their claims to the most extravagant height. We are informed in a curious fragment of Chaldaic history, that there were written accounts preserved at Babylon with the greatest care, comprehending a term of fifteen myriads of years.† The pretended du-

* Mr. Gibbon remarks, (Hist. Decl. and Fall of the Roman Empire, i. 350,) that the wild Irishman, as well as the wild Tartar, can point out the individual son of Japhet from whose loins his ancestors were lineally descended.—According to Dr. Keating (History of Ireland, 13), the giant Partholanus, who was the son of Seara, the son of Esra, the son of Sru, the son of Framant, the son of Fathaclan, the son of Magog, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah, landed on the coast of Munster, the 14th day of May, in the year of the world 1978.—The legends of England are no less instructive. A fourth or sixth son of Japhet, named Samothes, having first colonized Gaul, passed over into this island, which was thence named Samothia, about 200 years after the flood; but the Samothians being some generations afterwards subdued by Albion, a giant son of Neptune, he called the island after his own name, and ruled it forty-four years. See the story, with some judicious reflections, in Milton's History of England (Prose Works of Milton, iv. 3. Ed. 1806.) " The Athenians boasted that they were as ancient as the sun. The Arcadians pretended they were older than the moon. The Lacedemonians called themselves the sons of the earth, &c. such in general was the madness of the ancients on this subject! They loved to lose themselves in an abyss of ages which seemed to approach eternity." Goguet, Origin of Laws, v. i. b. 1. ch. 1, art. 5. See the authorities there quoted.

† Eusebii Chronicon, p. 5. Syncelli Chronograph. p. 28. Bryant's Ancient Mythology, iv. 127, 8vo edit.

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ration of the Chinese monarchy is still more extraordinary. A single king of Egypt was believed to have reigned three myriads of years.*

The Hindu yugs.

The present age of the world, according to the system of the Hindus, is distinguished into four grand periods, denominated yugs. The first is the Satya yug, comprehending 1,728,000 years; the second the Treta yug, comprehending 1,296,000 years; the third the Dwapar yug, including 864,000 years; and the fourth the Cali yug, which will extend to 432,000 years. Of these periods the first three are expired, and in the year 1817 of the Christian era, 4911 years of the last. From the commencement, therefore, of the Satya yug, to the present time, is comprehended a space of 3,892,911 years, the antiquity to which this people lay claim.†

* Syncelli Chronicon, p. 51. Herodotus informs us, (lib. ii. c. 2,) that the Egyptians considered themselves as the most ancient of mankind, till an experiment made by Psammetichus convinced them that the Phrygians alone preceded them. But the inhabitants of the further Peninsula of India make the boldest incursions into the regions of ancient time. The Burmans, we are informed by Dr. Buchanan, (As. Res. vi. 181,) believe that the lives of the first inhabitants of their country lasted one *assenchii*, a period of time of which they thus communicate an idea: "If for three years it should rain incessantly over the whole surface of this earth, which is, 1,203,400 juzana in diameter, the number of drops of rain falling in such a space and time, although far exceeding human conception, would only equal the number of years contained in one assenchii."

† Sir William Jones's Discourse on the Chronology of the Hindus, (As Res. ii. 111, 8vo Ed;) also that on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India, (Ibid i. 221.)—See too Mr. Bentley's Remarks on the principal Eras and Dates of the ancient Hindus, (Ibid v. 315); and the Discourse of Capt. F. Wilford on the Chronology of the Hindus, in the same volume, p. 24.—Consult also Mr. Marsden's Discourse on the chronology of the Hindus, (Phil. Trans. lxxx. 568.) These authors, having all drawn from the same sources, display an appearance of uniformity and certainty in this part of the Hindu system. It is amusing to contemplate the wavering results of their predecessors. Mr. Halhed, in the preface to his Translation of the Code of Gentoo Laws, thus states the number of years, and thus spells the names of the epochs; 1. The Suttee Jogue, 3,200,000 years; 2. the Tirtah Jogue, 2,400,000 years; 3. the Dwapaar Jogue, 1, 600,000; 4. the Collee Jogue, 400,000.—Colonel Dow marks the Suttee Jogue at 14,000,000; the Tirtah Jogue at 1,080,000; the Dwapaar Jogue, 72,000; and the Collee Jogue, 36,000 years. (History of Hindostan, i. 2.)—M. Bernier, whose knowledge of India was so extensive and accurate, gives, on the information of the Brahmens of Benares, the Satya yug at 2,500,000 years, the Treta at 1,200,000, the Dwapar at 864,000, and assigns no period to the Cali yug. (Voyages, ii. 160.)—Messrs. Roger and le Gentil, who received their accounts from the Brahmens of the coast of Coromandel, coincide with Sir William Jones, except that they specify no duration for the Cali yug. (Porte Ouverte, p. 179; Mem. de l'Academ. des Sciences pour 1772, tom. ii. part 1. p. 17.)—The account of Anquetil Duperron agrees in every particular with that of Sir W. Jones; Recherches Historiques et Geographiques sur l'Inde, Lettre sur les Antiquitès de l'Inde.—The four ages of the Mexicans

The contempt with which judicious historians now treat the historical fables of early society must be indulged with caution when we explore the ancient condition of Hindustan; because the legendary tales of the Hindus have hitherto among European inquirers been regarded with particular respect; and because, without a knowledge of them, much of what has been written in Europe concerning the people of India cannot be understood.* It is necessary, therefore, to relate, that at the commencement of the Satya yug, or 3,892,911 years ago, lived Satyavrata, otherwise denominated Vaivaswata, and also the seventh Menu. He had escaped with his family from an universal deluge, which had destroyed

bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the Hindus, and of so many other nations. "All the nations of Anahuac (says Clavigero, History of Mexico, B. vi. sect. 24,) distinguished four ages of time by as many suns. The first, named Atonatiuh, that is, the sun (or the age) of water, commenced with the creation of the world, and continued until the time at which all mankind perished in a general deluge along with the first sun. The second, Tlaltonatiuh, the age of earth, lasted from the deluge until the ruin of the giants, &c. The third, Ehécatonatiuh, the age of air, lasted from the destruction of the giants till the great whirlwinds, &c. The fourth, Tletonatiuh, commenced at the last-mentioned catastrophe, and is to last till the earth be destroyed by fire.

* The reader will by and bye be prepared to determine for himself how far the tales of the Brahmens deserve exemption from the sentence which four great historians have, in the following passages, pronounced on the fanciful traditions of early nations. "The curiosity," says Mr. Hume, "entertained by all civilized nations, of inquiring into the exploits and adventures of their ancestors, commonly excites a regret that the history of remote ages should always be so much involved in obscurity, uncertainty, and contradiction. * * * The fables which are commonly employed to supply the place of true history ought entirely to be disregarded; or, if any exception be admitted to this general rule, it can only be in favour of the ancient Grecian fictions, which are so celebrated and so agreeable, that they will ever be the objects of the attention of mankind." (Hume's History of England, i. ch. 1.)—"Nations," says Robertson, "as well as men, arrive at maturity by degrees, and the events which happened during their infancy or early youth cannot be recollected, and deserve not to be remembered. * * * Every thing beyond that short period, to which well-attested annals reach, is obscure; an immense space is left for invention to occupy; each nation, with a vanity inseparable from human nature, hath filled that void with events calculated to display its own antiquity and lustre. And history, which ought to record truth, and teach wisdom, often sets out with retailing fictions and absurdities." (Robertson's History of Scotland, i. b. 1.)—Mr. Gibbon, speaking of a people (the Arabians) who in traditions and antiquity bear some resemblance to the Hindus, says, "I am ignorant, and I am careless, of the blind mythology of the Barbarians." (History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ix. 244, 8vo edit.) Of a people still more remarkably resembling the Hindus, he says, "We may observe, that after an ancient period of fables, and a long interval of darkness, the modern histories of Persia begin to assume an air of truth with the dynasty of the Sassanides." (Ib. i. 341.)—Quæ ante conditam condendamve urbem, poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec affirmare nec refellere in animo est. *Livii Prefat.*

BOOK II. the rest of the human species.* Of his descendants were two royal branches: the one denominated the children of the sun; the other the children of the moon. The first reigned at Ayodhya or Owde; the second at Pratisht'hana or Vitora. These families or dynasties subsisted till the thousandth year of the present or Cali yug, at which time they both became extinct; and a list of the names of the successive princes is presented in the Sanscrit books.†

Satyavrata, the primitive sire, prolonged his existence and his reign through the whole period of the Satya yug, or 1,728,000 years.‡ From this patriarchal monarch are enumerated, in the solar line of his descendants, fifty-five princes, who inherited the sovereignty till the time of Rama. Now it is agreed among all the Brahmens that Rama filled the throne of Ayodhya at the end of the Treta yug. The reigns, therefore, of these 55 princes, extending from the beginning to the end of that epoch, filled 1,296,000 years, which, at a medium, is more than 23,000 years to each reign. During the next, or Dwapar yug, of 864,000 years, twenty-nine princes are enumerated, who must, at an average, have reigned each 29,793 years. From the beginning of the present, or Cali yug to the time when the race of solar princes became extinct, are reckoned 1000 years, and thirty princes. There is a wonderful change therefore in the last age, in which only thirty-three years, at a medium, are assigned to a reign.§

* The coincidence in the tradition respecting Satyavrata and the history of Noah, are very remarkable, and will be further noticed hereafter.

† Sir Wm. Jones, As. Res. ii. 119, 120, 127.

‡ Sir Wm. Jones, Ib. 126. He was the son of Surya (or *Sol*), the son of Casyapa (or *Uranus*), the son of Marichi (or *Light*), the son of Brahma, "which is clearly," says Sir Wm. Jones, "an allegorical pedigree." The Hindu pedigrees and fables, however, being very variable, he is, in the opening of the fourth book of the Gita, called, not the son of the Sun, but the Sun himself. Sir Wm. Jones, (Ib. 117.) In a celestial pedigree the Hindus agree with other rude nations. There is a curious passage in Plato respecting the genealogy of the Persian Kings. They were descended, he says, from Achœmenes, sprung from Perseus the son of Zeus (Jupiter.) Plat. Alcib. i.

§ Compare the list of princes in the several yugs, exhibited in the Discourse of Sir Wm. Jones, As. Res. ii. 128 to 136, with the assigned duration of the yugs. The lineage of the lunar branch, who reigned in Pratisht'hana, or Vitora, during exactly the same period, is in all respects similar, excepting that the number of princes, in the first two ages, is in this line fewer by fifteen than in the line of solar princes. From this it has been supposed that a chasm must exist in the genealogy of those princes. But surely without sufficient reason; since, if we can admit that eighty-five princes in the solar line could outlive the whole third and fourth ages, amounting to 2,160,000 years, we may without much scruple allow that seventy princes in the lunar could extend through the same period.

Beside the two lines of solar and lunar Kings, a different race, who reigned in Magadha or Bahar, commence with the fourth age. Of these, twenty in regular descent from their ancestor Jarasandha extended to the conclusion of the first thousand years of the present yug, and were cotemporary with the last thirty princes of the solar and lunar race.* At the memorable epoch of the extinction of those branches, the house of Jarasandha also failed; for the reigning prince was slain by his prime minister, who placed his son Pradyota on the throne. Fifteen of the decendants of this usurper enjoyed the sovereignty, and reigned from the date of his accession 498 years, to the time of Nanda, the last prince of the house of Pradyota. He, after a reign of 100 years, was murdered by a Brahman, who raised to the throne a man of the Maurya race, named Chandragupta. This prince is reckoned, by our Oriental antiquarians, the same with Sandracottos or Sandracuptos, the cotemporary of Alexander the Great. Only nine princes of his line succeeded him, and held the sceptre for 137 years. On the death of the last, his commander in chief ascended the throne, and together with nine descendants, to whom he transmitted the sovereignty, reigned 112 years. After that period the reigning prince was killed, and succeeded by his minister Vasudeva. Of his family only four princes are enumerated; but they are said to have reigned 345 years. The throne was next usurped by a race of Sudras, the first of whom slew his master, and seized the government. Twenty-one of this race, of whom Chandrabija was the last, reigned during a space of 456 years.† The conclusion of the reign of this prince corresponds therefore with the year 2648 of the Cali yug, and with the year 446 before the birth of Christ.‡ And with him, according to Sir William Jones, closes the authentic system of Hindu chronology.§

* The reigns of those princes, therefore, must have been fifty years at an average.

† As. Res. ii. 137 to 142.

‡ According to the Brahmens, 4911 years of the Cali yug were elapsed in the beginning of April, A. D. 1817, from which deducting 2648 the year of the Cali yug in which the reign of Chandrabija terminated, you have 2263, the number of years which have intervened since that period, and which carry it back to 446 years before Christ.

§ As. Res. ii. 142, 3.—We have been likewise presented with a genealogical table of the great Hindu dynasties by Captain Wilford, (As. Res. v. 241,) which he says is faithfully extracted from the Vishnu Purana, the Bhagavat, and other Puranas, and which, on the authority of numerous MSS. which he had collated, and of some learned Pundits of Benares whom he had consulted, he exhibits as the only genuine chronological record of Indian history which had yet come to his knowledge. But this differs in numerous particulars from that of the learned Pundit Radhacant, exhibited by Sir William Jones, and which Sir William says, "that Radhacant had diligently

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It is a most suspicious circumstance, in the pretended records of a nation, when we find positive statements for a regular, and immense series of years in the remote abyss of time, but are entirely deserted by them when we descend to the ages more nearly approaching our own. Where annals are real, they become circumstantial in proportion as they are recent; where fable stands in the place of fact, the times over which the memory has any influence are rejected, and the imagination riots in those in which it is unrestrained. While we receive accounts, the most precise and confident, regarding the times of remote antiquity, not a name of a prince in after ages is presented in Hindu records. A great prince, named Vicramaditya, is said to have extended widely his conquests and dominion, and to have reigned at Magadha 396 years after Chandrabija. From that time even fiction is silent.* We hear no more of the Hindus and their transactions, till the era of Mahomedan conquest; when the Persians alone become our instructors.

After the contempt with which the extravagant claims to antiquity of the Chaldeans and Egyptians had always been treated in Europe, the love of the marvellous is curiously illustrated by the respect which has been paid to the chronology of the Hindus.† We received, indeed, the accounts of the Hindu chronology, not from the incredulous historians of Greece and Rome, but from men who had seen the people; whose imagination had been powerfully affected by the spectacle of a new system of manners, arts, institutions, and ideas; who naturally expected to augment the opinion of their own consequence by the

collected from several Puranas." Thus it appears that there is not even a steady and invariable tradition or fiction on this subject; At the same time that the table of Captain Wilford removes none of the great difficulties which appear in that of Sir W. Jones. The most remarkable difference is exhibited in the line of the solar princes, whose genealogy Captain Wilford has taken from the Ramayan, as being, he thinks, consistent with the ancestry of Arjuna and Crishna, while that given by Sir William Jones and Radhacant, he says, is not.—The reader may also compare the *Rajuturungu*, a history of the Hindus, compiled byMrityoonjuyu, the head Sanscrit Pundit in the College of Fort William; translated and published, in the first volume of "An Account of the Writings, Religion, and Manners of the Hindus," by Mr. Ward, printed at Serampore, in four volumes, 4to. 1811.

* Sir Wm. Jones, As. Res. ii. 142.

† Mr. Halhed seems in his pref. to Code of Gent. Laws, to be very nearly reconciled to the Hindu chronology: at any rate he thinks the believers in the Jewish accounts of patriarchal longevity have no reason to complain, p. xxxvii. He has since, however, made a confession at second hand, of an alteration in his belief as to the antiquity of the Hindus. See Maurice's Hist. of Hindostan, i. 88.

greatness of the wonders which they had been favoured to behold; and whose astonishment, admiration, and enthusiasm, for a time, successfully propagated themselves. The Hindu statements, if they have not, perhaps in any instance, gained a literal belief, have almost universally been regarded as very different from the fictions of an unimproved and credulous people, and entitled to a very serious and profound investigation. Yet they are not only carried to the wildest pitch of extravagance, but are utterly inconsistent both with themselves and with other established opinions of the Brahmens.

Of this a single specimen will suffice. The character which the Brahmens assign to the several yugs is a remarkable part of their system. The Satya yug is distinguished by the epithet of golden; The Treta yug by that of silver; The Dwapar yug by that of copper; And the Cali yug is denominated earthen.* In these several ages the virtue, the life, and the stature of man exhibited a remarkable diversity. In the Satya yug, the whole race were virtuous and pure; the life of man was 100,000 years; and his stature 21 cubits. In the Treta yug, one third of mankind were corrupt; and human life was reduced to 10,000 years. One half of the human race were depraved in the Dwapar yug, and 1000 years bounded the period of life. In the Cali yug, all men are corrupt, and human life is restricted to 100 years.† But though in the Satya yug men lived only 100,000 years, Satyavrata, according to the chronological fiction, reigned 1,728,000 years; in the Treta yug, human life extended only to 10,000 years, yet fifty-five princes reigned, at a medium, more than 23,000 years each; in the Dwapar yug, though the life of man was reduced to 1,000 years, the duration of the reigns was even extended, for twenty-nine princes in this period held the sceptre each for 29,793 years.‡

* See Sir Wm. Jones, Discourse on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India, As. Res. i. 236. The similarity between the Hindu description of the four yugs, and that of the four ages of the world by the Greeks, cannot escape attention. We shall have occasion to notice many other very striking marks of affinity between their several systems.

† I have followed Mr. Halhed in the number of years (see Preface to Code of Gentoo Laws), though a derivative authority, because his statement is the highest; and by consequence the least unfavourable to the consistency of the Hindu chronology. In the Institutes of Menu, (ch. i. 83,) human life for the Satya yug is stated at 400 years, for the Treta yug at 300, the Dwapar 200, and the Cali yug at 100 years.

‡ There is a very remarkable coincidence between the number of years specified in this Hindu division of time, and a period marked in a very curious fragment of the Chaldean history. The Cali yug, it appears from the text, amounts to 432,000 years, and the aggregate of the four yugs, which the Hindus call a Maha yug, or great yug, amounts to a period expressed by the same figures, increased by the addition of a cipher, or 4,320,000. Now Berosus informs us, that the

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The Hindu legends not reconcilable with any order of real events.

The wildness and inconsistency of the Hindu statements evidently place them beyond the sober limits of truth and history; yet it has been imagined, if their literal acceptation must of necessity be renounced, that they at least contain a poetical or figurative delineation of real events, which ought to be studied for the truths which it may disclose. The labour and ingenuity, however, which have been bestowed upon this inquiry, unfortunately have not been attended with an adequate reward. No suppositions, however gratuitous, have sufficed to establish a consistent theory. Every explanation has failed. The Hindu legends still present a maze of unnatural fictions, in which a series of real events can by no artifice be traced.*

The internal evidence, indeed, which they display afforded from the beginning the strongest reason to anticipate this result. The offspring of a wild and ungoverned imagination, they bear the strongest marks of a rude and credulous people, whom the marvellous delights, who cannot estimate the use of a record of past events, and whom the real occurrences of life are too tame to interest.†

first king of Chaldea was Alorus, who reigned ten sari, that a sarus is 3,600 years; that the first ten kings, whose reigns seem to have been accounted a great era, reigned 120 sari, which compose exactly 432,000 years, the Hindu period. See Eusebii Chronic. p. 5. where this fragment of Berosus is preserved; Syncelli Chronograph. p. 28. See also Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology, iii. 95 to 126, for a most learned and ingenious commentary on this interesting fragment.

* A learned author pronounces them inferior even to the legends of the Greeks, as evidence of primeval events. " Oriental learning is now employed in unravelling the mythology of India, and recommending it as containing the seeds of primeval history; but hitherto we have seen nothing that should induce us to relinquish the authorities we have been used to respect, or make us prefer the fables of the Hindus or Guebres to the fables of the Greeks." Vincent, Periplus of the Erithrean Sea, Part i. 9. It may be added that, if the Greeks, the most accomplished people of antiquity, have left us so imperfect an account of the primitive state of their own country, little is to be expected from nations confessedly and remarkably inferior to them.

† That propensity, which so universally distinguishes rude nations, and forms so remarkable a characteristic of uncivilized society—of filling the ages that are past with fabulous events and personages, and of swelling every thing beyond the limits of nature, may be easily accounted for. Every passion and sentiment of a rude people is apt to display itself in wild and extravagant effects. National vanity follows the example of the other passions, and indulges itself, unrestrained by knowledge, in such fictions as the genius of each people inspires. *Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbium augustiora faciat.* (Liv. Pref.) Of an accurate record of antecedent events, yielding lessons for the future, by the experience of the past, uncultivated minds are not sufficiently capable of reflection to know the value. The real occurrences of life, familiar and insipid, appear too mean and insignificant to deserve to be remembered. They excite no surprise, and gratify no vanity. Every thing, however, which is extraordinary and marvellous, inspires the deepest curiosity and interest. While men are yet too ignorant to have ascertained with any accuracy the boundaries of nature, every thing of this sort meets

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To the monstrous period of years, which the legends of the Hindus involve, they ascribe events the most extravagant and unnatural. Even these are not connected in chronological series; but are a number of independent and incredible fictions. This people, indeed, are perfectly destitute of historical records.* Their ancient literature affords not a single production to which the historical character belongs. The works in which the miraculous transactions of former times are described, are poems. Most of them are books of a religious character, in which the exploits of the gods, and their commands to mortals, are repeated or revealed. In all, the actions of men and those of deities are mixed together in a set of legends more absurd and extravagant, more transcending the bounds of nature and of reason, less grateful to the imagination and taste of a cultivated and rational people, than those which the fabulous history of any other nation presents to us. The Brahmens are the most audacious, and perhaps the most unskilful fabricators, with whom the annals of fable have yet made us acquainted.†

Contact between the Hindus, and the ancient nations of Europe.

The people of Hindustan and the ancient nations of Europe came in contact at a single point. The expedition of Alexander the Great began, and in some

with a ready belief; it conveys uncommon pleasure; the faculty of inventing is thus encouraged; and fables are plentifully multiplied. It may be regarded as in some degree remarkable, that, distinguished as all rude nations are for this propensity, the people of the East have far surpassed the other races of men in the extravagance of their legends. The Babylonians, the Arabians, the Syrians, the Egyptians, have long been subject to the contempt of Europeans, for their proneness to invent and believe miraculous stories. Lucian deems it a sarcasm, the bitterness of which would be universally felt, when he says of an author, infamous for the incredible stories which he had inserted in his history, that he had attained this perfection in lying, though he had never associated with a Syrian. (Quom. Cons. Hist.) The scanty fragments which have reached us of the histories of those other nations, have left us but little acquainted with the particular fables of which they compose their early history. But our more intimate acquaintance with the people of southern Asia has afforded us an ample assortment of their legendary stores.

* "There is no known history of Hindoostan (that rests on the foundation of Hindu materials or records) extant, before the period of the Mahomedan conquests." Rennel's Memoir, Introduction, xl. The Hindus have no ancient civil history, nor had the Egyptians any work purely historical. Wilford, on Egypt and the Nile, As. Res. iii. 296.

† If the authority of a Sanscrit scholar be wanted to confirm this harsh decision, we may adduce that of Captain Wilford, who in his Discourse on Egypt and the Nile, As. Res. iii. 29, thus expresses himself: "The mythology of the Hindus is often inconsistent and contradictory, and the same tale is related many different ways. Their physiology, astronomy, and history, are involved in allegories and enigmas, which cannot but seem extravagant and ridiculous; nor could any thing render them supportable, but a belief that most of them have a recondite meaning; though many of them had, perhaps, no firmer basis than the heated imagination of deluded

Book II. sense ended, their connexion. Even of this event, so recent and remarkable, the Hindus have no record; they have not a tradition that can with any certainty be traced to it. Some particulars in their mythological stories have by certain European inquirers been *supposed* to refer to the transactions of Alexander, but almost any part as well as another of these unnatural legends may with equal propriety receive the same destination.* The information which we have received of the Grecian invasion from the Greeks themselves is extremely scanty and defective. The best of their writings on the subject have been lost, but we have no reason to suppose that their knowledge of the Hindus was of much value. The knowledge of the modern Europeans continued very superficial and imperfect after they had enjoyed a much longer and closer intercourse with them than that of the Greeks. In fact, it was not till they had studied the Indian languages that they acquired the means of full and accurate information. But the Greeks, who despised every foreign language, made no exception in favour of the sacred dialect of the Hindus, and we may rest satisfied that the writings of Megasthenes and others contained few particulars by which our knowledge of the Brahmenical history could be improved.†

From the scattered hints contained in the writings of the Greeks, the conclu-

fanatics, or of hypocrites interested in the worship of some particular deity. Should a key to their eighteen Puranas exist, it is more than probable that the wards of it would be too intricate, or too stiff with the rust of time, for any useful purpose."

"The Hindu systems of geography, chronology, and history, are all equally monstrous and absurd." Wilford on the Chronol. of the Hindus, As. Res. v. 241.

Another Oriental scholar of some eminence, Mr. Scott Waring, says, in his Tour to Sheeraz, p. iv. "that the Hindu mythology and history appear to be buried in impenetrable darkness."

* Dr. Robertson (Disquis. concerning Anc. India, note viii. p. 301) says, "That some traditional knowledge of Alexander's invasion of India is still preserved in the northern provinces of the Peninsula is manifest from several circumstances." But these circumstances, when he states them, are merely such as this, that a race of Rajahs claim to be descended from Porus, or rather from a prince of a name distantly resembling Porus, which European inquirers *conjecture* may be the same. The other circumstance is, that a tribe or two, on the borders of ancient Bactria, *are said* to represent themselves as the descendants of some Greeks left there by Alexander. The modern Hindus, who make it a point to be ignorant of nothing, pretend, when told of the expedition of Alexander, to be well acquainted with it, and say, "That he fought a great battle with the Emperor of Hindoostan near Delhi, and, though victorious, retired to Persia across the northern mountains: so that the remarkable circumstance of his sailing down the Indus, in which he employed many months, is sunk altogether." Major Rennel, Memoir, p. xl.

† It affords a confirmation of this, that the Greeks have left us no accounts, in any degree satisfactory, of the manners and institutions of the ancient Persians, with whom they had so extended an intercourse; or of the manners and institutions of the Egyptians, whom they admired so much, and to whom their philosophers resorted for wisdom.

sion has been drawn that the Hindus, at the time of Alexander's invasion, were in a state of manners, society, and knowledge, exactly the same with that in which they were discovered by the nations of modern Europe; nor is there any reason for contradicting this opinion. It is certain that the few features of which we have any description from the Greeks bear no inaccurate resemblance to those which are witnessed at present. From this, from the state of improvement in which the Indians remain, and from the stationary condition in which their institutions first, and then their manners and character, have a tendency to fix them, it is no unreasonable supposition that they have presented a very uniform appearance from the visit of the Greeks to that of the English. Their annals, however, from that era till the period of the Mahomedan conquests, are a perfect blank.

Resources for the ancient history of the Hindus.

With regard to the ancient history of India we are still not without resources. The meritorious researches of the modern Europeans, who have explored the institutions, the laws, the manners, the arts, occupations and maxims of this ancient people, have enabled philosophy to draw the picture of society which they have presented through a long revolution of years. We cannot describe the lives of their Kings, or the circumstances and results of a train of battles. But we can show how they lived together as members of the community, and of families; how they were arranged in society; what arts they practised, what tenets they believed, what manners they displayed; under what species of government they existed; and what character as human beings they possessed. This is by far the most useful and important part of history; and if it be true, as an acute and eloquent historian has remarked, "that the sudden, violent, and unprepared revolutions incident to barbarians, are so much guided by caprice, and terminate so often in cruelty, that they disgust us by the uniformity of their appearance, and it is rather fortunate for letters that they are buried in silence and oblivion,"* we have perhaps but little to regret in the total absence of Hindu records.†

* Hume's Hist. of England, i. 2.

† Tout homme de bon entendement, sans voir une histoire, peut presque imaginer de quelle humeur fut un peuple, lorsqu'il lit ses anciens statuts et ordonnances; et d'un meme jugement peut tirer en conjecture quelles furent ses loix voyant sa maniere de vivre. Etienne Pasquier' Recherches de la France, liv. iv. ch. 1. The sage President de Goguet, on a subject remarkably similar, thus expresses himself: "The dates and duration of the reigns of the ancient kings of Egypt are subject to a thousand difficulties, which I shall not attempt to resolve. In effect it is of little importance to know the number of their dynasties, and the names of their sovereigns. It is far more essential to understand the laws, arts, sciences, and customs of a nation, which all antiquity has regarded as a model of wisdom and virtue. These are the objects I propose to exa-

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State of human nature, in a great country, inabited by a small number of men.

Whatever theory we adopt with regard to the origin of mankind, and the first peopling of the world, it is natural to suppose, that countries were at first inhabited by a very small number of people. When a very small number of people inhabit a boundless country, and have intercourse only with themselves, they are by necessary consequence barbarians. If one family, or a small number of families, are under the necessity of providing for themselves all the commodities which they consume, they can have but few accommodations, and these imperfect and rude. The exigencies of life are too incessant, and too pressing, to allow time or inclination for the prosecution of knowledge. The very ideas of law and government, which suppose a large society, have no existence. In these circumstances men are, unavoidably, ignorant and unrefined; and if much pressed with difficulties, they become savage and brutal.*

mine, with all the care and exactness I am capable of." Origin of Laws, Part I. Book I. ch. i. art. 4.

* There is a remarkable passage in Plato, at the beginning of the third book De Legibus, in which he describes the effects which would be produced on a small number of men, left alone in the world, or some uncultivated part of it. He is describing the situation of a small number of persons left alive by a flood which had destroyed the rest of mankind—῾Οι τοτε περιφυγοντες την φθοραν σχεδον ορειοι τινες αν ειεν νομεις, εν κορυφαις που σμικρα ζωπυρα του των ανθρωπων γενους διασεσωσμενα.—Και δη τους τοιουτους γε αναγκη που των αλλων απειρους ειναι τεχνων, και των εν τοις αστεσι προς αλληλους μηχανων.—Ουκουν οργανα τε παντα απολλυσθαι, και ει τι τεχνης ην εχομενον σπουδαιας ἑυρημενον, η πολιτικης, η και σοφιας τινος ἑτερας, παντα ερρειν ταυτα εν τῳ τοτε χρονῳ φησομεν. (Plat. p. 804.) The Hindus appear to have had similar opinions, though without the reasons.

" We read in the Mahad-himalaya-c'handa, that after a deluge, from which very few of the human race were preserved, men became ignorant and brutal, without arts or sciences, and even without a regular language." Wilford on Egypt and the Nile, Asiat. Res. iii. 394.

There is nothing more remarkable in the traditions of nations, than their agreement respecting the origin of the present inhabitants of the globe. The account of the deluge in the religious books of the Jews may very well be taken as the archetype of the whole. On this subject I willingly content myself with a reference to a book of singular merit, The Analysis of Ancient Mythology by Jacob Bryant, in which, after making ample allowance for some forced etymologies, and much superstition, the reader will find an extent of learning, a depth of research, and an ingenuity of inference, unrivalled among the inquirers into the early history of the human race. Sir William Jones, who regretted that Mr. Bryant's knowledge of Oriental literature had not enabled him to bring evidence more largely from its stores, and that he had not pursued a plan more strictly analytical, has prosecuted the same inquiry, in a series of discourses, addressed to the Asiatic Society, on the Hindus, the Arabs, the Tartars, the Persians, the Chinese, &c., and on the Origin, and Families of Nations; and by a different plan, and the aid of his Oriental literature, has arrived at the same conclusions.

All inquirers have been struck with the coincidence between the story of Noah, and that of the Hindu primeval Sire Satyavrata. We may suspect that there has been a little Brahmenical forcing to make it so exact as in the following passage:—Mr. Wilford says; " It is related in the Padma-Purán, that Satyavrata, whose miraculous preservation from a general deluge is told at

If we suppose that India began to be inhabited at a very early stage in the peopling of the world, its first inhabitants must have been few, ignorant, and rude. Uncivilized and ignorant men, suddenly transported, in small numbers, into an uninhabited country of boundless extent, must wander for many ages before much improvement can take place. Till they have multiplied so far as to be assembled in numbers large enough to permit the benefits of social intercourse and of some division of labour to be experienced, their circumstances seem not susceptible of amelioration. We find, accordingly, that all those ancient nations, whose history can be most depended upon, trace themselves up to a period of rudeness. The families who first wandered into Greece, Italy, and the eastern regions of Europe, were confessedly ignorant and barbarous. The influence of dispersion was no doubt most baneful where the natural disadvantages were the greatest. In a country overgrown with forest, which denies pasture to cattle, and precludes husbandry by surpassing the power of single families to clear the land for their support, the wretched inhabitants are reduced to all the hardships

length in the Matsya, had three sons, the eldest of whom was named Jyapeti, or Lord of the Earth. The others were C'harma, and Sharma, which last are, in the vulgar dialects, usually pronounced C'ham, and Sham, as we frequently hear Kishn for Crishna. The royal patriarch (for such is his character in the Puráns) was particularly fond of Jyapeti, to whom he gave all the regions to the north of Himalaya, in the snowy mountains, which extend from sea to sea, and of which Caucasus is a part. To Sharma he allotted the countries to the south of those mountains: But he cursed C'harma; because when the old Monarch was accidentally inebriated with a strong liquor made of fermented rice, C'harma laughed; and it was in consequence of his father's imprecation that he became a slave to the slaves of his brothers." (Asiat. Res. iii. 312, 313) The following statement by the same inquirer is confirmed by a variety of authorities:—"The first descendants of Swayambhava (another name for Satyavrata) are represented in the Puranas, as living in the mountains to the north of India toward the sources of the Ganges, and downwards as far as Serinagara and Hari-dwar. But the rulers of mankind lived on the summit of Meru towards the north; where they appear to have established the seat of justice, as the Puranas make frequent mention of the oppressed repairing thither for redress." Wilford on Chron. of Hind. As. Res. v. 260.

"The Mexicans," (says Clavigero, Hist. of Mexico, b. vi. sect. 1.) "had a clear tradition, though somewhat corrupted by fable, of the creation of the world, of the universal deluge, of the confusion of tongues, and of the dispersion of the people; and had actually all these events represented in their pictures (their substitute for writing). They said, that when mankind were overwhelmed with the deluge, none were preserved but a man and woman, named Coxcox and Xochiguebzal, who saved themselves in a little bark, and landing upon a mountain, called Colhuacan, had there a great many children, who were all born dumb; but that a dove, at last, from a lofty tree, imparted to them languages, all, however, differing so much that they could not understand one another."

BOOK II

of the hunter's life, and become savages. The difficulties with which those families had to struggle who first came into Europe, seem to have thrown them into a situation but few degrees removed from the lowest stage of society. The advantages of India in soil and climate are so great, that those by whom it was originally peopled might sustain no farther depression than what seems inherent in a state of dispersion. They wandered probably for ages in the immense plains and valleys of that productive region, living on fruits, and the produce of their flocks and herds, and not associated beyond the limits of a particular family. Until the country became considerably peopled, it is not even likely that they would be formed into small tribes. As soon as a young man became, in his turn, the head of a family, and the master of cattle, he would find a more plentiful subsistence beyond the range of his father's flocks. It could only happen, after all the most valuable ground was occupied, that disputes would arise, and that the policy of defence would render it an object for the different branches of a family to remain united together, and to acknowledge a common head.

First stage in the progress of improvement.

When this arrangement takes place we have arrived at a new stage in the progress of civil society. The condition of mankind, when divided into tribes, exhibits considerable variety, from that patriarchal association which is exemplified in the history of Abraham, to such combinations as are found among the Tartars, or that distribution into clans, which at no distant period distinguished the people of Europe. The rapidity with which nations advance through these several states of society chiefly depends on the circumstances which promote population. Where a small number of people range over extensive districts, a very numerous association is neither natural nor convenient. Some visible boundary, as a mountain or a river, marks out the limits of a common interest; and jealousy, or enmity, is the sentiment with which every tribe regards every other. When any people has multiplied so far as to compose a body too large and unwieldy to be managed by the simple expedients which bound together the tribe, the first rude form of a monarchy or political system is devised. Though we have no materials from the Hindus which yield us the smallest assistance in discovering the time which elapsed in their progress to this point of maturity, we may so far accede to their claims of antiquity, as to allow that they passed through this first stage in the way to civilization very quickly; and perhaps they acquired the first rude form of a national polity at fully as early a period as any portion of the race.* It was probably at no great distance from the time of

* The cautious inquirer will not probably be inclined to carry this era very far back. "The

this important change that those institutions were devised, which have been distinguished by a durability so extraordinary; and which present a spectacle so instructive to those who wish to understand the human mind, and to trace the laws which, amid all the different forms of civil society, invariably preside over its progress. CHAP. I.

newness of the world," says the judicious Goguet, (vol. iii. dissert. 3,) "is proved by the imperfection of many of the arts in the ancient world, and of all the sciences which depend upon length of time and experience." By the newness of the world, he means the newness of human society. In examining the remains of organized bodies which have been extricated from the bowels of the earth, vegetables are found at the greatest depth; immediately above them small shell-fish, and some of the most imperfect specimens of the animal creation; nearer the surface quadrupeds, and the more perfectly organized animals; lastly man, of whom no remains have ever been found at any considerable depth. The inference is, that, compared with the other organized beings on this globe, man is a recent creation. See Parkinson's Organic Remains.

CHAP. II.

Classification and Distribution of the People.

Book II.

Second stage in the progress of improvement.

THE transition from the state of tribes to the more regulated and artificia system of a monarchy and laws is not sudden, but the result of a gradual preparation and improvement. That loose independence which suits a small number of men, bound together by an obvious utility, scattered over an extensive district, and subject to few interferences of inclination or interest, is found productive of many inconveniences, as they advance in numbers, as their intercourse becomes more close and complicated, and their interests and passions more frequently clash. When quarrels arise, no authority exists to which the parties are under the necessity of referring their disputes. The punishment of delinquents is provided for by no preconcerted regulation. When subsistence, by the multiplication of consumers, can no longer be obtained without considerable labour, the desire to encroach upon one another adds extremely to the occasions of discord: and the evils and miseries which prevail at last excite a desire for a better regulation of their common affairs. But slow is the progress which, in its rude and ignorant state, the human understanding makes in improvement. It is probable that no little time is spent, first in maturing the conviction that a great reformation is necessary; and next in conceiving the plan which the exigency of the case requires. Many partial remedies are thought of and applied; many failures experienced; evils meanwhile increase and press more severely; when men at last become weary and disgusted with the condition of things, and prepared for any plausible change which may be suggested to them. In every society there are superior spirits, capable of seizing the best ideas of their times, and, if they are not opposed by circumstances, of accelerating the progress of the community to which they belong. The records of ancient nations give us reason to believe that some individual of this description, exalted to authority by his wisdom and virtue, has generally accomplished the important task of first establishing among a rude people a system of government and laws.

The first institution of government, founded upon divine authority.

It may be regarded as a characteristic of this primary institution of government, that it is founded upon divine authority. The superstition of a rude people is peculiarly suited to such a pretension. While ignorant and solitary, men are

perpetually haunted with the impression of superior powers; and as in this state only they can be imposed upon by the assumption of a divine character and commission, so it is evidently the most effectual means which a great man, full of the spirit of improvement, can employ, to induce a people, jealous and impatient of all restraint, to forego their boundless liberty, and submit to the curb of authority.*

No where among mankind have the laws and ordinances been more exclusively referred to the Divinity than by those who instituted the theocracy of Hindustan. The plan of society and government, the rights of persons and things, even the customs, arrangements, and manners of private and domestic life, every thing in short, is established by divine prescription. The first legislator of the Hindus, whose name it is impossible to trace, appears to have represented himself as the republisher of the will of God. He informed his countrymen that, at the beginning of the world, the Creator revealed his duties to man, in four sacred books, entitled Vedas; that during the first age, of immense duration, mankind obeyed them, and were happy; that during the second and third they only partially obeyed, and their happiness was proportionally diminished; that since the commencement of the fourth age disobedience and misery had totally prevailed, till the Vedas were forgotten and lost; † that now, however, he was commissioned to reveal them anew to his countrymen, and to claim their obedience.

Division into castes.

The leading institutions of the Hindus bear evidence that they were devised at a very remote period, when society yet retained its rudest and simplest form. So long as men roam in the pastoral state, no division of classes or of labour

* There is scarcely an exception to this rule. Minos often retired into a cave, where he boasted of having familiar conversations with Jupiter: Mneues, the great legislator of Egypt, proclaimed Hermes as the author of his laws: it was by the direction of Apollo that Lycurgus undertook the reformation of Sparta: Zaleucus, the legislator of the Locrians, gave out that he was inspired by Minerva: Zathruspes, among the Arimaspians, pretended that his laws were revealed to him, by one of their divinities: Zamolxis boasted to the Getes of his intimate communications with the goddess Vesta: the pretensions of Numa among the Romans are well known. (See Goguet, Origin of Laws, part II. book I. ch. i. art. 9.) The Druids, among the ancient Britons and Gauls, were at once the legislators, and the confidants of the Divinity. Odin, who was himself a Divinity, and his descendants, who partook of his nature, were the legislators of the Scandinavians. "The legislators of the Scythians," says Mallet (Introd. to Hist. of Denmark, ii. 43,) represented God himself as the author of the laws which they gave to their fellow-citizens."

† This is a necessary supposition, as the generation to whom the Vedas were first presented must have known that they had no previous acquaintance with them, and could not believe that they had remained familiar to mortals from the period of their revelation to the first man.

Book II.

is known. Every individual is a shepherd, and every family provides for itself all the commodities with which it is supplied. As soon as the cultivation of land, which yields a more secure and plentiful subsistence, occupies a great share of the common attention, the inconvenience of this universal mixture of employments is speedily felt. The labours of the field are neglected, while the cultivator is engaged at the loom, or repelling the incursions of an enemy. His clothing and lodging are inadequately provided for, while the attention of himself and his family are engrossed by the plough. Men quit not easily, however, the practices to which they have been accustomed; and a great change in their manners and affairs does not readily suggest itself as a remedy for the evils which they endure. When the Hindus were lingering in this uneasy situation, it would appear that there arose among them one of those superior men, who are capable of accelerating the improvement of society. Perceiving the advantage which would accrue to his countrymen from a division of employments, he conceived the design of overcoming at once the obstacles by which this regulation was retarded; and clothing himself with a Divine character, established as a positive law, under the sanction of Heaven, the classification of the people, and the distribution of occupations. Nor was it enough to introduce this vast improvement; it was right to seek security that the original members of the different classes should be supplied with successors, and that the community should not revert to its former confusion. The human race are not destined to make many steps in improvement at once. Ignorant that the separation of professions, when once experienced, was in no danger of being lost, he established a law, which the circumstances of the time very naturally suggested, but which erected a barrier against further progress; that the children of those who were assigned to each of the classes into which he distributed the people should invariably follow the occupation of their father through all generations.

The classification instituted by the author of the Hindu laws is the first and simplest form of the division of labour and employments. The priest is a character found among the rudest tribes; by whom he is always regarded as of the highest importance. As soon as men begin to have property, and to cultivate the ground, the necessity of defenders is powerfully felt; a class, therefore, of soldiers, as well as a class of husbandmen, becomes an obvious arrangement. There are other services, auxiliary to these, and necessary to the well-being of man, for which it still remains necessary to provide. In a state of great simplicity, however, these other services are few, and easily performed. We find accordingly that the Hindu legislator assigned but one class of the community

to this department. The Hindus were thus divided into four orders or castes. The first were the Brahmens or priests; the second, the Cshatriyas or soldiers; the third, the husbandmen or Vaisyas; and the fourth, the Sudras, the servants and labourers.* On this division of the people, and the privileges or disadvantages annexed to the several castes, the whole frame of Hindu society so much depends, that it is an object of primary importance, and merits a full elucidation.

The priesthood.

I. The priesthood is generally found to usurp the greatest authority in the lowest state of society. Knowledge, and refined conceptions of the Divine nature,

* There is an instructive passage in Plato (De Repub. lib. ii.) in which he ascribes the origin of political association and laws, to the division of labour: Γιγνεται πολις, ως εγ᾽ ῷμαι, επειδαν τυγχανει ἡμων ἑκαςος ουκ αυταρκης, αλλα πολλων ενδεης. From this cause, he says, men are obliged to associate with others, one man affording one accommodation, another another, and all exchanging the accommodations which each can provide, for the different accommodations provided by the rest. It is curious that, in limiting the simplest form of a political association, he makes it to consist of four or five classes of men. Αλλα μεν πρωτη γε και μεγιςη των χρειων, ἡ της τροφῆς παρασκευη, δευτερα δε οικησεως, τριτη εσθητος και των τοιουτων. * * * Ειη δ᾽αν ἡ γε αναγκαιοτατη πολις εκ τεταρων η πεντε ανδρων.—That sagacious contemplator of the progress of society, Millar, describing the ancient state of the Anglosaxons, remarks, that the people of England were then divided into four great classes, the artificers and tradesmen, husbandmen, those who exercised the honourable profession of arms, and the clergy. He adds, "From the natural course of things it should seem that, in every country where religion has had so much influence as to introduce a great body of ecclesiastics, the people, upon the first advance made in agriculture and in manufactures, are usually distributed into the same number of classes or orders. This distribution is accordingly to be found not only in all the European nations, formed upon the ruins of the Roman empire; but in other ages, and in very distant parts of the globe. The ancient inhabitants of Egypt are said to have been divided into the clergy, the military people, the husbandmen, and the artificers. The establishment of the four great *castes*, in the country of Indostan, is precisely of the same nature." (Millar's Historical View of the English Government, book I. ch. xi.) In Egypt the people were divided by law in the same hereditary manner as in Hindostan. It is highly worthy of observation that, notwithstanding all the revolutions and changes to which Egypt has been subject, some remains of the division into castes are yet visible. A late intelligent observer says, " La distinction par familles se retrouve encore dans les villes; l'exercice des arts et metiers est hereditaire, le fils imite les procedés de son pere, et ne les perfectionne pas." (Le General Reynier, De l'Egypte, p. 59.) It is worthy of observation that the Colchians and Iberians were also divided into four castes, whose rank and office were hereditary and unchangeable. (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. civ. cv. Strabo, lib. ii. 765. See also Bryant's Ancient Mythology, v. 102, 107.) In some situations this step in civilization, natural and simple as it may appear, is not easily made. How long have the wandering Arabs remained without it? What an improvement would the bare institution of the Hindu classes be upon their condition? and what merit would the legislature have, who should introduce it? The same observation is applicable to the Tartars.

There is a passage in Herodotus which leads us to conclude, that the distinction of castes existed

are altogether incompatible with the supposition that the Deity makes favourites of a particular class of mankind, or is more pleased with those who perform a ceremonial service to himself, than with those who discharge with fidelity the various and difficult duties of life. It is only in rude and ignorant times that men are so overwhelmed with the power of superstition as to pay unbounded veneration and obedience to those who artfully clothe themselves with the terrors of religion.* The Brahmens among the Hindus have acquired and maintained an authority more exalted, more commanding, and extensive than the priests have been able to engross among any other portion of mankind. As great a distance as there is between the Brahmen and the Divinity, so great a distance is there between the Brahmen and the rest of his species. According to the sacred books of the Hindus, the Brahmen proceeded from the mouth of the Creator, which is the seat of wisdom; the Cshatrya proceeded from his arm, the Vaisya from his thigh, and the Sudra from his foot; therefore is the Brahmen infinitely superior in worth and dignity to all other human beings.† The

among the Medes, at the commencement of the monarchy. He says (lib. i. cap. ci.) Εςι Μηδων τοσαδε γενεα, Βουσαι, Παρητακηνοι, Στρουχατες, Αριζαντοι, Βουδιοι, Μαγοι. He says nothing to fix the meaning of the word γενεα. But we know that the Μαγοι were the priests, and hence there is matter of proof to make us suppose, that the other names, in like manner, express separate castes, or hereditary classes and professions.

The Persian Monarch Jemsheed is said to have divided the Persians into four classes. Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, i. 205.

In like manner among the Peruvians, "Les citoyens," to use the language of Carli (Lettres sur l'Amerique, let. xiii.) "furent distribués en classes ou tribus. * * Il n'etoit pas permis, ni par mariage, ni par changement d'habitation, de confondre une classe avec l'autre." In Let. xiv. it is added, "L'education consistoit à apprendre aux enfans rôturiers le metier que chaque père de famille exercoit," &c. Clavigero, too, respecting the Mexicans, tells us, (Hist. of Mexico, book vii. sect. v.) "The sons in general learned the trades of their fathers, and embraced their professions, &c.

In Plato's Timæus, (p. 1044, Ed. Ficin. Francof. 1602,) is a curious passage, which asserts that the same division of professions which still existed among the Egyptians existed at a period, long antecedent, among the Athenians: Πρωτον μεν το των ἱερεων γενος, απο των αλλων χωρις αφωρισμενον· μετα δε τουτο, το των δημιουργων, ὁτι καθ' ἁυτο εκαστον αλλῳ δε ουκ επιμιγνυμενον δημιουργει· το τε των νομεων και των θηρευτων· το τε των γεωργων· και δη το μαχιμον γενος, απο παντων των γενων κεχωρισμενον, ὁις ουδεν αλλο πλην τα περι τον πολεμον ὑπο του νομου προσεταχθη μελειν.

* It was in the dark ages that the Romish priesthood usurped so many privileges. Our ancestors were barbarous when the Druids exercised over them an unlimited authority. The soothsayers and priests among the Greeks and Romans lost their influence as knowledge increased. Among the rude inhabitants of Mexico and Peru, the authority of the priest equalled or superseded that of the king, and was united in the same person.

† Laws of Menu, ch. i.

Brahmen is declared to be the Lord of all the classes.* He alone, to a great degree, engrosses the regard and favour of the Deity; and it is through him, and at his intercession, that blessings are bestowed upon the rest of mankind. The sacred books are exclusively his; the highest of the other classes are barely tolerated to read the will of God; he alone is worthy to expound it. The first among the duties of the civil magistrate, supreme or subordinate, is to honour the Brahmens.† The least disrespect to one of this sacred order is the most atrocious of crimes. "For contumelious language to a Brahmen," says the law of Menu,‡ "a Sudra must have an iron style, ten fingers long, thrust red hot into his mouth; and for offering to give instruction to priests, hot oil must be poured into his mouth and ears." "If," says Halhed's code of Gentoo laws, § "a Sooder sits upon the carpet of a Brahmen, in that case the magistrate, having thrust a hot iron into his buttock, and branded him, shall banish him the kingdom; or else he shall cut off his buttock." The following precept refers even to the most exalted classes; "For striking a Brahmen even with a blade of grass, or overpowering him in argument, the offender must soothe him by falling prostrate." || Mysterious and awful powers are ascribed to this wonderful being. "A priest, who well knows the law, needs not complain to the king of any grievous injury; since, even by his own power, he may chastise those who injure him: His own power is mightier than the royal power; by his own might therefore may a Brahmen coerce his foes. He may use without hesitation the powerful charms revealed to Atharvan and Angiras; for speech is the weapon of a Brahmen: with that he may destroy his oppressors."** "Let not the king, although in the greatest distress, provoke Brahmens to anger; for they, once enraged, could immediately destroy him with his troops, elephants, horses, and cars. Who without perishing could provoke those holy men, by whom the all-devouring flame was created, the sea with waters not drinkable, and the moon with its wane and increase? What prince could gain wealth by oppressing those, who, if angry, could frame other worlds and regents of worlds, could give being to other gods and mortals? What man, desirous of life, would injure those, by the aid of whom worlds and gods perpetually subsist; those who are rich in the knowledge of the Veda? A Brahmen, whether learned or ignorant, is a

* Laws of Menu, ch. x.

† Ib. vii.

‡ Ib. viii. 271, 2. "From his high birth alone, a Brahmen is an object of veneration even to deities; his declarations to mankind are decisive evidence; and the Veda itself confers on him that character." Ib. xi. 85.

§ Ib. x. 1.

|| Ib. x. 206.

** Ib. xi. 31, 32, 33.

BOOK II. powerful Divinity; even as fire is a powerful Divinity, whether consecrated or popular. Thus, though Brahmens employ themselves in all sorts of mean occupations, they must invariably be honoured; for they are something transcendently divine." * Not only is this extraordinary respect and pre-eminence awarded to the Brahmens; they are allowed the most striking advantages over all other members of the social body, in almost every thing which regards the social state. In the scale of punishments for crimes, the penalty of the Brahmen, in almost all cases, is infinitely milder than that of the inferior castes. Although punishment is remarkably cruel and sanguinary for the other classes of the Hindus, neither the life nor even the property of a Brahmen can be brought into danger by the most atrocious offences. "Never shall the king," says one of the ordinances of Menu, † "slay a Brahmen, though convicted of all possible crimes: Let him banish the offender from his realm, but with all his property secure, and his body unhurt." In regulating the interest of money, the rate which may be taken from the Brahmens is less than what may be exacted from the other classes. ‡ This privileged order enjoy the advantage of being entirely exempt from taxes: "A king, even though dying with want, must not receive any tax from a Brahmen learned in the Vedas." § Their influence over the government is only bounded by their desires, since they have impressed the belief that all laws which a Hindu is bound to respect are contained in the sacred books; that it is lawful for them alone to interpret these books; that it is incumbent on the king to employ them as his chief counsellors and ministers, and to be governed by their advice. "Whatever order," says the code of Hindu laws, ‖ "the Brahmens shall issue conformably to the Shaster, the magistrate shall take his measures accordingly." ** These prerogatives and privileges, important and extraordinary as they seem, afford, however, but an imperfect idea of the influence of the Brahmens in the intercourse of Hindu Society. As the greater part of life among the Hindus is engrossed by the performance of an infinite and burdensome ritual, which extends to almost every hour of the day, and every

* Laws of Menu, ch. ix. 313—319. † Ib. viii. 380. ‡ Ib. viii.

§ Ib. vii. 133. ‖ Halhed, Preface to the Code of Gentoo Laws.

** The Druids among the ancient Britons, as there was a striking similarity in many of the doctrines which they taught, so possessed many similar privileges and distinctions to those of the Brahmens. Their persons were inviolable; they were exempt from taxes and military service; they exercised the legislative, judicative, and, with the exception of commanding armies in the field, almost the whole of the executive powers of government. Cæsar, De Bell. Gal. lib. vi. 13, 14. Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, i. 302, 317.

function of nature and society, the Brahmens, who are the sole judges and directors in these complicated and endless duties, are rendered the uncontrolable masters of human life. Thus elevated in power and privileges, the ceremonial of society is no less remarkably in their favour. They are so much superior to the king, that the meanest Brahmen would account himself polluted by eating with him, and death itself would appear to him less dreadful than the degradation of permitting his daughter to unite herself in marriage with his sovereign. With these advantages it would be extraordinary had the Brahmens neglected themselves in so important a circumstance as the command of property. It is an essential part of the religion of the Hindus, to confer gifts upon the Brahmens. This is a precept more frequently repeated than any other in the sacred books. Gifts to the Brahmens form always an important and essential part of expiation and sacrifice.* "The organs of sense and action, reputation, a heavenly mansion, life, a great name, children, cattle, are all destroyed by a sacrifice offered with trifling presents: let no man therefore sacrifice without liberal gifts." † "Let every man, according to his ability, give wealth to Brahmens detached from the world and learned in scripture; such a giver shall attain heaven after this life." ‡ "Having reckoned up the persons whom the Brahmen is obliged to support, having ascertained his Divine knowledge and moral conduct, let the king allow him a suitable maintenance from his own household; and, having appointed him a maintenance, let the king protect him on all sides, for he gains from the Brahmen whom he protects a sixth part of his virtue." § "Of that king in whose dominions a learned Brahmen is afflicted with hunger, the whole kingdom will in a short time be afflicted with famine." || "Should the king be near his end through some incurable disease, he must bestow on the priests all his riches accumulated from legal fines; and, having duly committed his kingdom to his son, let him seek death in battle; or, if there be no war, by abstaining from food." When treasure is found, which, from the general practice of concealment, and the state of society, must have been a frequent event, the Brahmen may retain whatever his good fortune places in his hands; what is discovered by any other man, he must surrender to the king, who is bound to deliver one half of it to the Brahmens.** Another source of revenue appropriated by the Brahmens appears at first view ill assorted with the dignity and high

* See the Laws of Menu, passim. † Ib. xi. 40. ‡ Ib. 6. § Ib. 22, 23.

|| Ib. vii. 114. The Brahmens are occasionally exhorted to observe some decorum and measure in their pursuit of gifts. Laws of Menu, iv. 186.

** Laws of Menu, ch. viii. The law is somewhat differently laid down in Halhed's Code: when a man finds any thing belonging to another, the magistrate is to be informed, and if the finder is a

BOOK II. rank of the order; but was, by their influence, converted into a fund, not only respectable but venerable, not only useful but opulent. Begging alms is no inconsiderable source of priestly power. The noviciates to the sacerdotal office are commanded to find their subsistence by begging, and even to carry part of their earnings to their spiritual master.* The duties of the Brahmens may be summed up in few words. They are, to read the Vedas, to teach them to the young Brahmens, and to perform sacrifices and other religious acts. †

Brahmen he keeps the whole; from others a part goes to the magistrate; and from a Sooder all but two twelfths. Halhed's Gentoo Laws, ch. 21, sect 2.

* Laws of Menu. ch. ii. The mendicity of the priests seems to have been a general instrument of priestly imposture. It was so among the Romans; and no unproductive one. See Apuleius, Metam. l. viii. p. 262. Cicero, in his Book of Laws, proposes to restrain the begging trade of the priests.—Stipem sustulimus, nisi eam quam ad paucos dies propriam Idææ Matris excepimus: Implet enim superstitione animos, exhaurit domos. Cic. de Legib. l. ii. 9, 16. The Popish mendicants are a notorious instance. See Middleton's Letter from Rome, in Works of Dr. Conyers Middleton, iii. 116.

† See the Laws of Menu, passim. " The influence of priestcraft over superstition is no where so visible as in India. All the commerces of life have a strict analogy with the ceremonies of religion; and the Brachman has inculcated such a variety of strange persuasions, that the Gentoo finds himself every hour under the necessity of consulting his spiritual guide. The building of a pagoda, and maintaining within it a set of priests, is believed the best action which human virtue is capable of. Every offence is capable of being expiated by largesses to the Brachmans, prescribed by themselves according to their own measures of avarice and sensuality." Orme, On the Government and People of Indostan, 432.

" Since the Brahmen sprang from the most excellent part, since he was the first born, and since he possesses the Veda, he is by right the chief of this whole creation.

" Him, the Being, who exists of himself, produced in the beginning from his own mouth, that, having performed holy rites, he might present clarified butter to the Gods, and cakes of rice to the progenitors of mankind, for the preservation of this world:

" What created being then can surpass him, with whose mouth the Gods of the firmament continually feast on clarified butter, and the manes of ancestors, on hallowed cakes?

" Of created things, the most excellent are those which are animated; of the animated, those which subsist by intelligence; of the intelligent, mankind; and of men, the sacerdotal class;

" Of priests, those eminent in learning; of the learned, those who know their duty; of those who know it, such as perform it virtuously; and of the virtuous, those who seek beatitude from a perfect acquaintance with scriptural doctrine.

" The very birth of Brahmens is a constant incarnation of Dherma, God of Justice; for the Brahmen is born to promote justice, and to procure ultimate happiness.

" When a Brahmen springs to light, he is born above the world, the chief of all creatures, assigned to guard the treasury of duties, religious and civil.

" Whatever exists in the universe is all in effect, though not in form, the wealth of the Brahmen; since the Brahmen is entitled to it all by his primogeniture and eminence of birth." Laws of Menu, i. 93—100.

II. The next in rank and dignity among the castes of the Hindus, is that of the Cshatriyas, or the military class. As in the rude and early state of society man has provided few securities against the evils with which he is assailed, and his wisdom has enabled him to draw few general rules respecting the order of their recurrence, he lives in perpetual expectation of unhappy events, as well from nature as from his fellow men; and fear is the principal passion which in that situation usurps the government of his mind. The priest soothes his imagination in regard to the first and most awful source of his apprehensions, by undertaking to procure for him the favour of the mysterious powers of nature. The soldier, from whom he expects protection against the ravages of hostile men, is the second object of his veneration and gratitude; and in the history of society it will be generally found that the rank and influence of the military order are high in proportion as the civilization of the people is low.* To all but the Brahmens the caste of Cshatriyas are an object of unbounded respect. They are as much elevated above the classes below them, as the Brahmens stand exalted above human beings. Nor is superiority of rank among the Hindus an unavailing ceremony; the most important advantages are bestowed upon it; and the distance which is created between the different orders of men is immense and degrading. If a man of a superior class accuses a man of an inferior class, and his accusation proves to be unjust, he escapes not with impunity; but if a man of an inferior class accuses a man of a superior class, and fails in proving his accusation, a double punishment is decreed for him.† "If a man of an inferior caste," says the Gentoo code, "proudly affecting an equality with a person of superior caste, should speak at the same time with him, the magistrate in that case shall punish him to the extent of his abilities."‡ For all assaults, the penalty rises in proportion as the party offending is of a low caste, and the party complaining is high. It is, indeed, a general and a remarkable part of the jurisprudence of this singular people, that all crimes are more slightly punished in the higher, than in the subordinate classes; the penalty ascending,

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* To this observation I know not that any exception can be adduced, which is not resolvable into the influence of a government purely or chiefly military. This, however, is the effect of art, or of forced circumstances, not of nature, or of reason. It is Mandeville, I think, who remarks, that fear is the origin of the admiration which has been generally bestowed upon the profession of arms; and in confirmation of this observes, that it is the most timid sex by whom the military character is the most admired. Mr. Hume, too, has remarked that it is the most timid sex who are the most devoted to superstition and the priests.

† Halhed's Code, ch. xv. sect 2

‡ Ib.

Book II. by gradation, from the gentle correction of the venerable Brahmen, to the harsh and sanguinary chastisement of the degraded Sudra.* Even in such an affair as the interest of money on loan, a striking distinction is made between the different castes; where the Brahmen pays two per cent, three per cent is exacted from the Cshatriya, four per cent from the Vaisya, and five per cent from the Sudra. The sovereign dignity, which usually follows the power of the sword, was origiginally appropriated to the military class, though in this particular it would appear that irregularity was pretty early introduced. To bear arms is the peculiar duty of the Cshatriya caste, and their maintenance is derived from the provision made by the sovereign for his soldiers.

III. The Vaisyas are the third caste of the Hindus. Their duties are to tend cattle, to carry on merchandize, and to cultivate the ground. They are superior only to the Sudras, who owe to them, however, the same awful respect and submission, which it is incumbent on them to pay to the military class.

IV. As much as the Brahmen is an object of intense veneration, so much is the Sudra an object of contempt, and even of abhorrence, to the other classes of his countrymen. The business of the Sudras is servile labour, and their degradation inhuman. Not only is the most abject and grovelling submission imposed upon them as a religious duty, but they are driven from their just and equal share in all the advantages of the social institution. The crimes which they commit against others are more severely punished than those of any other delinquents, while the crimes which others commit against them are more gently punished than those against any other sufferers.† Even their persons and labour are not free. "A man of the servile caste, whether bought or unbought, a Brahmen may compel to perform servile duty; because such a man was created by the Self-existent for the purpose of serving Brahmens." ‡ The law scarcely permits them to own property; for it is declared that "no collection of wealth must be made by a Sudra, even though he has power, since a servile man, who has amassed riches, gives pain even to Brahmens." § "A Brahmen may seize without hesitation the goods of his Sudra slave; for as that slave can have no property, his master may take his goods." || Any failure in the respect exacted of the Sudra towards the superior classes is avenged by the most dread-

* See the Laws of Menu, and Halhed's Gentoo Code, passim. The case of theft is an exception, the higher classes being for this punished the most severely.

† Ib. ‡ Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 413. § Ib. x. 129.

|| Ib. viii. 417. If he be distressed for subsistence, says the gloss of Culluca.

ful punishments. Adultery with a woman of a higher caste is expiated by burning to death on a bed of iron. The degradation of the wretched Sudra extends not only to every thing in this life, but even to sacred instruction and his chance of favour with the superior powers. A Brahmen must never read the Veda in the presence of Sudras.* "Let not a Brahmen," says the law of Menu, "give advice to a Sudra; nor what remains from his table; nor clarified butter, of which part has been offered; nor let him give spiritual counsel to such a man, nor inform him of the legal expiation for his sin: surely he who declares the law to a servile man, and he who instructs him in the mode of expiating sin, sinks with that very man into the hell named Asamvrita." †

"If," says the Gentoo code, "a man of the Sooder reads the beids of the Shaster, or the Pooran, to a Brahmen, a Chehter, or a Bin, then the magistrate shall heat some bitter oil, and pour it into the aforesaid Sooder's mouth; and if a Sooder listens to the beids of the Shaster, then the oil, heated as before, shall be poured into his ears, and arzeez and wax shall be melted together, and the orifice of his ears shall be stopped up therewith. If a Sooder gets by heart the beids of the Shaster, the magistrate shall put him to death. If a Sooder always performs worship and the jugg, the magistrate shall put him to death. If a Sooder gives much and frequent molestation to a Brahmen, the magistrate shall put him to death." ‡

* Laws of Menu, iv. 99. † Ib. 80, 81.

‡ Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws, ch. xxi. sect. 7. It is among the most barbarous tribes, that we in general find the principle of subordination abused to the greatest excess. Perhaps no instance is equal to that which exhibits itself among the Hindus. "Among the Natchez," (says Robertson, Hist. Americ. ii. 139,) "a powerful tribe now extinct, on the banks of the Mississippi, a difference of rank took place, with which the northern tribes were altogether unacquainted. Some families were reputed noble, and enjoyed hereditary dignity. The body of the people was considered as vile, and formed only for subjection. This distinction was marked by appellations which intimated the high elevation of the one state, and the ignominious depression of the other: the former were called *Respectable*; the latter, the *Stinkards*."—"To be a servant" (says Millar, Distinction of Ranks, ch. v. sect. 1.) "in these primitive times was almost universally the same thing as to be a slave. The master assumed an unlimited jurisdiction over his servants, and the privilege of selling them at pleasure. He gave them no wages beside their maintenance; and he allowed them to have no property, but claimed to his own use whatever, by their labour, or by any other means, they happened to acquire.—Thus the practice of domestic slavery appears to have been early established among the nations of antiquity; among the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Jews, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans.—The same practice obtains at present among all those tribes of barbarians, in different parts of the world, with which we have any correspondence."

Book II.

Although the adherence of each class to the particular employment assigned to it was secured by the most rigid laws and the severest penalties, there were extraordinary cases in which a limited departure was permitted. When a Brahmen cannot obtain subsistance by the proper business of his order, he may apply himself to that of the Cshratiya or the Vaisya, but must never become so far degraded as to engage in that of the Sudra. The Cshatriya and Vaisya, in like necessitous circumstances, may have recourse respectively to the business of the class or classes below them, even that of the Sudra, but are strictly interdicted from profaning the employment of any class above them. The Sudra having, originally, no inferior class, was probably abandoned to his necessities, though afterwards, in the employments of the mixed classes, a resource was opened also for him.* In this arrangement, as usually happens in the laws of the Hindus, the advantages are all on the side of the superior orders. The Brahmen has open to him, if need be, the occupations of all the respectable classes; he can overload them with additional numbers in the season of distress, a season at which it is natural for them to be overloaded without him, while his own occupation is exempt from the encroachment or competition of any other description of men. The Cshatriya, while he has the occupations open to him of two of the castes, is liable to the interference of one of them only. The Vaisya, on the other hand, can have recourse to none but the lowest of employments, that of the Sudra, while he is liable to be straitened in his own occupation by the interference and competition of both the orders above him. The unfortunate Sudra, who has no resource, may be driven from his employment, and his means of subsistence, mediately or immediately, by all the other classes of the community.

This distribution of the whole people into four classes only, and the appropriation of them to four species of employment; an arrangement which, in the very simple state of society in which it must have been introduced, was a great step in improvement, must have become productive of innumerable inconveniences as the wants of society multiplied. The bare necessaries of life, with a small number of its rudest accommodations, form all the means of gratification with which it prepares to meet the desires of man. As those desires, however, speedily extend beyond such narrow limits, a struggle must have early ensued between the first principle of human nature and those of the political establish-

* Laws of Menu, ch. x. passim. Mr. Colebrooke on the Indian Classes, Asiat. Researches, v. 63.

ment. Nor was this the only evil to which society was exposed. The different castes were strictly commanded to marry with those only of their own class and profession; and the mixture of the classes from the union of the sexes was guarded against by the severest laws. This, however, was an occurrence which laws were inadequate to prevent. Irregularities took place; and children were born who belonged to no caste, and for whom there was no occupation. No event could befal society more calamitous than this. Unholy and infamous, on account of that violation of the sacred law to which they owed their unwelcome birth, those wretched outcasts had no resource for subsistence excepting either the bounty of the established classes; to whom they were objects of execration and abhorrence, not of compassion and generosity; or the plunder of those classes, to which they would abandon themselves with all the ingenuity of necessitous, and all the ferocity of injured men. When a class of this description became numerous they must have filled society with the greatest disorders. The nature of the case would have drawn the philosophical mind to this conclusion, had no testimony existed; it so happens, however, that this is one of the few points in the antient history of India which we can ascertain by specific proof. In the preface of that compilation of the Hindu Laws which was translated by Mr. Halhed,* it is stated that, after a succession of good kings who secured obedience to the laws, and under whom the people enjoyed felicity, came a monarch evil and corrupt, under whom the laws were violated, the mixture of the classes was perpetrated, and a new and impious race were produced. The Brahmens put this wicked king to death, and by an effort of miraculous power created a successor endowed with the most excellent qualities. Nevertheless, the kingdom did not prosper, by reason of the Burren Sunker, so were this impure brood denominated; and it required the wisdom of this virtuous king to devise a remedy. He resolved to form a classification of the mixed race, and to assign them occupations. This accordingly was the commencement of arts and manufactures. The Burren Sunker became all manner of artisans and handicrafts; one tribe of them being appointed weavers of cloth, another artificers in iron, and so in other cases, till the subdivisions of the class were exhausted, or the exigencies of the community supplied. Thus were two evils remedied at once. The increasing wants of an improving society were provided for; and a class of men, who were the pest of the community, were converted to its service. This is

* Vide Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws, preface.

BOOK II. another important era in the history of Hindu society; and having reached this stage, it does not appear that it has made, or that it is capable of making, much further progress. Thirty-six branches of the impure class are specified in the sacred books,* of whom and of their employments it would be tedious and useless to present the description. The highest is that sprung from the conjunction of a Brahmen with a woman of the Cshatriya class, whose duty is the teaching of military exercises. The lowest of all is the offspring of a Sudra with a woman of the sacred class. This tribe are denominated Chandalas, and are regarded with great abhorrence. Their profession is to carry out corpses, to execute criminals, and perform other offices which are reckoned in the last degree unclean and degrading. If the Sudras are by the laws of Hindustan placed in a low and base situation, that of all the impure and mixed classes is still more degraded and odious. Nothing can equal the disgust and insolence to which it is the lot of the lowest among them to see themselves exposed. They are condemned to live in a sequestered spot by themselves, lest they should pollute the very town in which they reside. If they meet a man of the higher castes, they must turn out of the way, lest he should be contaminated by their presence. "Avoid," says the Tantra, "the touch of the Chandala, and other abject classes. Whoever associates with them undoubtedly falls from his class; whoever bathes or drinks in wells or pools which they have caused to be made, must be purified by the five productions of kine."†

* Colebrooke on the Indian Classes, Asiat. Research. v. 53. On this subject, however, that intelligent author tells us that Sanscrit authorities in some instances disagree. Classes mentioned by one are omitted by another; and texts differ on the professions assigned to some tribes. It is a subject, he adds, in which there is some intricacy.

† Colebrooke, Ib. The President de Goguet is of opinion that a similar division of the people into tribes and hereditary professions existed in the ancient Assyrian empire, and that it prevailed from the highest antiquity over almost all Asia, (part I. book I. ch. i. art. 3; Herodot. lib. i. cap. 200; Strab. lib. xvi. p. 1082; Diod. lib. ii. p. 142.) Cecrops distributed into four tribes all the inhabitants of Attica. (Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9. sect. 100; Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. p. 33.) Theseus afterwards made them three, by uniting, as it should seem, the sacerdotal class with that of the nobles, or magistrates. They consisted then of nobles and priests, labourers or husbandmen, and artificers; and there is no doubt that, like the Egyptians and Indians, they were hereditary. (Plutarch. Vit. Thes.) Aristotle expressly informs us, (Polit. lib. vii. cap. 10.) that in Crete the people were divided by the laws of Minos into classes after the manner of the Egyptians. We have most remarkable proof of a division, the same as that of the Hindus, being anciently established among the Persians. In the Zendavesta, translated by Anquetil Duperron, is the following passage: "Ormusd said, There are three measures [literally weights, that is, tests, rules] of conduct, four states,

and five places of dignity.—The states are; that of the priest; that of the soldier; that of the husbandman, the source of riches; and that of the artizan or labourer." Zendavesta, i. 141. There are sufficient vestiges to prove an ancient establishment of the same sort among the Buddhists of Ceylon, and by consequence to infer it among the other Buddhists over so large a portion of Asia. See a Discourse of Mr. Joinville on the Religion and Manners of the people of Ceylon, Asiat. Research. vii. 430, et seq.

CHAP. III.

The Form of Government.

Book II.

Form of government, monarchical.

AFTER the division of the people into ranks and occupations, the great circumstance by which their condition, character, and operations are determined, is the form and qualities of the political establishment; the methods by which the social order is preserved. Among the Hindus, according to the Asiatic model, the government was monarchical, and, with the usual exception of religion and its ministers, absolute. No idea of any system of rule, different from the will of a single person, appears to have entered the minds of them or their legislators. "If the world had no king," says the Hindu law,* "it would quake on all sides through fear; the ruler of this universe therefore created a king, for the maintenance of this system." Of the high and uncontrolable authority of the monarch a judgment may be formed, from the lofty terms in which the sacred books describe his dignity and attributes. "A king," says the law of Menu,† "is formed of particles from the chief guardian deities, and consequently surpasses all mortals in glory. Like the sun, he burns eyes and hearts; nor can any human creature on earth even gaze on him. He, fire and air; He, the god of criminal justice; He, the genius of wealth; He, the regent of waters; He, the lord of the firmament. A king, even though a child, must not be treated lightly, from an idea that he is a mere mortal: No; he is a powerful divinity, who appears in human shape. In his anger, death. He who shows hatred of the king, through delusion of mind, will certainly perish; for speedily will the king apply his heart to that man's destruction." The pride of imperial greatness could not devise, hardly could it even desire, more extraordinary distinctions, or the sanction of a more unlimited authority than this.

The plan, according to which the power of the sovereign was exercised in the government of the country, resembled that which has almost universally prevailed in the monarchies of Asia, and was a contrivance extremely simple and rude. In the more skilful governments of Europe, officers are appointed for the discharge of particular duties in the different provinces of the empire; some for

* Laws of Menu, ch. vii. 3.

† Ib. ch. vii.

the decision of causes, some for the control of violence, some for collecting the contingents for the expense of the state; but the powers of all centring immediately in the head of the government, and all acting as connected and subordinate wheels in one complicated and artful machine. Among the less instructed and less civilized inhabitants of Asia, no other plan has ever occurred to the monarch, for the administration of his dominions, than simply to divide his own authority and power into pieces or fragments, as numerous as the provinces into which it was deemed convenient to distribute the empire. To each of these a vicegerent was dispatched, who carried with him the undivided authority and jurisdiction of his master. Whatever powers the sovereign exercised over the whole kingdom, the vicegerent exercised in the province allotted to him; and the same plan which the sovereign adopted for the government of the whole was exactly followed by the vicegerent in the government of a part.* If the province committed to his sway was too extensive for his personal inspection and control, he subdivided it into parts, and assigned a governor to each, whom he intrusted with the same absolute powers in his district, as he himself possessed in the administration of the greater department. Even this inferior deputy often divided his authority, in the same manner, among the governors whom he appointed of the townships or villages under his control. Every one of these rulers, whether the sphere of his command was narrow or extensive, was absolute within it, and possessed the whole power of the sovereign to levy taxes, to raise and command troops, and to decide upon the lives and property of the subjects. The gradations of command among the Hindus were thus regulated; The lowest of all was the lord of one town and his district; The next was the lord of ten towns; The third was the lord of twenty towns; The fourth was the lord of 100 towns; And the highest vicegerent was lord of 1000 towns. Every lord was amenable to the one immediately above him, and exercised unlimited authority over those below.† The following law appears to provide for

* Kœmpfer, in his History of Japan, book I. ch. v. says, "The whole empire is governed in general by the Emperor, with an absolute and monarchical power, and so is every province in particular by the prince, who, under the Emperor, enjoys the government thereof."—For the similarity of the institution in the Ottoman government see Volney's Travels in Syria and Egypt, ii. 376.

† Laws of Menu, ch. vii. 115—117. There is a very remarkable similarity between this mode of subdividing authority among the Hindus, and that adopted by the Incas of Peru. "The Incas," (says Garcilasso de la Vega, part I. book II. ch. v.) "had one method and rule in their government, as the best means to prevent all mischiefs and disorders; which was this. That of all the people in every place, whether more or less, a register should be kept, and a division made of ten and ten, over which one of the ten, whom they called the Decurion, was made superior over the other nine;

Book II.

their personal expenses: "Such food, drink, wood, and other articles, as by law should be given each day to the king, by the inhabitants of the township, let the lord of one town receive: let the lord of ten towns enjoy the produce of two plough-lands; the lord of twenty, that of five plough-lands; the lord of 100, that of a village or small town; the lord of 1000, that of a large town."* The expense of the government of each vicegerent was defrayed out of the taxes which he levied, and the surplus was transmitted to the superior lord, to whom he was immediately responsible. From him it was again conveyed to the governor above him, till it reached at last the royal treasury.

If this plan of government was unskilful and rude, so was the contrivance employed for checking the abuses to which it was liable. "The affairs of these townships," says the law, "either jointly or separately transacted, let another minister of the king inspect, who should be well affected, and by no means remiss. In every larger town or city, let him appoint one superintendant of all affairs, elevated in rank, formidable in power, distinguished as a planet among stars: Let that governor, from time to time, survey all the rest in person, and, by the means of his emissaries, let him perfectly know their conduct in their several districts."† Of the practical state of the government abundant proof is afforded in the passage which immediately follows in the same divine code: "Since the servants of the king," says Menu, "whom he has appointed guardians of districts, are generally knaves, who seize what belongs to other men, from such knaves let him defend his people; of such evil-minded servants, as wring wealth from subjects attending them on business, let the King confiscate all the possessions, and banish them from his realm."‡

then every five divisions of this nature had a lord over them, to whom was committed the charge and care of fifty; then over two divisions of fifty, another lord, who supervised 100; so five divisions of 100 had a magistrate who commanded 500; the divisions of 100 had a leader over 1000," &c. The highest officer under the Inca was the governor of a province. Each inferior officer accounted for his conduct to the superior next above him. See further Acosta, Nat. and Mor. Hist. of the Indies, book vi. ch. xiii.; Carli, Lettres sur l' Amerique, let. xiii. The analogy of the Anglosaxon institution of tythings, or ten families; of hundreds, or ten tythings; and counties, will suggest itself to every imagination.

* Laws of Menu, ch. vii. 118, 119. The first of these provisions, that for the lord of one town, is not accurately ascertained; the two or five plough-lands are sufficiently distinct; but the produce of a village or large town must have been extremely uncertain and ambiguous.

† Ib. 20—122. A similar officer formed a similar part of the Peruvian establishment. He was denominated *Cucuy Kioc,* which is to say, "Eye of all." Carli, Lettres sur l' Amerique. let. xiii.

‡ Ib. 123, 124.

At the head of this government stands the king, on whom the great lords of the empire immediately depend. He is directed by the law to choose a Council, consisting " of seven or eight ministers, men whose ancestors were servants of kings, who are versed in the holy books, who are personally brave; who are skilled in the use of weapons, and whose lineage is noble." * With them he is commanded perpetually to consult on the affairs of his government; but a singular mode of deliberation is prescribed to him. He is directed not to assemble his Council; and, laying before them, as in the cabinets of European princes, the subject on which the suggestions of their wisdom are required, to receive the benefit arising from the mutual communication of their knowledge and views. A plan, apparently more artful and cunning, more nearly allied to the suspicious temper and narrow views, of a rude period, is recommended to him. He is first of all to consult them apart, and to hear the opinion of each separately; after which, having consulted them in common, when each man is swayed by the opinion he had formerly given in private, and has a motive of interest and vanity to resist the light which might be thrown upon the subject by others, the king himself is to decide.† A Brahmen ought always to be his prime minister. " To one learned Brahmen, distinguished among the rest, let the king impart his momentous counsel." ‡

Duties of the king; 1. military.

To provide for the defence of the country was one great branch of the duties of the sovereign, and to preside over the military force was his great prerogative and distinction. As in the original division of the people, a fourth part of them was appropriated to the profession of arms, and destined to obtain from it alone their subsistence, the great difficulty of government must have consisted, not in obtaining troops, but in finding for them maintenance and employment. When so great a proportion of the population were set apart for the art of war, with nothing to do from year to year, and from generation to generation, but to improve its principles, and acquire the utmost dexterity in its exercises, it appears extraordinary that the nation was not of a formidable and warlike character. Yet has India given way to every invader; " and the rudeness," says Mr. Orme,§

* Laws of Menu, ch. vii. 54.

† Ib. 56. Another precept to the king, respecting the mode of consulting with his ministers, is very expressive of the simplicity of the times; " Ascending up the back of a mountain, or going privately to a terrace, a bower, a forest, or a lonely place, without listeners, let him consult with them unobserved." Ib. 147.

‡ Ib. 58.

§ Orme on the Government and People of Indostan, p. 417. The same accurate and in-

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"of the military art in Indostan can scarce be imagined but by those who have seen it." The precepts which are delivered in the ancient and sacred books of the Hindus, and which lay the foundation of their military system, are not numerous, and are extremely simple and rude. For the security of the royal residence, the king is directed to take up his abode * "in a capital, having, by way of fortress, a desert rather more than twenty miles round it, or a fortress of earth, a fortress of water or of trees, a fortress of armed men, or a fortress of mountains." Their great unskilfulness in the science of attack and defence led them to place great dependance on fortification, as appears by a variety of their precepts. "One bowman," says Menu,† "placed on a wall is a match in war for 100 enemies, and 100 for 10,000; therefore is a fort recommended." Yet their knowledge of fortification was elementary, and mostly consisted in surrounding the place with a mud wall and a ditch, or availing themselves of the natural advantages which insulated rocks, which water, or impervious thickets, afforded. The duty and advantage of maintaining at all times a powerful army are enforced in the most cogent terms. "By a king," says Menu, "whose forces are always ready for action, the whole world may be kept in awe; let him then, by a force always ready, make all creatures living his own."‡ In recommending a perpetual standing army, the preceptive part of the military doctrine of the Hindus seems in a great measure to have been summed up; for in the marshalling, the discipline, the conduct of an army, in any of its branches, no instruction is conveyed. General exhortations to firmness and valour are all the additional advice of which the utility appears to have been recognized. The Hindu prince is, by divine authority, informed, that those rulers of the earth, who, desirous of defeating each other, exert their utmost strength in battle without ever averting their faces, ascend after death directly to heaven."§ "Never to recede from combat," says Menu, "to protect the people, and to honour the priests, is the highest duty of kings, and ensures their felicity."|| Of a great part however of the duty which, as head of the military force, devolved upon the King, he appears to have been relieved by a deputy. "The forces of the realm," says the law, "must be immediately regulated by the commander in chief." ** In times of peace the military people seem to have been distributed

telligent observer immediately adds; "The infantry consists in a multitude of people assembled together without regard to rank and file," &c.

* Laws of Menu, ch. vii. 70. † Ib. 74. ‡ Ib. 103.

§ Ib. 89. || Ib. 88. ** Ib. 65.

over the country, under the command of the governors of provinces and of districts, for local defence, for the preservation of local tranquillity, and for the convenience of subsistence. When a general war demanded the whole force of the nation, the king commanded the governors of provinces to assemble the soldiers under their command, and repair to his standard.* From this circumstance it has been rashly concluded, that feudal conditions of military service, in fact a feudal government, highly resembling that which existed in Europe, had place in Hindostan.

After the care of protecting the nation from foreign aggression or from internal tumult, the distribution of justice was the next duty of the king. In the first stage of society, the leader in war is also the judge in peace; and the regal and judicial functions are united in the same person. Various circumstances tend to produce this arrangement. In the first place there are hardly any laws; and he alone is entitled to judge who is entitled to legislate, since he must make a law for every occasion. In the next place, a rude people, unused to obedience, would hardly respect inferior authority. In the third place, the business of judicature is so badly performed as to interrupt but little the business or pleasures of the King; and a decision is rather an exercise of arbitrary will and power, than the result of an accurate investigation. In the fourth place, the people are so much accustomed to terminate their own disputes, by their own cunning or force, that the number of applications for judicature is comparatively small. As society advances, a set of circumstances, opposite to these, are gradually introduced; laws are made which the judge has nothing to do but apply: the people learn the advantage of submitting to inferior authority: a more accurate administration of justice is demanded, and cannot be performed without a great application both of attention and of time: the people learn that it is for the good of the community, that they should not terminate, and that they should not be allowed to terminate, either by force or fraud, their own disputes: the administration of justice becomes then too laborious to be either agreeable to the king, or consistent with the other services which he is expected to render: and the exercise of judicature becomes a separate employment, the exclusive function of a particular order of men. 2. Judicial.

To this pitch of civilization the Hindus had not attained. The administration of justice by the king in person stands in the sacred books as a leading principle of their jurisprudence, and the revolution of ages has introduced no change in this primeval practice.

* Laws of Menu, ch. vii. 113 to 120.

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Among a people in the infancy of improvement, the business of the judge is much more to award punishment than to settle disputes. The Hindu law accordingly represents the king, as "created for the guardianship of all, a divinity in human form, to inflict punishment according to the Shaster." * In conformity with these rude ideas the most extravagant praises are bestowed upon this engine of royalty. "For the use of the king Brahma formed, in the beginning of time, the genius of punishment with a body of pure light, his own son, the Protector of all created things. Punishment governs all mankind; punishment alone preserves them; punishment wakes while their guards are asleep: the wise consider punishment as the perfection of justice. If the king were not, without indolence, to punish the guilty, the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish, on a spit. The whole race of man is kept in order by punishment; for a guiltless man is hard to be found."†

For the more perfect discharge of this important duty the king is directed to associate with himself Brahmens, and counsellors capable of giving him advice.‡ Any Brahmen, or even a person of the two middle classes, may interpret the law to him; but a Sudra in no case whatever.§ On those occasions on which it was impossible for the king to give judgment in person, he was empowered to appoint a Brahmen, who, with three assessors, might try causes in his stead.||

So much with regard to the constitution of the tribunals. The solemnities of jurisdiction were thus ordered to proceed; "Let the king, or his judge, having seated himself on the bench, his body properly clothed, and his mind attentively fixed, begin with doing reverence to the deities who govern the world, and then let him enter on the trial of causes."** The form of process was good; simple and direct; as it always is among a rude people. The parties were heard, generally

* Halhed's Gentoo Code, preface. † Laws of Menu, ch. vii. 14 to 22. ‡ Ib. ch. viii. 1.

§ Ib. 20. To learned and righteous Brahmens the magistrate shall give money, and every token of respect and consideration in the judgment seat, to have them near him; but he shall not retain fewer than ten of such Brahmen. Gentoo Code, ch. iii. sect. 1. The more sacred books of law the men by denomination *holy* were alone permitted to read. Thus the law of Menu (ch. ii. 16.) "He whose life is regulated by holy texts, from his conception even to his funeral pile, has a decided right to study this code, but no other person whatsoever." The more profane commentaries, however, were less confined, and the man versed in these might suffice for the common business of administering justice.

|| Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 9, 10. The Gentoo Code, translated by Mr. Halhed, directs, that when the king in person cannot examine a cause, he substitute a learned Brahmen; if a Brahmen cannot be found, a Cshatriya, &c. but in no case a Sudra. Gentoo Code, ch. iii. sect. 1.

** Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 9, 10.

in person; though lawyers by profession, unless in the case of certain high crimes, might appear in lieu of the principals. The application of the plaintiff might be either oral or written; but the answer was required to be in the same form; oral, if the application was oral; and in writing, if it was otherwise.* The judge examines the witnesses; inspects, if any, the writings; and without any intricate or expensive forms proceeds directly to a decision. Punishment immediately follows conviction.†

One of the most attentive and intelligent of our witnesses affords a picture of the practical state of judicature in India, which, there is every reason to believe, may, with immaterial variations, be applied to Hindu society from the period at which it first attained its existing form. "No man is refused access to the Durbar, or seat of judgement; which is exposed to a large area, capable of containing the multitude.‡ The plaintiff discovers himself by crying aloud, Justice! Justice! until attention is given to his importunate clamours. He is then ordered to be silent, and to advance before his judge; to whom, after having prostrated himself, and made his offering of a piece of money, he tells his story in the plainest manner, with great humility of voice and gesture, and without any of those oratorial embellishments which compose an art in freer nations.—The wealth, the consequence, the interest, or the address of the party, become now the only considerations. He visits his judge in private, and gives the jar of oil: his adversary bestows the hog which breaks it. The friends who can influence intercede; and, excepting where the case is so manifestly proved as to brand the failure of redress with glaring infamy (a restraint which human nature is born to reverence) the value of the bribe ascertains the justice of the cause.—This is so avowed a practice, that if a stranger should inquire how much it would cost him to recover a just debt from a creditor who evaded payment, he would every where receive the same answer; the government will keep one-fourth, and give you the rest.—Still the forms of justice subsist; witnesses are heard, but brow-beaten and removed: proofs of writing produced, but deemed forgeries and rejected, until the way is cleared for a decision, which becomes totally or partially favourable, in proportion to the methods which have been used to render it such; but still with some attention

* Gentoo Code, ch. iii. sect. 5.

† Orme on the Government, &c. of Indostan, p. 451.

‡ This publicity of judicial proceedings is common to rude nations. In the country and days of Job, the judge sat at the gate of the city, ch. ix. ver. 7. Moses alludes to the same practice, Gen. xxiii. 18; and Homer tells us it was the practice in the heroic ages of Greece, Il. lib. xviii. ver. 497.

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to the consequences of a judgment, which would be of too flagrant iniquity not to produce universal detestation and resentment.—Providence has, at particular seasons, blessed the miseries of these people with the presence of a righteous judge. The vast reverence and reputation which such have acquired are but too melancholy a proof of the infrequency of such a character. The history of their judgments and decisions is transmitted down to posterity, and is quoted with a visible complacency on every occasion. Stories of this nature supply the place of proverbs in the conversations of all the people of Indostan, and are applied by them with great propriety." *

Analysis of the Hindu Constitution.

Such are the principal branches of the duty of the sovereign, and in these various institutions may be contemplated an image of the Hindu government. It is worthy of a short analysis. As the powers of government consist of three great branches, the legislative, the judicative, and the administrative, it is requisite to inquire in what hands these several powers are deposited, and by what circumstances their exercise is controlled and modified. As the Hindu believes that a complete and perfect system of instruction, which admits of no addition or change, was conveyed to him from the beginning by the Divine Being, for the regulation of his public as well as his private affairs, he acknowledges no laws but those which are contained in the sacred books. From this it is evident that the only scope which remains for legislation is confined within the limits of the interpretations which may be given to the holy text. The Brahmens, however, enjoy the undisputed prerogative of interpreting the divine oracles; for though it is allowed to the two classes next in degree to give advice to the king in the administration of justice, they must in no case presume to depart from the sense which it has pleased the Brahmens to impose upon the sacred text. The power of legislation, therefore, exclusively belongs to the priesthood. The exclusive right also of interpreting the laws necessarily confers upon them, in the same unlimited manner, the judicial powers of government. The king, though ostensibly supreme judge, is commanded always to employ Brahmens as counsellors and assistants in the administration of justice; and

* Orme on the Government and People of Indostan, p. 444 to 446. Another of our most instructive travellers, Mr. Foster, in the Dedication prefixed to his Journey from Bengal to England, p. vii., calls Hindustan, " A land whose every principle of government is actuated by a rapacious avarice, whose people never approach the gate of authority without an offering."—This is a subject to which he often adverts; he says again, (i. 7,) " In Asia, the principles of justice, honour, or patriotism, as they confer no substantial benefit, nor tend to elevate the character, are seldom seen to actuate the mind of the subject."

whatever construction they put upon the law, to that his sentence must conform. A decision of the king, contrary to the opinion of the Brahmens, would be absolutely void; the members of his own family would refuse it obedience. Whenever the king in person discharges not the office of judge, it is a Brahmen, if possible, who must occupy his place. The king, therefore, is so far from possessing the judicative power, that he is rather the executive officer by whom the decisions of the Brahmens are carried into effect.

He who possesses the power of making and interpreting the laws by which another person is bound to act, is by necessary consequence the master of that person's actions. Possessing the legislative and judicative powers, the Brahmens were also masters of the executive power, to any extent whatsoever to which they wished to enjoy it. Nor did this influence over the executive power content them. They further secured to themselves a direct, and no contemptible share of its immediate functions. On all occasions the King was bound to employ Brahmens as his counsellors and ministers; and of course to be governed by their judgment. "Let the king, having risen early," says the law, "respectfully attend to Brahmens learned in the three Vedas, and by their decision let him abide."* It thus appears that, according to the original laws of the Hindus, the king was little more than an instrument in the hands of the Brahmens. He performed the laborious part of government, and sustained the responsibility, while they chiefly possessed the power.†

The uncontrolable sway of superstition, in rude and ignorant times, confers upon its ministers such extraordinary privileges, that the king and the priest are generally the same person; and it appears somewhat remarkable that the Brahmens, who usurped among their countrymen so much distinction and authority, did not invest themselves with the splendour of royalty. It generally happens that some accidental circumstances, of which little account was taken at the time, and which after a lapse of many ages it is impossible to trace, gave occasion to those peculiarities which we remark in the affairs and characters of

* Laws of Menu, ch. vii. 37.

† Even under a system, where the power of the altar was from the beginning rendered subservient to the power of the sword, the right of interpreting a code of sacred laws is found to confer an important authority. Hear the opinion of a very recent, and penetrating observer:—"L'expression vague des preceptes du Koran, seule loi ecrite dans les pays Musulmans, laisse aux docteurs une grande latitude pour les interpretations, et bien des moyens d'augmenter leur autorité. Quoique cette religion ait peu de dogmes, le fanatisme qu'elle inspire est un instrument que les prêtres savent employer avec succés." De l'Egypte, par le Gen. Reynier, p. 62.

nations; and with this reflection it is found that we must very often content ourselves. Yet it is by no means unnatural to suppose, that to a people, over whom the love of repose exerts a wonderful sway, and in whose character aversion to danger forms a principal ingredient, the toils and perils of the sword appeared to surpass the advantages with which it was attended; and that the Brahmens thus transferred to the hands of others, what was a source of too much labour, as well as danger, to be retained in their own.

So many, however, and important were the powers which this class reserved to themselves that the kingly state appears reduced to that of a dependant and secondary office. We should expect to find the sovereign a mere cipher. With this inference the fact does not appear to correspond. The monuments of the Hindus, imperfect as they are, convince us that their monarchs enjoyed no small share both of authority, and of that kind of splendour which corresponded with the state of society. They had entrusted to them two engines, the power of which their history serves remarkably to display: They were masters of the army; and they were masters of the public revenue. These two circumstances, it appears, were sufficient to counterbalance the legislative, and the judicative, and even a great part of the executive power, reinforced by all the authority of an overbearing superstition, lodged in the hands of the Brahmens. These threw around the sovereign an external lustre, with which the eyes of uncultivated men are easily dazzled. In dangerous and disorderly times, when every thing which the nation values is placed on the soldier's sword, the commander, by universal consent, exercises unlimited authority. So frequently is this the situation of a rude and uncivilized people, surrounded on all sides by rapacious and turbulent neighbours, that it becomes in a great measure the habitual order of things. The king, by commanding both the force and the revenue of the state, had in his hands the distribution of gifts and favours; the potent instrument, in short, of patronage; and the jealousy and rivalship of the different sets of competitors would of their own accord give him a great influence over the Brahmens themselves. The distribution of gifts and favours is so powerful an engine, that the man, who enjoys it to a certain extent, is absolute; with whatever checks he may appear to be surrounded; even, as in the case of the Hindu sovereigns, though almost every power of government may appear to be lodged in other hands.*

* See what is observed by three great authors, Hume, Blackstone, and Paley, on the influence of the crown in England. See also what is observed by Lord Bolingbroke on the same subject, in his Dissertation on Parties.

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NEXT to the form of government, in determining the political condition of the people, is the body of law; or the mode in which the rights of individuals are created and secured. For elucidating this important point, in regard to the Hindus, materials are abundant. The detail, however, or even the analysis of the Hindu code, would far exceed the bounds, to which in a work like the present such a topic must be confined. I shall limit myself to the endeavour of conveying an accurate conception of the character and spirit of the Hindu laws; and of that particular point in the scale of excellence, or defect, at which they may truly be considered as placed.

A confusion of subjects, in the Hindu codes of law.

One preliminary observation is, that amid the imperfections adhering to the state of law among a rude and ignorant people, they preserve not their maxims of justice, and their rules of judicial procedure, distinct from other subjects. In the law books of the Hindus, the details of jurisprudence and judicature occupy comparatively a very moderate space.* The doctrines and ceremonies of religion; the rules and practices of education; the institutions, duties, and customs of domestic life; the maxims of private morality, and even of domestic economy; the rules of government, of war, and of negotiation: all form essential parts of the Hindu codes of law, and are treated in the same style, and laid down with the same authority, as the rules for the distribution of justice. The tendency of this rude conjunction of dissimilar subjects, amid other inconveniences, is, to confound the important distinction between those obligations which it is the duty of the magistrate to enforce, and those which ought to be left to the suggestions of self-interest, and the sanctions of morality; it is to extend coercion, and the authority of the magistrate, over the greater part of human life, and to leave men no liberty even in their private and ordinary transactions; while it

* Examine that important specimen of an original Hindu book of law, the Institutes of Menu. See too the confession of Mr. Colebrooke in the preface to his translation of the Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions; a work compiled a few years ago, under authority of the English government, by some of the most learned and respectable of the Brahmens.

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lessens prodigiously the force of the legal sanction in those cases in which its greatest efficiency is required.

Hindu Division and Arrangement of Law.

There is another topic which it will be convenient to detach and premise; and that is, the division and arrangement which the Hindus have given to the matters of law. In marking the stage of civilization, this is a very characteristic circumstance. In a rude state of the human mind, as it has not the power to make a good distribution of a complicated subject, so it is little aware of its importance. To a mind improved and enlightened a good arrangement appears the ground-work of all accurate thought. In the Institutes of Menu, the most celebrated perhaps of all the original compends of Hindu law, the titles, as they are there denominated, or divisions of law, are eighteen, laid down in the following order:—1. Debt, on loans for consumption; 2. Deposits and loans for use; 3. Sale without ownership; 4. Concerns among partners; 5. Subtraction of what has been given; 6. Nonpayment of wages or hire; 7. Nonperformance of agreements; 8. Rescission of sale and purchase; 9. Disputes between master and servant; 10. Contests on boundaries; 11 and 12. Assault, and slander; 13. Larceny; 14. Robbery and other violence; 15. Adultery; 16. Altercation between man and wife and their several duties; 17. The law of inheritance; 18. Gaming with dice and with living creatures.* It is not easy to conceive a more rude and defective attempt at the classification of laws than what is here presented. The most essential and obvious distinctions are neglected and confounded. Though no arrangement would appear more natural, and more likely to strike even an uncultivated mind, than the division of laws, into civil and

* Laws of Menu, ch. viii. The division and arrangement of the same subject, in the compilation translated by Mr. Halhed, is very similar, as will appear by the following titles of the chapters:—1. Of lending and borrowing; 2. Division of inheritable property; 3. Of justice; 4. Trust or deposit; 5. Selling a stranger's property; 6. Of shares; 7. Alienation by gift; 8. Of servitude; 9. Of wages; 10. Of rent or hire; 11. Purchase or sale; 12. Boundaries or limits; 13. Shares in the cultivation of land; 14. Of cities, towns, and of the fines for damaging a crop; 15. Scandalous and bitter expressions; 16. Of assaults; 17. Theft; 18. Violence; 19. Adultery; 20. Of what concerns women; 21. Of sundry articles. In the elaborate Digest on the subject of Contracts and Inheritances, which has been translated by Mr. Colebrooke, the titles of the books, as far as they extend, coincide exactly with the titles in the Institutes of Menu; thus, Book 1. On loans, and their payment; Book 2. On deposits; Book 3. On the nonperformance of agreements; Book 4. On the duties of man and wife. The part of the work which relates to inheritances is included in one book, and is the same with the 17th title enumerated in the Institutes of Menu.

penal, we find the laws distinguished by these appellations, mixed and blended together in the code of the Hindus. The first nine of the heads or titles, above, refer to civil law; the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, to criminal law; the sixteenth and seventeenth return to civil, and the eighteenth to criminal; while the tenth relates partly to the one and partly to the other.

Another ground of division, which, as being excessively obvious, is well calculated to strike an uncultivated mind, is the distinction of persons, and things. This was the ground-work of the arrangement bestowed upon the Roman laws. It is that of the arrangement which continues to prevail in the English; though excessively rude; at once the effect and the cause of confusion.* It will be seen, however, that even this imperfect attempt at a rational division was far above the Hindus.

In the order in which the titles follow one another, no principle of arrangement can be traced. The first eight of the heads may be regarded as allotted to the subject of contracts; but a more rude and imperfect division of contracts cannot easily be conceived. Not to dwell upon the circumstance of beginning with loans, one of the most remote and refined contracts, instead of the more obvious and simple, we may observe that the subject of purchase and sale is divided into two parts; but, instead of being treated in conjunction with one another, one occupies the third place in the list of titles, the other the eighth; and a number of heterogeneous subjects intervene. "Concerns among Partners" is a title which occupies the middle place between that of "Sale without Ownership," and "Subtraction of what has been given;" with neither of which it has any relation. "Nonpayment of wages or hire" stands immediately before "Nonperformance of Agreements," though the latter is a general title in which the former is included. The latter indeed is remarkable; for it is so general that it includes the whole subject of contracts, though it is here placed as only one, and the last save one, among nine different titles or divisions of

* The Romans, by the ambiguity of their word *jura*, which signified either *rights* or *laws*, were enabled to use, without manifest impropriety, such expressions as, *jura* of persons, and *jura* of things: for though it was absurd to talk of the *rights* of things, things having a right to nothing, yet it was not absurd to talk of the *laws* of things. In their expressions *jura personarum* and *jura rerum*, there was, therefore, only confusion of ideas, and ambiguity. The English lawyers, from two of their characteristic properties, blind imitation, and the incapacity of clearing confused ideas, have adopted the same division; though in their set of phrases, rights of persons, and rights of things, there is not only confusion and ambiguity, but gross absurdity.

Book II. that subject. Several of the titles are nothing but particular articles belonging to some of the other divisions; and are with great impropriety made to stand as separate and primary heads. The contracts, for example, between master and servant, are part of the great subject, location, or letting and taking to hire, including services as well as things; yet are these contracts here treated of under two distinct titles; the one, "Nonpayment of wages or hire," the other, "Disputes between master and servant," and even these are separated from one another by two intervening subjects. "Concerns among partners," is an article, little, surely, entitled to stand as a separate head among the primary divisions of law; since the rights of individuals in a joint property fall under the same distinctions and rules which determine their rights in other property.* The transfer of ownership being one great topic, where one branch of that is taken up, and concluded, it would appear a very necessary arrangement to pass on to another, and permit no heterogeneous matter to intervene; when the subject, for example, of transfer by contract is finished, to begin with transfer by descent: Such obvious rules, however, appear to have had no influence in framing the Hindu systems of law: when the subject of contracts is ended, the prin-

* A very odd attempt at a further generalization upon the first nine titles appears in Mr. Colebrooke's Digest. His first book, On Loans, corresponds exactly with the first title in the Institutes of Menu. His second book, On Deposits, is divided into four chapters, which are exactly the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th titles in the list of Menu. His third book, which is entitled, "On the Nonperformance of Agreements," is divided into four chapters, and these are the same with the four succeeding titles in the classification of Menu.

1. Loans, 2. Deposits, 3. Nonperformance of agreements: These, according to the logic of the Digest, are the grand classes of contracts, and the titles which belong to them. The last of the titles, it is evident, cannot belong to any particular class: Nonperformance is incident to all classes of contracts. Either, therefore, this is an improper title altogether, or it ought to stand as the title of the whole subject of contracts: and then Nonperformance of Agreements would include, *loans*, *deposits*, and every thing else. Under *Deposits* the Digest includes the following sub-titles, 1. Deposits, and other bailments; 2. Sale without ownership; 3. Concerns among partners; 4. Subtraction of gifts: of which the last two have no more to do with *deposits* than they have with *loans*, or any the most remote branch of the subject; and the second is either a part of the first, and ought to have been included under it, as relating to the sale of things deposited, or that also has no connexion with the title. Let us next contemplate the sub-titles included under *Nonperformance of Agreements.* They are, 1. Nonpayment of wages or hire; 2. Nonperformance of agreements, chiefly in association; 3. Rescission of purchase and sale; 4. Disputes between master and herdsman: As if these included all the agreements of which there could be nonperformance. The first and last of them, moreover, are the same thing, or the last is a portion of the first. It is needless to carry the criticism further.

cipal branches of criminal law are introduced; and, after these and some other topics are finished, then follows the great subject of inheritance.*

In order to convey in as narrow a compass as possible an idea of the maxims and spirit of Hindu jurisprudence, it will be convenient not to follow the mangled division of the Hindus themselves. Omitting the laws which regulate the political order; which determine who are to govern, who are to obey; and define the terms of command and obedience; laws are conveniently distributed under the three usual heads; I. Civil laws, though *Civil* is a very objectionable term; II. Penal laws; and III. The laws of judicature, or those which fix the mode in which the judicial services are rendered. Under each of these heads such particulars have been carefully selected from the multitude of Hindu laws, as appeared the best calculated to convey an idea of the leading qualities of the Hindu code, and the stage of civilization to which it appears to belong.

Civil Laws of the Hindus.

I. Under the first of these heads, property is the great subject of law: To this we may confine our illustrations.

It is needless to remark that the sources of acquisition, by occupancy, by labour, by contract, by donation, by descent, which have operation in almost all states of society, have operation in Hindustan. It is in the accuracy with which the intended effects of these incidents are defined, and in the efficiency of the means taken to secure the benefits they convey, that the excellence of one system above another chiefly consists.

Purchase and sale.

Though the right to property, in the first stage of its existence, was probably measured by occupancy, and the one ceased with the other,† the privilege was early conferred, of aliening for a valuable consideration, or of transferring by purchase and sale. As this is a very simple compact, it appears to admit of little variety in the various stages of human improvement. But in an age when the means of detecting fraudulent acquisitions, and of proving the good faith of contracts and bargains are imperfectly known, it is only such purchases and

* It is curious, though somewhat humbling, to observe how far the partialities even of great men are apt to mislead them. "The articles," says Dr. Robertson, "of which the Hindu code is composed, are arranged in natural and luminous order." Disquisition concerning India, Appendix, p. 217.

† Lord Kames, Historical Law Tracts, p. 123, 154. Grotius de Jure Belli ac Pacis, lib. II. cap. ii. 2. Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, book II. c. i. The annotator on some of the late editions of Blackstone differs from the doctrine in the text. But that writer seems to have mistaken an important circumstance, carefully attended to by the great lawyers quoted above, that when the commodities of the earth began to be appropriated they were not without owners, but the common domain of the race at large.

sales as are made in public, which it is found convenient to render valid. The laws, accordingly, of our Saxon ancestors prohibited the sale of every thing above the value of twenty pence, except in open market;* and it is with a pleasing kind of surprise we find that similar circumstances have suggested a similar expedient to the people of Hindustan. "He," says the law of Menu,† "who has received a chattel by purchase in open market, before a number of men, justly acquires the absolute property, by having paid the price of it." The right, however, conveyed by a bonâ fide purchase is not, among the Hindus, carried to that extent which is found requisite in a commercial and highly civilized society. If the goods were not the property of the person by whom they were sold, the right of the purchaser becomes absolute only if he can produce the vendor. "If," says the law of Menu, ‡ "the vendor be not producible, and the vendee prove the public sale, the latter must be dismissed by the king without punishment; and the former owner, who lost the chattel, may take it back, on paying the vendee half its value." This is quite sufficient to throw so much uncertainty into the great class of transactions by purchase and sale, as in a civilized state of society would produce a ruinous obstruction of business. A manufacturer purchases a quantity of the raw material, and works it up; he would lose in a ruinous proportion if the owner of that material could demand the identical substance, on tendering the half of its price. In many cases the identical substance is exported; in many it is consumed; and cannot possibly be restored.§ Among children, and among rude people, little accustomed to take their decisions upon full and mature consideration, nothing is more common than to repent of their bargains, and wish to revoke the transaction. Among the Hindus this has been found an affair of sufficient importance to constitute an entire head in the classi-

* L. L. Ethel. 10. 12. L. L. Edg. Hickes. Dissert. p. 30.

† Ch. viii. 201. When Abraham bought a field of Ephron to bury Sarah, the bargain was transacted in the presence of all the people. Genesis, ch. xxiii. See, too, Homer's Iliad, lib. xviii. ver. 499, &c.

‡ Ch. viii. 202.

§ A curious enumeration of the cases in which the property of one man is so incorporated with that of another as to be inseparable, is given in the Roman law, under the head of *Accessio:* Inclusio, adferruminatio, intextura, inœdificatio, scriptura, pictura, specificatio, commixtio, et confusio.

The English law (a few special cases excepted) gives an absolute right of property to the bonâ fide purchaser, by whatever means the commodity may have come into the hands of the vendor. If the English law, however, takes care of the purchaser, it must be owned that it is deplorably defective in the care which it takes of the party by whom the commodity is lost.

fication of their laws. A variety of cases are enumerated, in which a man, if dissatisfied with his bargain, may insist upon having it annulled; and in general any sale and purchase of things not perishable may be rescinded within ten days at the will of either of the parties.* This too, it is evident, is a law which, from the obstruction it would create to business, is altogether incompatible with an age in which the divisions and refinements of industry have multiplied exceedingly the number of exchanges. The regulation according to which the prices of things, instead of being left to the natural and beneficent laws of competition, are fixed by authority, conveys not a high idea of the knowledge and civilization of the Hindus. "Let the king," says the ordinance of Menu, "establish rules for the sale and purchase of all marketable things. Once in every five nights, or at the close of every half month, let him make a regulation for market prices." † It is a circumstance full of meaning, that under this head of bargain and sale is defined the obligation of the marriage contract. ‡

Bailment.

There are many occasions on which it is useful to the owner of property, to place it in the hands of another person, without transferring the ownership. It may be deposited for safe-custody merely; it may be placed, for the sake of an operation, as with the dyer, for the benefit of his art; with the carrier, either by sea or land, for the sake of transportation; or it may be placed, as in the case of a valuable animal, for the sake of maintenance. These, and a variety of other transactions of a similar sort, are included in English law under the title of bailments. In a well-regulated society, where the house of one man is nearly as secure from violence as that of another, mere deposits, unless in the case of warehousing, the object of which is convenience or economy, rather than security, form a class of transactions of little comparative magnitude. In a rude society, in which there is little or no security, and in which the means of concealing valuables is one of the great studies of life, deposits become an object of the greatest importance. In the Hindu code, other cases of bailment occupy a narrow space: the article of deposits swells, alone, to an enormous size, and forms a subject of considerable intricacy and detail. § The chief peculiarities in the provisions are found in the modes of proof; which will be considered, when we

* Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 222, 223. See also Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws, ch. xi., and Mr. Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law, book III. ch. iii.

† Ib. 401, 402. It is worthy of remark that this was a regulation too among the ancient Britons. Leges Wallicæ, lib. iii. 247. Henry's Hist. Brit. iv. 202.

‡ Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 224 to 227.

§ See Laws of Menu, ch. viii.; Halhed's Gentoo Code, iv.; Colebrooke's Digest, book II. ch. i.;

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speak of the third branch of jurisprudence. There is, however, one rule so exclusively belonging to this article, and at the same time expressive of so much simplicity, not to say rudeness, of ideas and manners, that this appears to be its proper place. "On failure of witnesses, to prove a deposit, let the judge actually deposit gold or precious things with the defendant, by the artful contrivance of spies. Should he restore that deposit, he is to be held innocent; if he deny it, he is to be apprehended and compelled to pay the value of both." *

Letting and Hiring.

Hiring; that is, for a valuable consideration and to a definite extent transferring to another the use of any thing valuable, is a right which holds a sort of middle place between sale and bailment; and may extend to personal services as well as to commodities. † As this contract falls very naturally under the laws of purchase and sale, ‡ it occupies a narrow space in the volumes of Hindu law, and as far as commodities are concerned offers nothing particular for observation. § In the hire of personal services, three principal classes are distinguished; first, the students of the Veda, who discharge every menial office to their masters, and receive instruction in return; secondly handicrafts, who receive either stipulated wages, or, if no agreement has been made, one tenth of the profits on their labour; thirdly, agricultural servants, who are always paid in kind—for tending cows, one tenth of the milk; for the culture of corn, one tenth of the crop. If a hired servant perform not his work according to agreement, he shall

Heineccii Pandect. pars III. lib. xvi. tit. 3, on the subject of deposits, and the importance of this class of transactions in the early days of Rome, with the causes of that importance.

The reader may see one of the few attempts which have been made to let in the light of common sense upon the law of England, in the Essay on Bailments, of Sir William Jones.

* Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 183.

† The language of English law in the case of this contract is defective, and a source of confusion. In the case of other contracts, it has one name for the act of one of the parties, another name for that of the other. Thus, in the case of exchange, one of the parties is said to sell, the other to buy; in that of a loan, one of the parties is said to lend, the other to borrow. In the present case, it often uses but one name for the acts of both parties; both he who gives the use, and he who receives it, being said to hire. The Civilians are saved from this inconvenience by the use of the Latin language; in which the act of the one party is termed *locatio,* that of the other *conductio.* To *let* and to *hire,* if uniformly employed, would answer the same purpose in English.

‡ Institut. Justin. lib. iii. tit. 25. Locatio et conductio proxima est emptioni et venditioni, iisdemque juris regulis consistit.

§ The simplicity of some of the enactments provokes a smile; "If a person hath hired any thing for a stipulated time he shall pay the rent accordingly." (Gentoo Code, x.) Again, "If a person, having agreed for the rent of the water of a pool, or of the water of a well, or of the water of a river, or of a house, does not pay it, the magistrate shall cause such rent and hire to be paid." Ibid.

be fined, and forfeit his wages. What he has been prevented by sickness from performing, he is allowed to execute after he is well; but if he leaves unfinished, either by himself or a substitute, any part of the stipulated service, however small, he is deprived of the hire for the whole. One branch of this subject, the obligations between masters, and the servants who tend their cattle, is of so much importance, denoting a state of society approaching the pastoral, as to constitute a whole title of Hindu law. The principal object is to define those injuries accruing to the cattle, and those trespasses committed by them, for which the keeper is responsible.*

Loans.

That peculiar species of transfer which is known by the name of loan is an object of great importance in the jurisprudence of all nations. Among the Hindus it stands as the first article in the classification of legal subjects, and in the Digest of Mr. Colebrooke occupies entirely one of the four books into which the compilers of that work have divided the laws of contract. From the peculiarities in the ideas and in the circumstances of the Hindus, it forms among them a subject of more than usual complexity. In an improved state of society, in which the efficiency of law, the diffusion of wealth, and the accommodations of business, have created a mutual confidence, loans are generally contracted on the security of law, without the actual custody or deposit of the property on which they may be secured. It is only that extremely confined and degraded species of lending abandoned to pawnbrokers, in which pledges form a regular and component part. In the more early and imperfect states of the social union, circumstances are very different. Law is both feeble and inaccurate, poverty reigns, violence prevails; and the man who is able to discharge his debts to-day may be stript of all his possessions to-morrow. In these circumstances, the security of law upon the person or property of the debtor is seldom sufficient; and the deposit of some equivalent property as a pledge is the obvious, and, in point of fact, the common resource. The doctrine of pledges forms one of the most considerable branches of this part of the Hindu code. The laws relating to them are laid down with great minuteness and solemnity; a variety of cases are distinguished, and the receipt of pledges appears to have formed a component part of a comparatively numerous and important class of transactions.† The responsibility of a

* Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 214 to 218, and 229 to 244. Halhed's Gentoo Code, viii., ix. Colebrooke's Digest, book III. ch. ii. and iv.

† Laws of Menu, viii. Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. i. sect. 2. Colebrooke's Digest, part I. book I. ch. iii.

second person, who becomes surety for the borrower, is another foundation on which Hindu loans are contracted, and the different species of it are not inaccurately distinguished.* Interest, or a consideration for property lent, appears to have been known at a very early stage of civilization. † As it is only interest on debts of money which is familiar to the members of a highly-civilized society, European visitors appear to have been forcibly struck with the Hindu law, which imposes an interest to be paid in kind on loans in goods, as grain, fruit, wool or hair, beasts of burden, and the like. ‡ Mr. Halhed says, " The different rate of interest to be paid for different articles is perhaps an institute peculiar to Hindustan; but it reflects a strong light upon the simplicity of ancient manners, before money was universally current as the medium of barter for all commodities, and is at the same time a weighty proof of the great antiquity of these laws, which seem calculated for the crude conceptions of an almost illiterate people upon their first civilization." § When Mr. Halhed, however, informs us that this law " reflects a strong light upon the simplicity of *ancient* manners," it is necessary to add that whatever light it reflects upon *ancient* it reflects the same upon *present* manners, as this is not a law anciently in force, but long ago repealed; it is a law now in operation, and as suitable as ever to the purely Hindu state of society. Mr. Halhed too is mistaken when he supposes that this is an institution peculiar to the Hindus. It was familiarly known to the Jews in the time of Moses, and was probably a common practice in the nations around Judea, as well as in Egypt, from which the Jews had recently departed. || To vary the rates of interest upon the different castes is a peculiarity more naturally arising from the unfair and odious distinctions among men created by the Hindus. The rule established in the Institutes of Menu is, to take, when there is a pledge, one and a quarter per cent. per month; when there is no pledge, two per cent. per month; that is from a Brahmen: but from a man of the military caste, three per cent; four per cent. from one of the mercantile caste; and from a man of the servile caste no less than

* Laws of Menu, ch. viii. Colebrooke's Digest, part I. book I. ch. iv. Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. i. sect. 3.

† It was perfectly familiar to the Jews at the time of their departure from Egypt; Deuteron. ch. xxiii. 20.

‡ Laws of Menu, viii. 151.

§ Halhed, Preface to the Code of Gentoo Laws, p. 53.

|| " Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother, usury of money, usury of *victuals*, usury of *any thing that is lent upon usury*. Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury." Deuteron. xxiii. 19, 20.

five per cent. per month.* This exorbitant rate of interest affords a satisfactory criterion to judge of the opinions which are not unfrequently advanced, of the great riches which, at some imaginary period, formerly distinguished Hindustan. The excessive accumulation, however, of interest was forbidden. Upon a loan in money, interest, beyond the amount of the principal, was not a debt; † upon loans in goods, for some reason which it is not easy to divine, it was permitted to five times the amount of the principal. Compound interest too was prohibited. These were rules which would give effectual motives to the Hindu creditor to exact the regular payment of his interest, with rigid severity.‡ In the laws relating to loans, however, the most remarkable particular is the mode of enforcing payment. The creditor is commanded first, to speak to the friends and relations of the debtor; next, to go in person and importune him, staying some time in his house, but without eating or drinking. If these methods fail, he may then carry the debtor home with him, and having seated him, as the law expresses it, before men of character and reputation, may there detain him. Should he still hold out, the creditor is next directed, to endeavour by feigned pretences to get possession of some of his goods; or, if any pledge was deposited with him, to carry it before the magistrate, who will cause it to be sold to make payment. If neither of these expedients can be used, he shall seize and confine the debtor's wife, children, cattle, buffaloes, horses, &c.; also his pots, clothes, mats, and furniture, and, seating himself at his door, there receive his money. Should even this proceeding fail, he is commanded to seize and bind the debtor's person, and procure by forcible means a discharge of the debt. § What is meant by forcible means is sufficiently explained in the following extraordinary definition. "When, having tied the debtor, the creditor carries him to his own house, and by beating or other means compels him to pay, this is called violent compulsion. By beating," adds the law, "or by coercion, a creditor may enforce payment from his debtor." || When the debtor is of a caste not superior to the creditor,

* The tribes of Burren Sunker, that is, all the mixed classes, pay at the rate of one in sixteen (or rather more than six per cent.) per month. Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. i. sect. 1.

† It is curious that this too was a law of Egypt, at least in regard to loans upon security. Diod. Sic. lib. i. cap. 79. Goguet's Origin of Laws, part III. book I. ch. iv.

‡ For the details respecting the law of interest, consult Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 140 to 154. Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. i. sect. 1. Colebrooke's Digest, part I. book I. ch. ii.

§ This mode of personal seizure had place at an early age among the Egyptians; but they made sufficient advancement to abolish it. A law of king Bocchoris permitted the creditor to seize only the goods of his debtor for payment. Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 90.

|| Colebrooke's Digest, part I. book I. ch. vi. sect. 240, 241.

Book II. the latter may seize and compel him to labour for the discharge of the debt. If a man owes debts to several creditors, he is commanded to discharge first one debt and then another, in the order in which they were contracted; a regulation by which one or two of his creditors may receive in full their demands, while the rest, whether few or numerous, are entirely defrauded. The equitable arrangement of an equal dividend, which we find established among nations of very limited progress in the knowledge of law, seems never, obvious and useful as it is, to have suggested itself to the rude legislators of Hindustan. When a creditor procures payment of a debt by application to the magistrate, he pays him for his interposition a twentieth part of the sum recovered.* By a very extraordinary regulation a punishment seems to be inflicted on the defendant in all actions for debt wherein he is cast. "A debt being admitted by the defendant, he must pay five in the hundred as a fine to the king; but if it be denied and proved, twice as much."† The sacred character of the Brahmen, whose life it is the most dreadful of crimes either directly or indirectly to shorten, suggested to him a process for the recovery of debts, the most singular and extravagant that ever was found among men. He proceeds to the door of the person whom he means to coerce, or wherever else he can most conveniently intercept him, with poison or a poignard in his hand. If the person should attempt to pass, or make his escape, the Brahmen is prepared instantly to destroy himself. The prisoner is therefore bound in the strongest chains; for the blood of the self-murdered Brahmen would be charged upon his head, and no punishment could expiate his crime. The Brahmen setting himself down, (the action is called sitting in dherna) fasts; and the victim of his arrest, for whom it would be impious to eat, while a member of the sacred class is fasting at his door, must follow his example. It is now, however, not a mere contest between the resolution or strength of the parties; for if the obstinacy of the prisoner should exhaust the Brahmen, and occasion his death, he is answerable for that most atrocious of crimes the murder of a priest; he becomes execrable to his countrymen, the horrors of remorse never fail to pursue him; he is shut out from the benefits of society, and life itself is a calamity. As the Brahmen who avails himself of this expedient is bound for his honour to persevere, he seldom fails to succeed, because the danger to his antagonist of pushing the experiment too far is tremendous. Nor is it in

* For the laws respecting recovery of debt, see Laws of Menu, ch. viii. Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. i. sect. 5. Colebrooke's Digest, part I. book I. ch. lvi.

† Laws of Menu, viii. 139.

his own concerns alone that he may turn to so strange an account the sacredness of his person: he may hire himself to enforce in the same manner the claims of any other man; and not claims of debt merely; he may employ this barbarous expedient in any suit. What is still more extraordinary, even after legal process, even when the magistrate has pronounced a decision against him, and in favour of the person upon whom his claim is made, he may still sit in dherna, and by this dreadful mode of appeal make good his demand.*

We have now reviewed the great peculiarities of the Hindu law in regard to those transfers of property which partake of the nature of exchange, and in which some sort of an equivalent is given and received; it remains for us to consider those in which the property passes from one owner to another without any return.

Succession.

The most extensive class of this species of transactions are those occasioned by the death of the owner. Men had added several links to the chain by which they were connected with property, before they ceased to consider death as the cause of a perfect separation, and as leaving their possessions free to the earliest occupier. A right of succession in the children suggests itself, however, at a very early period in the progress of civilization. It is recommended by so many motives, it so happily accords with some of the strongest impulses of human nature, and is so easily engrafted upon the previous order of things, that it could not fail to be an early institution. The children, in fact, being naturally the nearest to their parent at the moment of his death, were generally in circumstances to avail themselves of the right of occupancy, and to exclude other successors by prior possession. Still further, it was the usual arrangement in early

* See an account of the practice of sitting in dherna, by Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), Asiat. Researches, iv. 330 to 332. He tells us that, since the institution of the court of justice at Benares in 1783, the practice has been less frequent, but that even the interference of that court and of the resident had occasionally been unable to check it. He tells us, too, that some of the pundits, when consulted, declared the validity of the deed or concession extorted by dherna; but restricted that validity to such claims as are just: others denied its validity, except where the party confirmed the engagement after the coercion is withdrawn. But it is evident that these restrictions are inconsistent with the facts which Lord Teignmouth records, and are mere attempts of the pundits, according to their usual practice, to interpret their laws into as great a coincidence as possible with the ideas of the great persons by whom the questions are put to them. A regulation was made by the Bengal government in 1795 for preventing this practice. See papers, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 3d June 1813, p. 431. See also Broughton's Mhratta Camp, p. 42.

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stages of society, for the different members of a family to live together; and to possess the property in common.* The father was rather the head of a number of partners, than the sole proprietor. When he died it was not so much a transfer of property as a continued possession; and the copartnership was only deprived of one of its members. The laws of inheritance among the Hindus are almost entirely founded upon this patriarchal arrangement.† When the father dies, if the sons shall choose to live together, the eldest, says the law, shall take the station of the head of the family, and the property is held jointly in his name.‡ "For brothers a common abode is ordained so long as both their parents live. On failure of both their parents, partition among brothers is ordained."§ Even during the life-time of the father, a separation of the family might take place, when a division was made of the property, according to the strict notion of a joint interest, in the proportion of two shares to the father, and one share equally to each of the sons.|| When the division, however, of the common estate is delayed till the death of the father, the elder brother, as the new head

* "Among barbarians in all parts of the world, persons who belong to the same family are understood to enjoy a community of goods. In those early ages, when men are, in a great measure strangers to commerce or the alienation of commodities, the right of *property* is hardly distinguished from the right of *using* or *possessing*; and those persons who have acquired the joint possession of any subject are apt to be regarded as the joint proprietors of it." Millar on the English government, i. 190.

† The whole too of that title of law, "Concerns among partners," refers not so much to a joint-stock property, contributed by certain individuals for carrying on any particular business, as to the property of a number of persons, most commonly brothers or other near relations, who agree to live together, and to have all their effects in common. The multitude of the laws proves the frequency of the transactions.—The old law of inheritance among the Romans was altogether founded upon the same ideas. Fundamentum successionis veteris erat conservatio familiarum. Familia enim universitas quædam videbatur, cujus princeps est paterfamilias.—Quum ergo proximi in familia essent liberi vel sui heredes, tanquam vivo patre, quodammodo domini et αυτοκληρονομοι, legibus xii. tabularum cautum fuerat; SI INTESTATO MORITUR CUI SUUS HERES NEC ESCIT, AGNATUS PROXIMUS FAMILIAM HABETO. Heinec. in Inst. lib. iii. tit. i. sect. 690.

‡ Laws of Menu, ch. ix. 105.

§ Colebrooke's Digest, part II. book V. ch. iii. sect. 114.

|| Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. ii. sect. 11. Colebrooke's Digest, part II. book V. ch. ii. Mr. Halhed has remarked that the demand of the prodigal son in the Gospel for his portion, affords proof of a similar state of things among the Jews. The attentive reader will perceive many other strokes of resemblance. All the more cultivated nations of Asia appear to have reached a stage of society nearly the same.

of the family, is distinguished in the partition. He first receives one twentieth of the inheritance, after which it is divided equally among all the brothers.* With a few immaterial exceptions, the principle of equal division guided succession among the Hindus. " Let the sons, after the death of the parents, equally share the assets. If all sons be equal in good qualities, they must share alike; but he who is distinguished by science and good conduct shall take a greater share than the rest." † The last of these clauses affords an example of that vagueness and ambiguity, the source of endless dispute, which distinguishes the laws of all ignorant people, and which forms a most remarkable feature in those of Hindustan. What is the criterion to ascertain that superiority in science and virtue, which determines the share of brothers in the division of the paternal estate? Or who is to be the judge? As every brother may advance his own pretensions, a more effectual rule for the propagation of discord could not be devised. Equally unskilful, and pregnant with evil consequences, is the vague and indeterminate law which declares " that all those brothers who are addicted to any vice shall lose their title to the inheritance." ‡ As the interpretation of the phrase, " addicted to any vice," may receive any latitude, according to the inclinations and views of the expounder, a gate is here thrown open to unlimited injustice. Inconsistency, and even direct contradiction, is a characteristic of the Hindu laws, which it does not appear to have been thought even requisite to avoid; as it is expressly enacted, that, when two laws command opposite things, both are to be held valid. § This property is fully exemplified in the laws of inheritance. It is declared that, " on the failure of natural heirs, the lawful heirs are such Brahmens as have read the three Vedas, as are pure in body and mind, as have subdued their passions; and they must constantly offer the cake; thus the rites of obsequies cannot fail." || Yet it is added, in the very next clause or sentence, " The property of a Brahmen shall never be taken as an escheat by the King; this is a fixed law; but the wealth of the other classes,

* Colebrooke's Digest, book V. ch. i. sect. 2, subsect. 34. Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. ii. sect. 12.

† Colebrooke's Digest, part II. book V. ch. 3, subsect. 115, 116, ch. i. sect. 2, subsect. 34.

‡ Laws of Menu, ch. ix. 214.

§ " When there are two sacred texts, *apparently inconsistent*, both are held to be law, for both are pronounced by the wise to be valid and reconcileable. Thus in the Veda are these texts: Let the sacrifice be when the sun has arisen, and before it has risen, and when neither sun nor stars can be seen: The sacrifice therefore may be performed at any or all of those times." Laws of Menu, ii. 14, 15.

|| Laws of Menu, ix. 188.

BOOK II. on failure of all heirs, the king may take." * Not unfrequently are unnatural and cruel distinctions established in rude nations, by which, as if one misfortune ought to be aggravated by another, those who labour under certain maladies or bodily defects are excluded from the inheritance. This principle is fully adopted by the Hindus, and carried to an unusual, and monstrous extent. All those persons who are lame, all those persons who are blind, all those who are deaf, all those who are dumb, impotent, or affected with an incurable disease, as leprosy, marasmus, gonorrhœa, dysentery, are denied a share in the partition of their father's effects, and are only entitled to a maintenance from the family.† When a man has sons by wives of different castes, they inherit in the proportion of the mother's rank, and the son by a concubine is entitled only to one half of the share of him who is born of a wife. ‡ The laws which define proximity of kin, and fix the order of collateral succession, are numerous, minute, and in nothing remarkable. § It is particularly to be remarked that daughters are altogether debarred from a share in the inheritance of their fathers. || The woman, indeed, among the Hindus, is so restricted in the means of acquiring property,

* Laws of Menu, ch. ix. 189.

† Colebrooke's Digest, part II. book V. ch. v. sect. 320, 321, 325, 329, 331. In Halhed's Gentoo Code they are thus enumerated; one born an eunuch, blind, deaf, dumb, without hand or foot, or nose, or tongue, or privy member or fundament, and one who has no principle of religion, as well as the victims of various diseases. Gentoo Code, ch. ii. sect. 5. The law is thus stated in the Institutes of Menu; eunuchs and outcasts, persons born blind or deaf, madmen, idiots, the dumb, and such as have lost the use of a limb, are excluded from a share of the heritage. But it is just, that the heir who knows his duty should give all of them food and raiment. Laws of Menu, viii. 201, 202.

‡ Laws of Menu, viii. 149, &c. Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. ii. sect. 2. Colebrooke's Digest, part II. book V. ch. vii.

§ The appearance of accuracy given by minuteness of detail has sometimes been quoted as a proof of refined knowledge; but it is a proof of the very reverse. Henry tells us (Hist. of Britain, i. 320) that the laws of the Druids provided with great care for the equitable division of the effects of the family according to the circumstances of every case. The ancient laws of Wales descend to very long and particular details on this subject, and make provision for every possible case with the most minute exactness. Leges Wallicæ, lib. ii. de mulieribus, cap. i. p. 70. The refinement and niceties of the Mahomedan law of succession are perhaps still more remarkable. See Mahomedan law of succession, Works of Sir William Jones, iii. 467, and the Al Sirajiyyah, with Sir William's commentary, Ib. 505. In fact, it is the want of skill to ascend to a general expression or rule which would accurately include the different ramifications of the subject, that gives occasion to this minuteness of detail.

|| Those who are unmarried at the death of the father are directed to receive portions out of their brothers' allotments, Laws of Menu, ix. 118.

that she is almost excluded from its rights.* The exceptions consist, in certain presents; what was given in the bridal procession; what was given in token of love; what was received from a brother, a mother, or a father: and this property is inherited by her daughters in equal portions with her sons. If she die without issue, her property falls to her husband or to her parents, and is subject to nearly the same rules of collateral succession as are established in regard to the property of males.†

Testaments.

The idea of a joint interest in the property of the family, while it early established the right of succession in the children, served to exclude the right of devising by will. As the property belonged to the parent in common only with his offspring, it could not be regarded as just, that he should have the power of giving it away from them after his death. It is only in stages of society, considerably advanced, that the rights of property are so far enlarged as to include the power of nominating, at the discretion of the owner, the person who is to enjoy it after his death. It was first introduced among the Athenians by a law of Solon, and among the Romans, probably, by the twelve tables.‡ The Hindus have, through all ages, remained in a state of society too near the simplicity and rudeness of the most ancient times, to have stretched their ideas of property so far. The power of disposing of a man's possessions, by testament, is altogether unknown to their laws.§

The same notion of a joint title, in all the members of a family, to the property of the whole, had originally an effect even upon the power of donation. Individuals were not at liberty to alienate by gift any part of the common stock. This, however, is a right which is recommended by motives more powerful and frequent than that of disposal after death, and was therefore much sooner introduced. The first instances were probably sanctioned by religious pretexts. By the laws of the Visigoths it was permitted to make donations to the church; and

* "Three persons, a wife, a son, and a slave, are declared by law to have in general no wealth exclusively their own: the wealth which they may earn is regularly acquired for the man to whom they belong." Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 416.

† Ib. ch. ix. 192 to 197. Colebrooke's Digest, part II. book V. ch. ix.

‡ Kames's Historical Law Tracts, i. 162.

§ Impressed as, when I began to study the history and character of the Hindus, I was, with the loud encomiums I had been accustomed to hear on their attainments, and particularly their laws; which were represented as indicating so high a state of civilization; this fact, which is broadly stated by Mr. Halhed, (Pref. to the Gentoo Code, p. liii.) very forcibly struck me. Rude as the Arabs were at the time of Mahomed, their ideas of property included the right of devising by will. See Koran, ch. v.

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by those of the Burgundians a free man was allowed, after dividing his means with his sons, to make an ecclesiastical donation out of his own portion.* Among the Hindus the conferring of gifts upon the Brahmens, which is taught as one of the most important of religious duties, must have early familiarized the mind to gratuitous alienations; yet, notwithstanding this important circumstance, a man's power of transferring his property by gift appears subject still to extraordinary restrictions. Except in certain minor cases, the consent of his heirs is required. It is only over that part of his property which is more than sufficient to feed and clothe all his dependants, that he has an unlimited power of disposal.†

Penal laws.

II. The second class, in the division of laws; those which relate to offences and their punishment; form a subject less complicated, and of less subtle and difficult disquisition, than those which relate to the distribution of rights; but a branch of law, which, from the violent interference of human passions, is not less slow in gaining improvement.

An offence is an act by which some one or other of those rights is violated, which, as good for the community, the laws of the community have made to exist. The object of punishment is to prevent such acts. It is employed, under the empire of reason, only as a last resource. If offences could be prevented without punishment, punishment ought no where to exist. It follows, as a necessary consequence, that as little of it as possible ought every where to exist.

It is equally manifest that it would be useless to society to establish rights, if it were not to use the necessary means for securing them. It is therefore good to make use of punishment, as far as necessary for the securing of rights; with this precaution only, that the suffering or evil produced by the punishment is less, all cases taken together, than that which would arise from the violation of the right.

It is by these maxims, as criterions, that we shall endeavour to ascertain the attributes of the criminal code of the Hindus.

Cruelty, and the principle of retaliation, two features of the laws of a rude people.

The misery and disorder which overspread human life, wherever self-defence rests wholly upon the individual, are the cause to which government owes its origin. To escape from these evils, men agree to transfer to the magistrate powers sufficient for the defence of all; and to expect from him alone that protection from evil, which they obtained so imperfectly, and with so many disadvantages, from their own exertions. In those rude and violent times, however,

* Historical Law Tracts, i. 159. How like is this regulation of the Burgundians to the rules among the Hindus for division of property to the sons during the father's life-time?

† Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. vii.

when this first revolution in human affairs takes place, it is not from a just and cool discernment of the limits of defence, of prevention, and reparation, that penalties are exacted. It is from the impulse of a keen resentment that the sufferer pursues, and from a strong sympathy with that resentment that the magistrate commonly judges and condemns. In this disposition it is not so much security that is coveted as revenge. A great injury committed can only be expiated by a great injury received. From this over-bearing propensity of a rude mind, two remarkable principles are found universally to characterize the penal code of a barbarous people; that of great severity; and that of retaliation. The early laws of the Greeks and the Romans were cruel; the laws of the twelve tables, says Mr. Gibbon, like the statutes of Draco, were written in characters of blood.* By the laws of Moses, blasphemy, idolatry, profaning the sabbath, homicide, adultery, incest, rapes, crimes against nature, witchcraft, smiting or cursing father or mother, were punished with death, and with burning and stoning, the most cruel kinds of death.† Of the sanguinary character imprinted on the laws of the Egyptians, the following instance may be adduced: They thrust little pieces of reeds, about a finger's length, into all parts of the bodies of parricides; and then, surrounding them with thorns, set them on fire.‡ The barbarous punishments which prevail among the Chinese are too familiarly known to require illustration. Perhaps of all the rude nations of whom we have any account, our own Saxon and German ancestors were the most distinguished for the mildness of their punishments; a singularity, however, to be accounted for, by the use of a very barbarous expedient, a compensation in money for almost every species of crime. Yet in various instances, particularly that of theft, their laws were not only severe but inhuman.§

Cruelty of the Hindu laws.

Notwithstanding the mildness which has generally been attributed to the Hindu character, hardly any nation is distinguished for more sanguinary laws.

* Gibbon's History of the Decl. and Fall of the Rom. Empire, ch. xliv.

† See the Books of Moses, passim.

‡ Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 88.

§ Wilkins, Leg. Sax. p. 2 to 20. Mr. Turner, History of the Anglo-saxons, says, book XI. ch. viii. "The most popular of the legal punishments were the pecuniary mulcts. But as the imperfection and inutility of these could not be always disguised—as they were sometimes impunity to the rich, who could afford them, and to the poor who had nothing to pay them with, other punishments were enacted. Among these we find imprisonment, outlawry, banishment, slavery, and transportation. In other cases, we have whipping, branding, the pillory, amputation of limb, mutilation of the nose and ears, and lips, the eyes plucked out, hair torn off, stoning, and hanging. Nations not civilized have barbarous punishments."

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"The cruel mutilations," says Sir William Jones,* "practised by the native powers, are shocking to humanity." Of this feature of their laws, a few examples will impress a lively conception. "The most pernicious of all deceivers," says the law of Menu, "is a goldsmith who commits frauds; the king shall order him to be cut piecemeal with razors."† "Should a wife, proud of her family and the great qualities of her kinsmen, actually violate the duty which she owes to her lord, let the king condemn her to be devoured by dogs in a place much frequented; and let him place the adulterer on an iron bed well heated, under which the executioners shall throw logs continually, till the sinful wretch be there burned to death."‡ "If a woman murders her spiritual guide, or her husband, or her son, the magistrate, having cut off her ears, her nose, her hands, and her lips, shall expose her to be killed by cows."§ "Of robbers, who break a wall or partition, and commit theft in the night, let the prince order the hands to be lopped off, and themselves to be fixed on a sharp stake. Two fingers of a cut-purse, the thumb and the index, let him cause to be amputated on his first conviction; on the second, one hand and one foot; on the third he shall suffer death."‖ "A thief who, by plundering in his own country, spoils the province, the magistrate shall crucify, and confiscate his goods; if he robs in another kingdom he shall not confiscate his possessions, but shall crucify him. If a man steals any man of a superior caste, the magistrate shall bind the grass beena round his body, and burn him with fire; if he steals a woman of a superior caste, the magistrate shall cause him to be stretched out upon a hot plate of iron, and, having bound the grass beena round his body, shall burn him in the fire. If a man steals an elephant or a horse, excellent in all respects, the magistrate shall cut off his hand, and foot, and buttock, and deprive him of life. If a man steals an elephant or a horse of small account, or a camel or a cow, the magistrate shall cut off from him one hand and one foot. If a man steals a goat or a sheep, the magistrate shall cut off one of his hands. If a man steals any small animal, exclusive of the cat and the weasel, the magistrate shall cut off half his foot."** "If a man sets fire to the tillage or plantation of another, or sets fire to a house or to a granary, or to any uninhabited spot where there is much fruit or flowers, the magistrate, having bound that person's body in the grass beena, shall burn him with fire."†† "For boring the nostrils of cows belonging to priests, the offender

* Charge to the Grand Jury of Calcutta, Dec. 4, 1788, Sir Wm. Jones's Works, iii. 26.

† Laws of Menu, ch. ix. 292.

‡ Ib. viii. 371, 372.

§ Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. xxi. sect. 10.

‖ Laws of Menu, ix. 276, 277.

** Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. xvii. sect. 3.

†† Ib. xviii.

shall instantly lose half of one foot"* The common mode of hanging is thus described by an eye-witness: "A hook is fixed to one end of the rope, and this hook the executioner forces with all his strength into the flesh below the criminal's chin; he is then hoisted up, and the other end of the rope is made fast to the gallows."† "If a magistrate has committed a crime, and any person, upon discovery of that crime, should beat and ill-use the magistrate, the magistrate shall thrust an iron spit through him, and roast him at the fire."‡

Retaliation.

Retaliation is another peculiarity which remarkably distinguishes the laws of that period, when the punishment of crimes is chiefly measured by the resentment of the sufferer.§ Whatever the injury which the innocent man has sustained, a similar injury, by way of punishment, is imposed upon the guilty. Whatever the member, or part of his body, with which the offender committed the crime, upon that part is the chastisement inflicted. The Hebrew law of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, is a familiar example of what occurred among other nations. The forfeit of limb for limb, and member for member, was, among the Romans, exacted by the law of the twelve tables, unless where the offender could expiate his crime by a fine of 300 pounds of copper. The earliest legislators of Greece were so rude as to leave the punishment of crimes, undefined, to the discretion of the judge; but Zaleucus, legislator of the Locrians, who first prescribed rules on this subject, enforced so literally the maxim of an eye for an eye, that it was deemed an important reform on his laws, when it was decreed that he who struck out the eye of a one-eyed person should lose both his own.‖ The Egyptians extended the principle of punishing criminals in that part of the body which was chiefly instrumental in the guilt, to an extraordinary number of instances. He who discovered the secrets of the state had his tongue cut out; he who violated a free woman was made an eunuch; of those who counterfeited coin and seals either public or private, of those who made use of false weights and measures, and of public notaries who forged or mutilated deeds, the two hands were cut off; and calumniators were subjected to the same punishment

* Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 325. The same system of mutilation prevailed in Persia. Xenophon, describing the Persian punishments, says, Πολλακις δ'ην ιδειν παρα τας στειβομενας οδȣς, και ποδων, και χειρων, και οφθαλμων στερȣμενȣς ανθρωπȣς. Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. i. p. 92.

† Bartolomeo's Travels, book II. ch. v.

‡ Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. xvi. sect. 1.

§ "The inhuman and unequal principle of retaliation," says Mr. Gibbon, Hist. of Dec. and Fall of the Rom. Emp. ch. xliv.

‖ Strabo, lib. vi. p. 398. Potter's Antiq. book I. ch. xxvi. Blackstone's Commentaries, book IV. ch. i.

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which would have been due to those whom they falsely accused.* To how extraordinary a degree the spirit of retaliation moulds the penal legislation of the Hindus, a few specimens will evince. The law concerning assault and battery, in the Institutes of Menu, thus commences: "With whatever member a low-born man shall assault or hurt a superior, even that member of his must be slit, or cut, more or less in proportion to the injury: this is an ordinance of Menu."† "If a man strikes a Bramin with his hand, the magistrate shall cut off that man's hand; if he strikes him with his foot, the magistrate shall cut off the foot; in the same manner, with whatever limb he strikes a Bramin, that limb shall be cut off; but if a Sooder strikes either of the three casts, Bramin, Chehteree, or Bice, with his hand or foot, the magistrate shall cut off such hand or foot."‡ "If a man has put out both the eyes of any person, the magistrate shall deprive that man of both his eyes, and condemn him to perpetual imprisonment, and fine him."§ The punishment of murder is founded entirely upon the same principle. "If a man," says the Gentoo code, "deprives another of life, the magistrate shall deprive that person of life."‖ "A once-born man, who insults the twice-born with gross invectives, ought to have his tongue slit. If he mention their names and classes with contumely, as if he say, 'Oh thou refuse of Brahmens,' an iron style, ten fingers long, shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth. Should he through pride give instruction to priests concerning their duty, let the king order some hot oil to be dropped into his mouth and his ear." ** "If a blow, attended with much pain, be given either to human creatures or cattle, the king shall inflict on the striker a punishment as heavy as the presumed suffering."†† "With whatever limb a thief commits the offence, by any means in this world, as if he break a wall with his hand or his foot, even that limb shall the king amputate, for the prevention of a similar crime."‡‡ "A mechanic or servile man, having an adulterous connexion with a woman of a twice-born class, if she was unguarded, shall lose the part offending, and his whole substance."§§ "The breaker of a dam to secure a pool, let the king punish by long immersion under water."‖‖ That

* Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 88, 89.

† Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 279. In a style characteristically Hindu, the following, among other cases, are specified; when a man spits on another, when he urines on him, and when he breaks wind on him. The penalties I choose not to describe. See the same chapter, 280 to 284.

‡ Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws, ch. xvi. sect. 1.

§ Ib.

‖ Ib.

** Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 270 to 273.

†† Ib. 286.

‡‡ Ib. 334.

§§ Ib. 374.

‖‖ Ib. ix. 279.

the portion of suffering, sufficient to constitute a motive for abstaining from the crime, is all the punishment which reason authorizes, we see nations far advanced in civilization so slow in recognizing, that the horrid excess of suffering, produced in most instances by the law of retaliation, would not, it is probable, suggest to nations, at a very early stage of civilization, the utility of repealing it. But if no maxim more naturally recommends itself to the human mind, even before it is strong, than that all who commit the same crime should meet with equal punishment, we must form a very unfavourable opinion of the intellectual state of a people, whose penal laws are in a great measure founded on the principle of retaliation. It requires a very slight degree of reflection to see, that when the hand or the foot is cut off from one man (and the reason extends to other cases), the punishment may be a very moderate one; when the same limb is cut off from another man, to whose subsistence it is essential, the penalty may far exceed a sentence of death.

The more noble and opulent less punished than the inferior classes.

In another class of punishments, where the principle of equality may be still more easily applied, the grossness of the violation excites considerable surprise. As among our Saxon ancestors, and indeed in most nations in a similar state of society, so among the Hindus fines bear a very large proportion to the other penalties annexed to crimes. When it is proper that reparation should be made to the party injured by him who is author of the wrong, in that case the pecuniary ability of the party on whom the obligation falls can no more be regarded, than it can in that, for example, where he owes a debt. But in so far as it is the object of the law to create a motive against the occurrence of the offence; or even to take vengeance, to inflict pain purely because pain has been occasioned; in so far it is one of the plainest dictates of reason, that where the offence is equal, the suffering or hardship imposed should be equal too. Though a pecuniary mulct imposes all degrees of hardship, according to the pecuniary abilities of the man who is condemned to pay it, the Hindu law makes no distinction between the man who is rich and the man who is poor.* It makes, indeed, a serious distinction between the man who is of one, and the man who is of another class; and they who are of the lowest are, with a very few exceptions, always the most severely fined. But if the class is the same, the same forfeit is exacted for the same offence; though one man should be too opulent to

* There is in one passage of Menu, ch. viii. 126, an incidental exhortation to the judge, not to be regardless of the ability of the sufferer in the infliction of corporal or other punishment; and it is impossible but some regard must have been paid to it in practice: but defined sums are in almost all cases affixed to specific crimes, without the smallest reference to the ability of the payer.

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From the classification of the people, and the privileges of the castes, we are prepared to expect, among the Hindus, inequalities created by distinctions of rank. They relate either to the crimes committed *against* persons of the different ranks, or the crimes committed *by* them. The first it is found difficult to avoid even in high stages of civilization. At present, in the best governed countries in Europe, an injury done to a nobleman is deemed a crime of a deeper die, than a similar injury to a person of the lowest rank.* If the laws should make no distinction in principle, the power of the nobleman to bring the offender to trial, and to command the partiality of the judge, would long make a very essential difference in practice. When the Hindu law, therefore, makes a gradation in the criminality of the same action, according as it is committed against the Brahmen, the Cshatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra, it is only the excess in the difference of punishment, not the admission of the principle, which is calculated to excite our surprise. With regard, however, to the offences which are committed *by* individuals of the different ranks, it is rare, even among the rudest people, to find the principle of unequal punishments expressly avowed; and comparative impunity granted by law to the crimes of the great. Perjury, fraud, defamation, forgery, incest, murder, are not among us reckoned crimes more venial in the lord than in his servant. Among the Hindus, whatever be the crime committed, if it is by a Brahmen, the punishment is in general comparatively slight; if by a man of the military class, it is more severe; if by a man of the mercantile and agricultural class, it is still increased; if by a Sudra, it is violent and cruel. For defamation of a Brahmen, a man of the same class must be fined 12 panas; a man of the military class, 100; a merchant, 150 or 200; but a mechanic or servile man is whipped.† The general principle on which the penalties for this crime seem to be regulated is, that whatever fine is exacted from a man of the same class by whom you have been accused, one only half as large should be imposed

* The *orthodox* judge, Blackstone, as Mr. Gibbon very *significantly* denominates him, (See Hist. Decl. and Fall, &c. ch. xliv. n. 145) is quite an advocate for the superior criminality of an injury to a man of a superior rank. "If a nobleman strikes a peasant," says he, "all mankind will see, that, if a court of justice awards a return of the blow, it is more than a just compensation. The execution of a needy, decrepid assassin, is a poor satisfaction for the murder of a nobleman, in the bloom of his youth, and full enjoyment of his friends, his honours, and his fortune." Commentaries on the Laws of England, book IV. ch. i.

† Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 269, 267.

upon the man of a superior class, but one double in magnitude, should the caste of the slanderer be inferior to your own. For all the more serious accusations against any of the superior orders, the punishment of the Sudra is far more dreadful.* That the scale of punishment for crimes of assault is graduated by the same rule, the following instance, out of many, will evince. "If a man of a superior cast and of superior abilities to another should strike him with a weapon, the magistrate shall fine him 500 puns of cowries. If a man of an equal cast and of equal abilities with another should strike him with a weapon, the magistrate shall fine him 1000 puns of cowries. If a man of an inferior cast and of inferior abilities to another should strike him with a weapon, the magistrate shall fine him 3000 puns of cowries."† For perjury, it is only in favour of the Brahmen that any distinction seems to be admitted. "Let a just prince," says the ordinance of Menu, "banish men of the three lower classes, if they give false evidence, having first levied the fine; but a Brahmen let him only banish."‡ The punishment of adultery, which on the Brahmens is light, descends with intolerable weight on the lowest classes. In regard to the inferior cases of theft, for which a fine only is the punishment, we meet with a curious exception, the degree of punishment ascending with the class. "The fine of a Sudra for theft shall be eight fold; that of a Vaisya, sixteen fold; that of a Cshatriya, two and thirty fold; that of a Brahmen, four and sixty fold, or a hundred fold complete, or even twice four and sixty fold."§ No corporal punishment, much less death, can be inflicted on the Brahmen for any crime. "Menu, son of the Self-existent, has named ten places of punishment, which are appropriated to the three lower classes; the part of generation, the belly, the tongue, the two hands; and fifthly, the two feet, the eye, the nose, both ears, the property; and, in a capital case, the whole body; but a Brahmen must depart from the realm unhurt in any one of them."||

Want of proportion in the punishments of the Hindus.

Punishment should be proportioned, not to the greatness of the crime, that is, the quantity of suffering it produces, but solely to the difficulty of creating an adequate motive to abstain from it. Thus, if a fine of one shilling created a sufficient motive to abstain from the crime of murder, the fine of a shilling would be all the punishment for murder which ought to exist. It must be owned, however, that the principle of punishing crimes, according to their magnitude, very naturally suggests itself; and bears a strong appearance of according with the princi-

* Code of Gentoo Laws, ch. xv. sect. 2. Vide supra, p. 115.

† Ib. xvi. sect. 1.

‡ Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 123.

§ Ib. 337, 338.

|| Ib. 124, 125.

Book II. ples of reason. Even to this early and imperfect principle, the Hindus have never ascended. Of this much evidence has already appeared. A few additional instances are subjoined. While perjury, one of the most mischievous of crimes, and one against which an adequate motive is very difficult to create, is punished only with fine, and, in its most aggravated cases, with banishment, the crime of obtaining goods on false pretences is punished with mutilation, and even with death. "If a person steals a man of an inferior cast, the magistrate shall fine him 1,000 puns of cowries: If he steals an elephant or a horse excellent in all respects, the magistrate shall cut off his hand, and foot, and buttock, and deprive him of life;"* as if a horse were beyond all comparison more important than a man. The following places of the body are enumerated; the ear, the nose, the hand, the foot, the lip, the eye, the tongue, and some others, upon all of which a stroke such as to separate or cut them off from the body, is punished equally.† Yet surely there is no comparison between the injury of depriving a man of his ear, for example, and of his tongue, or his hand. An amour with a woman of the Brahmenical caste is more dreadfully punished than parricide. Various cases of theft and robbery are accounted worthy of more shocking penalties than murder. Even Sir William Jones is constrained to say that the punishments of the Hindus "are partial and fanciful, for some crimes dreadfully cruel, for others reprehensibly slight."‡

Principal classes of offences.

The principal acts erected into punishable offences by the Hindu law are, false witness, defamation, assault, theft, outrage, adultery; a few reflections on which will complete the view which it is necessary to take of the criminal laws of this people. The species and degrees of perjury are thus distinguished: "If a witness speak falsely through covetousness, he shall be fined 1,000 panas; if through distraction of mind, 250; if through terror, 1,000; if through friendship, the same; if through lust, 2,500; if through wrath, 1,500; if through ignorance, 200 complete; if through inattention, 100 only." § The laws against reproachful expressions are numerous, and the penalties remarkably severe; a pretty satisfactory proof that the Hindus have always been, what travellers

* Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. xvii. sect. 3. † Ib. ch. xvi. sect. 1.

‡ Preface to the Translation of the Institutes of Menu, Sir Wm. Jones's Works, iii. 62.

§ Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 120, 121. Where the language of the text specifies the fine by naming it technically in the order of amercements, I have stated the sum, that the reader might see at a glance the proportions.

assure us they continue to the present day, remarkably abusive in their manners.* By the term Assault are indicated the smaller instances of personal offence and injury; on which the laws of the Hindus descend to the most minute distinctions and details. In this they present a remarkable agreement with the laws of our Gothic ancestors. Lord Kames, observing upon their mode of satisfying for injuries by money, remarks, that "the laws of the Burgundians, of the Salians, of the Almanni, of the Bavarians, of the Ripuarii, of the Saxons, of the Angli and Thuringi, of the Frisians, of the Langobards, and of the Anglo-saxons, are full of these compositions, extending from the most trifling injury to the most atrocious crimes. In perusing the tables of these compositions, which enter into a minute detail of the most trivial offences, a question naturally occurs, why all this scrupulous nicety of adjusting sums to delinquencies? Such a thing is not heard of in later times. But the following answer will give satisfaction:—That resentment, allowed scope among Barbarians, was apt to take flame by the slightest spark; therefore, to provide for its gratification, it became necessary to enact compositions for every trifling wrong, such as at present would be the subject of mirth rather than of serious punishment; for example, where the clothes of a woman, bathing in a river, are taken away to expose her nakedness, and where dirty water is thrown upon a woman in the way of contumely."† The following orders of crime and of composition in the Hindu code present a similar, and a very remarkable picture; 1. Throwing upon the body of another, dust, or sand, or clay, or cow-dung, or any thing else of the same kind, or striking with the hand or foot. 2. Throwing upon the body tears, or phlegm, or the paring of one's nails, or the gum of the eyes, or the wax of the ears, or the refuse of victuals, or spittle. 3. Throwing upon another from the navel downwards to his foot, spue, or urine, or ordure, or semen. 4. Throwing upon another, from the navel upwards to beneath the neck, any of the substances mentioned in the last article. 5. Throwing upon another any of the same substances from the neck upwards. 6. Assaulting with a stone, or with a piece of iron or wood. 7. Hauling by the foot, or by the hair, or by the hand, or by the clothes. 8. Seizing and binding another in a cloth, and setting one's foot upon him. 9. Raising up an offensive weapon to assault. 10. Striking with a weapon. In all these cases a further distinction is made if the offence is committed by a superior, an inferior, or an equal, and if it is committed against a man or against a woman. The gradations too of wounds are curiously specified;

* See the Chapter on *Manners*.

† Historical Law Tracts, i. 49, 50.

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1. When no blood is shed; 2. When a little blood is shed; 3. When much blood is shed; 4. When a very great quantity; 5. When a bone is broke as well as blood is shed; 6. When a member or organ is struck off or separated.* Under the title theft the Hindus include the various species of frauds. In all nations which have made but the first steps in civilization; in which the means of protecting property are very imperfectly known; and in which covetousness is a furious passion; the depredations of thieves are always punished with extreme severity. In the Gothic nations of Europe, when the murder even of the King subjected to only a pecuniary composition, theft was punished by mutilation and death.† In the same manner among the Hindus, while murder is punished by the mere loss of life, some of the most atrocious instances, adduced above, of the cruelty of the Hindu laws were drawn from the punishments awarded to theft.‡ The minor cases are punished by fines, and by various degrees of mutilation; but the higher species by impaling, by burning alive, and by crucifixion. By Outrage, which is sometimes denominated violence, sometimes robbery, are designated all attacks accompanied with violence either upon property or person, including even the crime of murder. While the inferior species are punished by fine and by mutilation, the higher, as murder, are punished by death; and some of the more heinous spoliations are avenged with all the sanguinary fury which, among the Hindus, has dictated the higher penalties of theft.§ Adultery is a very complicated subject. In the Hindu language it includes every unlawful species of venereal act, from the least, to the most, injurious or offensive. If the laws are any proof of the manners of a people, this article affords indication of one of the most depraved of all conceivable states of the sexual appetite. Almost all the abuses, and all the crimes which it is easy to conceive, are there depicted with curious exactness, and penalties are devised and assigned for every minute diversity and refinement, as for acts of the most frequent and familiar recurrence. There are even titles of sections in the code which cannot be transcribed with decency, and which depict crimes unknown to European laws.||

* See the Article Assault in the Code of Gentoo Laws, ch. xvi. sect. 1. Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 279 to 301.

† See Kames's Historical Law Tracts, i. 63, and the authorities there quoted.

‡ Supra, p. 152.

§ Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 344 to 348. Code of Gentoo Laws, ch. xviii.

|| Mr. Halhed makes so curious an apology for this article in his preface to the Code of Gentoo Laws, p. lxiii. that I am tempted to transcribe it: "The nineteenth and twentieth chapters," says he, "present us a lively picture of Asiatic manners, and in them a strong proof of their originality. To men of liberal and candid sentiments, neither the grossness of the portrait nor the

According to the general practice of Eastern nations, among whom an extraordinary value is set on the chastity of the women, the more aggravated instances of its violation are punished by the most shocking death which the ingenuity of human cruelty has probably devised, that of burning on a heated plate of iron: while the ramifications of criminality are pursued to the most minute and trivial acts, and such as, even in the most jealous nations of Europe, would be held entirely innocent. "He, who talks with the wife of another man at a place of pilgrimage, in a forest or a grove, or at the confluence of rivers, incurs the guilt of an adulterous inclination: to send her flowers or perfumes, to sport and jest with her, to touch her apparel and ornaments, to sit with her on the same couch, are all held adulterous acts on his part." * Of all crimes, indeed, adultery appears, in the eyes of Hindu lawgivers, to be the greatest; and worthy of the most severe and terrible chastisement. The offences committed with the women of the higher classes by men of the lower are the acts which are looked upon as the most horrible, and which rise in criminality, as the classes recede from one

harshness of the colouring, will seem improper or indecent, while they are convinced of the truth of the resemblance; and if this compilation does not exhibit mankind as they might have been, or as they ought to have been, the answer is plain, 'Because it paints them as they were.'—Vices, as well as fashions, have their spring and their fall, not with individuals only, but in whole nations, when one reigning foible for a while swallows up the rest, and then retires in its turn to make room for the epidemic influence of a newer passion. Wherefore, if any opinions, not reconcileable to our modes of thinking, or any crimes not practised, and so not prohibited among us, should occur in these chapters, they must be imputed to the different effects produced on the human mind by a difference of climates, customs, and manners, which will constantly give a particular turn and bias to the national vices.—Hence it would be a weak and frivolous argument for censuring the fifth section of this nineteenth chapter, to object that it was levelled at an offence absurd in itself, not likely to be frequent, or, supposing it frequent, still to be deemed of trivial consequence; and to make this objection merely in consideration that the offence may not be usual among us, and has certainly never been forbidden by our legislature, such cavils would betray a great ignorance of the general system of human nature, as well as of the common principles of legislation; for penal laws (except for the most ordinary crimes) are not enacted until particular instances of offence have pointed out their absolute necessity; for which reason parricide was not specified among the original institutes of the celebrated lawgiver of Sparta. Hence we may with safety conclude, that the several prohibitions and penalties of this fifth section were subsequent to, and in consequence of, the commission of every species of enormity therein described."—Mr. Halhed here maintains, with very cogent reasons, though rather an unskilful style, that the Hindu morals are certainly as gross as the Hindu laws; that the latter grossness is, in fact, altogether the result of the former.

* Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 356, 357.

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another, till they arrive at last at the adultery of a man of the servile with a woman of the priestly caste; a point beyond which, it is supposed, that human guilt and depravity are altogether incapable of advancing.*

Laws of Judicature.

III. The fulfilment of the laws of the two preceding species; denominated, for want of better terms, the civil and penal; is the End: The laws of Judicature are to be regarded in the light of Means to that End. The subject, in its full extent, includes an account of 1. the instruments made use of for producing the fulfilment of the two ultimate branches of law, and 2. the modes of using them.

The instruments made use of among the Hindus have been already described, in giving an account of the functions of the king; who, with his Brahmen assessors, is the principal instrument. The mode of using the instruments of judicature, or the steps according to which judicature is performed, were there also briefly described. Of the matters which remain, the laws or rules respecting evidence form the only part which it is still useful to represent.

Laws relating to Evidence.

Prior to the general use of writing, the chief species of evidence, applicable to judicial cases, is the speech of witnesses. It is this species which makes the principal figure in the laws of Hindustan to the present age. It is even more than doubtful whether written evidence is at all referred to by the author of the ordinances of Menu; though from himself we learn that writing had been applied to laws.† "On the denial," says the law, "of a debt which the defendant has in court been required to pay, the plaintiff must call a witness who was present at the place of the loan, or produce other evidence;" ‡ the gloss of Culluca adds, "as a note and the like:" § but for the use of evidence by writing not a single rule is afterwards adduced, though numerous rules are prescribed for the use of that which is delivered in speech: not even a word of allusion to this novel species of evidence appears; and where the various circumstances are enumerated on which the attention of the judge ought to be fixed, while the evidence of speaking witnesses occupies a conspicuous place, the evidence of writings is entirely omitted. ‖ In the compilations, however, of recent times, as

* Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 352 to 386. Code of Gentoo Laws, ch. xix.

† Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 3. ‡ Ib. 52. § Ib.

‖ "Let him fully consider the nature of truth, the state of the case, and his own person; and next, the witnesses, the place, the mode, and the time." Ib. 45. From these circumstances it is probable that the emendation of the commentator has been added from the more enlarged knowledge of later times.

in that made by order of Mr. Hastings and translated by Halhed, the use of written evidence appears; but even there it is treated with a negligence and slightness due to a matter of subordinate importance.

CHAP. IV.

Exclusion of evidence.

Among the rules for evidence at the mouths of witnesses, some are reasonable and good; others are not only the reverse, but indicate a state of uncommon ignorance and barbarism. The evidence of three witnesses is required for the decision of any question: "When a man has been brought into court by a suitor for property, the cause shall be decided by the Brahmen who represents the king, having heard three witnesses at least."* Yet it is declared in another place that "one man, untainted with covetousness, may (*in some cases*, says the gloss of Culluca) be the sole witness."† This apparent contradiction may perhaps be explained by a passage in the Code of Gentoo Laws, where the decision of a cause by the testimony of a single witness is made to depend upon the consent of the litigants.‡ Even from this rule the following cases are excepted: "Supposing," says the law, "a person to lend another money secretly, or secretly to entrust his money to the care of another, in such affairs one single person is a sufficient witness."§ The different degrees of trustworthiness in different witnesses leads to mischievous rules. "Married housekeepers, men with male issue, inhabitants of the same district, either of the military, the commercial, or the servile class, are competent, when called by the party, to give their evidence."‖ The most fanciful distinction surely that ever was made by an uncultivated mind, is that between the father of male and the father of female offspring, as a source of evidence. The persons held incompetent to bear witness are indeed a very numerous class. "Those must not be admitted who have a pecuniary interest; nor familiar friends; nor menial servants; nor enemies; nor men formerly perjured; nor persons grievously diseased; nor those, who have committed heinous offences. The king cannot be made a witness, nor cooks and the like mean artificers; nor public dancers and singers; nor a priest of deep learning in Scripture; nor a student of the Vedas; nor an anchoret secluded from all worldly connexions; nor one wholly dependant; nor one of bad fame; nor one who follows a cruel occupation; nor one who acts openly against

* Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 60. The same law is stated still more generally and absolutely, in the Gentoo Code, ch. iii. sect. 8.

† Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 77.

‡ Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. iii. sect. 8. "If the plaintiff or defendant, at their own option, appoint a single person only, not fraudulently inclined, &c. he may be a witness."

§ Ibid.

‖ Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 62.

Book II. the law; nor a decrepit old man; nor a child; nor a wretch of the lowest mixed class; nor one who has lost the organs of sense; nor one extremely grieved; nor one intoxicated; nor a madman; nor one tormented with hunger or thirst; nor one oppressed by fatigue; nor one excited by lust; nor one inflamed by wrath; nor one who has been convicted of theft."* Among the persons excluded from the rank of witnesses are the female sex entirely; unless in the case of evidence for others of the same sex. Servants, too, mechanics, and those of the lowest class, are allowed to give evidence for individuals of the same description.† Brahmens and the king are exempted from the obligation of giving evidence, by way of privilege, though the Brahmens are admitted when they please.‡

This enumeration of persons, whose testimony was altogether unfit to be believed, affords a proof of the great difficulty of obtaining true testimony in the age in which it was made; and by its extraordinary extent holds up a dreadful picture of the state of morality to which it could be supposed to be adapted. It indicates, also, by the strange diversity of the cases which it includes, a singular want of discrimination, in the minds by which it was framed. And further; rules for the exclusion of testimony from any human being, not deprived of the ordinary exercise of the human faculties, however the vicious effects of custom may preserve them, could be introduced, in no other age but one of great ignorance and barbarity, when the human mind judges only in the gross, is incapable of nice discriminations, cannot assign with exactness the difference of value which ought to be attached to the testimony of different men, and estimates the weight of a body of evidence by the number, not the trustworthiness, of the people who have given it.

The introduction of rules for the exclusion of evidence marks the age of false refinement, which is that of semibarbarism, intermediate between the age of true wisdom, and that of primeval ignorance. The first judges or arbiters, the heads of families, when they had to clear the subject of any dispute, called, no doubt, before them every individual of the little community or family who appeared to know any thing about the matter, and questioned them all; allowing to the statements, extracted from each, the force, much, or little, or none at all, to which, all circumstances considered, and all allowances made, it appeared they were entitled. This is exactly the course, which true wisdom would recommend. In an age however of false refinement; which aims at excessive accuracy; but, failing in comprehensiveness, applies its rules to part only of a subject,

* Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 64 to 67. † Ib. 68. ‡ Ib. 69, 70, 71.

when they should include the whole; Judges, perceiving that certain classes of witnesses were apt to give them false testimony, and considering that false testimony misleads, resolved immediately that the testimony of such witnesses ought never to be received. Now, if the testimony of the best sort of witness had been a sort of thing which the judges always had at command, in any quantity they pleased, this might have been a rational procedure. But as this was very far from being the case; as it very often happens that the testimony of the best sort of witnesses cannot be had, or that they contradict one another; that not only some light, but full and satisfactory light may often be obtained from the worst sort of witnesses; to determine that certain classes of persons, and among them the persons whose knowledge of the facts is naturally the most complete, shall not be used as witnesses, is merely to determine that, so far, judicature shall be performed without evidence; the judge shall decide without knowledge; the question of right or wrong, instead of being determined upon all the evidence that can be had, shall be determined upon a part of it only; sometimes a most insignificant part; sometimes hardly any at all.*

One of the strongest characteristics of a rude age, or of a corrupt government, is, to make laws which cannot, or ought not, to be executed; and then to give rules of dispensation from them. "In all cases of violence, of theft and adultery, of defamation and assault, "says the Hindu law," the judge must not examine too strictly the competence of witnesses."†

A presumption, of the very weakest kind, is admitted as a full proof, in the

* "If," says Mr. Hume, "the manner of punishing crimes among the Anglosaxons appear singular, the proofs were not less so; and were also the natural result of the situation of those people. Whatever we may imagine concerning the usual truth and sincerity of men who live in a rude and barbarous state, there is much more falsehood, and even perjury, among them, than among civilized nations: Virtue, which is nothing but a more enlarged and more cultivated reason, never flourishes to any degree, nor is founded on steady principles of honour, except where a good education becomes general; and where men are taught the pernicious consequences of vice, treachery, and immorality. Even superstition, though more prevalent among ignorant nations, is but a poor supply for the defects in knowledge and education: Our European ancestors, who employed every moment the expedient of swearing on extraordinary crosses and reliques, were less honourable in all engagements than their posterity, who, from experience, have omitted those ineffectual securities. This general proneness to perjury was much increased by the usual want of discernment in judges, who could not discuss an intricate evidence, and were obliged to number, not weigh, the testimony of witnesses." History of England, Appendix I.

This subject will one day when the papers of Mr. Bentham are produced, be presented to the world, in all the light which full knowledge, a minute analysis, and philosophy, can bestow upon it.

† Menu, ch. viii. 72.

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following passages: "If a man brings a suit against another, saying, I have lent you several articles, and the person answers, I never received one of the articles you mention; in that case, if the plaintiff proves any one of all the articles claimed, to be in the defendant's possession, the magistrate shall cause the whole so claimed to be restored." * In cases of infinitely greater importance the same deceitful rule is applied. "If a man hath accused another of the murder of a man, or of a robbery, or of adultery, and should say, You have in several places been guilty of these crimes, and the defendant denies the accusation; in such a case, if the accuser can prove upon the other the commission of any one of these crimes, it shall be a proof of the whole complaint."†

Of all the perverse proceedings of a superstitious mind, which the history of rude nations presents to us, few will be found more at variance with reason, than the establishment of the following law: "The witness, who has given evidence, and to whom within seven days after, a misfortune happens from disease, fire, or the death of a kinsman, shall be condemned to pay the debt and a fine."‡ The man of the greatest innocence and virtue, who has delivered the truest testimony, if a misfortune, which may render him the object of the deepest commiseration, befall him, is condemned to bear the infamy and punishment of a perjured man.

False evidence enjoined.

Though there is no ground on which the infirmities of the human mind are more glaring, and more tenacious of existence, than that of law, it is probable that the annals of legislative absurdities, in all the regions of the globe, can present nothing which will completely match a law for the *direct* encouragement of perjury. "Whenever," says the ordinance of Menu, "the death of a man, who had been a grievous offender, either of the servile, the commercial, the military, or the sacerdotal class, would be occasioned by true evidence, from the known rigour of the king, even though the fault arose from inadvertence or error, falsehood may be spoken: it is even preferable to truth." § What a state of justice, in which the king may condemn a man to death for inadvertence or error, and in which no better remedy is found than the perjury of witnesses? The following passage is in the Gentoo Code: "Whenever a true evidence would deprive a man of his life, in that case, if a false testimony would be the preservation of his life, it is allowable to give such false testimony. If a marriage for any person may be obtained by false witness, such falsehood may be

* Code of Gentoo Laws, ch. iii. sect. 6. p. 107.

‡ Laws of Menu, ch. viii.

§ Ib. sect. 104.

told. If a man by the impulse of lust tells lies to a woman, or if his own life would otherwise be lost, or all the goods of his house spoiled, or if it is for the benefit of a Brahmen, in such affairs falsehood is allowable." *

The laws respecting written evidence are few, and applied to a very limited number of cases. Only one distinction is recognized. "A writing," says the law, "is of two sorts; first, that which a man writes with his own hand; second, that which he procures to be written by another: of these two sorts, that which is written by a man's own hand, even without witnesses, is approved; and that written by another, if void of witnesses, is not approved." † In this single precept is included all that seems to be enacted on the subject of evidence by writing; as the remaining rules apply almost entirely to the modes of supplying, by means of the oral, what is at any time defective in the quantity or quality of the matter drawn from the scriptural source. The only writings, destined for yielding evidence, of which an account appears in their laws, are exclusively bonds for debt; for though one or two vague rules in the Code of Gentoo Laws are expressed in such general terms as to be susceptible of an application to other cases, there is no evidentiary writing whatsoever, but that of a bond for debt, named and described.‡

Ordeal.

Notwithstanding the diversities of appearance which, in different ages and countries, human nature puts on, the attentive observer may trace in it, not only an astonishing uniformity with respect to the leading particulars which characterize the different stages of society; but often a surprising coincidence in particular thoughts and observances. The trials by ordeal in the dark ages of modern Europe have been thought a mighty singularity in the institutions of our Gothic ancestors; when the decision of the most important questions was abandoned to chance or to fraud; when carrying in the hand a piece of red hot iron, or plunging the arm in boiling water, was deemed a test of innocence; and a painful or fraudulent experiment, supplanting a righteous award, might consign to punishment the most innocent, or save from it the most criminal of men. This is a species of evidence which holds a high rank in the institutes of the Hindus. There are nine different modes of the trial by ordeal; 1. by the balance; 2. by fire; 3. by water; 4. by poison; 5. by water in which an idol has been washed; 6. by rice; 7. by boiling oil; 8. by red hot iron; 9. by images. The first of these, by the balance, is thus performed. The party accused is placed in the scale, and carefully weighed; after which he is taken

* Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. iii. sect. 9. † Ib. 6.

‡ We know, however, that there are grants of land by their princes made in writing; and *pottahs*, describing the terms of exaction on the part of the revenue officers, given to the inferior cultivators.

down, the pundits write the substance of the accusation on a piece of paper, and bind it on his forehead. At the end of six minutes he is weighed again, when, if lighter than before, he is pronounced innocent; if heavier, guilty. In the second ordeal, an excavation in the ground, nine hands long, two spans broad, and one span deep, is filled with a fire of pippal wood, into which the party must walk barefooted; proving his guilt, if he is burned, his innocence, if he escapes unhurt. The third species is rather more complicated: the person accused is made to stand in water up to his navel with a Brahmen by his side; a soldier then shoots three arrows from a bow of cane, and a man is dispatched to bring back that which was shot the farthest; as soon as he has taken it up, another man is directed to run from the brink of the water, and at the same instant the party under trial must plunge into it, grasping the foot or the staff of the Brahmen who stands by him: if he remains under the water till the two men with the arrows return, he is innocent; if he comes up, he is guilty. The fourth kind, by poison, is performed two ways: either the party swallows a certain quantity of a poisonous root, and is deemed innocent if no injury ensues; or a particular species of hooded snake is thrown into a deep earthen pot, and along with it a ring, a seal, or a coin. If the man, putting down his naked hand, cannot take this out unbitten by the serpent, he is accounted guilty. The accused, in the fifth species, is made to drink three draughts of the water in which the images of the sun and other deities have been washed; and if within fourteen days he has any indisposition, his crime is considered as proved. When several persons are suspected of theft, they chew each a quantity of dried rice, and throw it upon some leaves or bark of a tree; they from whose mouth it comes dry, or stained with blood, are deemed guilty: This is the sixth species of ordeal. In the seventh, a man thrusts his hand into hot oil; and in the eighth he carries an iron ball, or the head of a lance, red hot in his hand; receiving his sentence of innocence or guilt according as he does or does not come off with impunity. The ninth species is literally a casting of lots: two images of the gods, one of silver, and one of iron, are thrown into a large earthen jar; or two pictures of a deity, one on white, and the other on black cloth, are rolled up in cow-dung, and thrown into a jar: if the man, on putting in his hand, draws out the silver image, or the white picture, he is deemed innocent; if the contrary, guilty. The religious ceremonies with which these trials are performed it would be tedious and unprofitable to relate.*

* For a full account both of the law and the practice respecting the trial by ordeal, see a discourse "On The trial by Ordeal among the Hindus, by Ali Ibrahim Khan, chief magistrate at Benares,"

Qualities desirable in a body of law.

The qualities desirable in a BODY OF LAW may all be summed up under two comprehensive titles; I. *Completeness*; II. *Exactness*.

Completeness has a reference to the matter: *Exactness* to the form.

1. Completeness.

I. A body of laws may be said to be *Complete*, when they include every thing which they ought to include; that is, when all those rights, the existence of which is calculated to improve the state of society, are created; and all those acts, the hurtfulness of which to the society is so great as to outweigh the cost, in all its senses, necessary for preventing them, are constituted offences.

2. Exactness.

II. A body of laws may be said to be *Exact*; 1. when it constitutes nothing a right, and nothing an offence, except those things precisely which are necessary to render it *Complete*; 2. when it contains no extraneous matter whatsoever; 3. when the aggregate of the powers and privileges which ought to be constituted rights, the aggregate of the acts which ought to be constituted offences, are divided and subdivided into those very parcels or classes, which beyond all others best adapt themselves to the means of securing the one, and preventing the other; 4. when it defines those classes, that is, rights and offences, with the greatest possible clearness and certainty; 5. when it represses crimes with the smallest possible expense of punishment; and 6. when it prescribes the best possible form of a judicatory, and lays down the best possible rules for the judicatorial functions.

To show in what degree the Hindu law approaches, or recedes from, the standard of *Completeness*, would require a more extensive survey of the field of law, than consists with the plan of the present work.

That it departs widely from *Exactness*, in every one of the particulars wherein exactness consists, enough has already been seen to make abundantly apparent. 1. It creates a great many rights which ought to have no existence; and acts which ought not to be erected into offences it erects in great numbers. 2. It abounds in extraneous matter. 3. The division and arrangement of the matters of law are highly imperfect. 4. The definitions are so far from excluding

in the Asiat. Researches, i. 389. See too the Institutes of Menu, ch. viii. 114, 115, 190; Mr. Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws, ch. iii. sect. 6, ch. ii. sect. 15, ch. xvii. sect. 4, ch. xviii., and the Translator's preface, p. 55, 56. Dr. Buchanan informs us of a shocking species of ordeal in some places used in regard to those, "who, having had sexual intercourse with a person of another cast, allege that it was by mistake. If the criminal be a woman, melted lead is poured into her private parts; if it be a man, a red hot iron is thrust up. Should they be innocent it is supposed that they will not be injured." Journey through the Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, under the orders of Marquis Wellesley, i. 307. According to Kœmpfer, the Japanese too use a species of ordeal for the discovery of guilt: History of Japan, ch. v. 236.

darkness and doubt, that they leave almost every thing indefinite and uncertain. 5. Punishments are not repressed, but abound; while there is the most enormous excess in the quantity of punishment. 6. The form of the judicatory is bad, as are a certain proportion of the rules for the mode of performing the judicial services.

In respect to definitions the Hindu law is in a state which requires a few words of elucidation. Prior to the art of writing, laws can have little accuracy of definition; because when words are not written, they are seldom exactly remembered; and a definition whose words are constantly varying is not, for the purposes of law, a definition at all. Notwithstanding the necessity of writing to produce fixed and accurate definitions in law, the nations of modern Europe have allowed a great proportion of their laws to continue in the unwritten; that is, the traditionary state; the state in which they lay before the art of writing was known. Of these nations, none have kept in that barbarous condition so great a proportion of their law as the English. From the opinion of the Hindus that the Divine Being dictated all their laws, they acknowledge nothing as law but what is found in some one or other of their sacred books. In one sense, therefore, all their laws are written. But as the passages which can be collected from these books leave many parts of the field of law untouched, in these parts the defect must be supplied either by custom, or the momentary will of the judge. Again, as the passages which are collected from these books, even where they touch upon parts of the field of law, do so in expressions to the highest degree vague and indeterminate, they commonly admit of any one of several meanings, and very frequently are contradicted and opposed by one another. When the words in which laws are couched are to a certain degree imperfect, it makes but little difference whether they are written or not: Adhering to the same words is without advantage, when these words secure no sameness in the things which they are made to signify. Further, in modern Europe, the uncertainty adhering to all unwritten laws, that is, laws the words of which have no certainty, is to some degree, though still a very imperfect one, circumscribed and limited, by the writing down of decisions. When, on any particular part of the field, a number of judges have all, with public approbation, decided in one way; and when these decisions are recorded and made known, the judge who comes after them has strong motives, both of fear and of hope, not to depart from their example. The degree of certainty, arising from the regard for uniformity, which may thus be produced, is, from its very nature, infinitely inferior to that which is the necessary result of good definitions rendered unalterable by writing. But

such as it is, the Hindus are entirely deprived of it. Among them the strength of the human mind has never been sufficient to recommend effectually the preservation, by writing, of the memory of judicial decisions. It has never been sufficient to create such a public regard for uniformity, as to constitute a material motive to a judge. And as kings, and their great deputies, exercised the principal functions of judicature, they were too powerful to be restrained by a regard to what others had done before them. What judicature would pronounce was, therefore, almost always uncertain; almost always arbitrary.

Qualities desirable in a judicatory.

In a JUDICATORY, the qualities desirable are; 1. intelligence; 2. good design: and that is the best judicatory in which the best securities are taken for them. In the judicatories of the Hindus, composed of the king and his Brahmens, or the Brahmens alone, there is no security for either the one or the other; and accordingly neither the one nor the other almost ever appears.

Qualities desirable in the form of judicial procedure.

The qualities desirable in the form of judicial procedure, are, 1. efficiency; 2. freedom from delay; 3. freedom from trouble and expense. In these several respects the system of the Hindus displayed a degree of excellence not only far beyond itself in the other branches of law, but far beyond what is exemplified in more enlightened countries. 1. The efficiency of the Hindu system of judicial procedure is chiefly impaired by those rules of evidence the badness of which has already been pointed out: 2. For preventing delay, it enjoys every requisite, in its method of immediate, direct, and simple investigation: 3. In the same method is included all that is requisite for obtaining the judicial services with the smallest portion of trouble and expense.*

* One of the most recent witnesses of the phenomena of Hindu society, who possessed extraordinary means of accurate knowledge, speaks in general upon the administration of justice among the Hindus in the following terms.

"Without any of the judicial forms invented by the spirit of chicanery in Europe; with no advocates, solicitors, or other blood-suckers, now become necessary adjuncts of a court of justice in Europe; the Hindus determine the greater part of their suits of law, by the arbitration of friends, or of the heads of the cast, or, in cases of the very highest importance, by reference to the chiefs of the whole casts of the district assembled to discuss the matter in controversy.—In ordinary questions they generally apply to the chief of the place, who takes upon himself the office of justice of the peace, and accommodates the matter between the parties. When he thinks it more fit, he sends them before their kindred, or arbitrators whom he appoints. He generally follows the last course when the complainants are Brahmans, because persons out of their cast are not supposed capable of properly deciding differences between them. When these methods have been ineffectual to reconcile the parties, or when they refuse to submit to the decision of the arbitrators, they must apply to the magistrates of the district, who decide the controversy without any appeal.

"The authority of the Hindu princes as well as that of the vile emissaries whom they keep in the several provinces of their country for the purpose of harassing and oppressing them in their name, being altogether despotic, and knowing no other rule but their own arbitrary will, there is nothing in India that resembles a court of justice. Neither is there a shadow of public right, nor any code of laws by which those who administer justice may be guided. The civil power and the judicial are generally united, and exercised in each district by the collector or receiver of the imposts. This sort of public magistrates are generally known under the name of *Havildar* or *Thasildar*. They are generally Brahmans. This tribunal, chiefly intended for the collection of the taxes, takes cognizance of all affairs civil and criminal within its bounds, and determines upon all causes." Description of the Character, Manners, and Customs of the people of India, by the Abbé J. A. Dubois, Missionary in the Mysore, p. 493.

CHAP. V.

The Taxes.

Chap. V.

Influence of the taxes on the condition of the people.

THE form of the government is one; the nature of the laws for the administration of justice is the other, of the two circumstances by which the condition of the people in all countries is chiefly determined. Of these two primary causes no result to a greater degree ensures the happiness or misery of the people, than the mode of providing for the pecuniary wants of the government, and the portion which the agents of government, of whatever kind, are enabled to divide among themselves and their creatures, of the annual produce of the land and labour of the community.

Outline of the ancient system of taxation in India.

The matters of detail, which by their number and uncertainty have so exceedingly perplexed the servants of the Company, in the financial operations of the Indian government, cannot here be described. The general outline, and the more important effects, of that system of taxation which is described in the ancient books, are all that falls within the design of an account of the ancient state of the people. 1. "Of grain," says the ordinance of Menu, "an eighth part, a sixth, or a twelfth may be taken by the king;" to be determined, adds the gloss of the commentator Culluca, "by the difference of the soil, and the labour necessary to cultivate it." * 2. "He may also take a sixth part of the clear annual increase of trees, flesh-meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, medical substances, liquids, flowers, roots and fruit, of gathered leaves, potherbs, grass, utensils made with leather or cane, earthen pots, and all things made of stone." † 3. "Of cattle, of gems, of gold and silver, added each year to the capital stock, a fiftieth part may be taken by the king." ‡ 4. "Having ascertained the rules of purchase and sale," says the law, "the length of the way, the expenses of food and of condiments, the charges of securing the goods carried, and the neat profits of trade, let the king oblige traders to pay taxes on their saleable commodities; after full consideration, let a king so levy those taxes continually in his dominions, that both he and the merchant may

* Laws of Menu, ch. vii. 130.

† Ib. 131, 132.

‡ Ib. 130.

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receive a just compensation for their several acts." * 5. "Let the king order a mere trifle to be paid, in the name of the annual tax, by the meaner inhabitants of his realm, who subsist by petty traffic: 6. By low handicraftsmen, artificers, and servile men, who support themselves by labour, the king may cause work to be done for a day in each month." † It is added; 7. "A military king, who takes even a fourth part of the crops of his realm at a time of urgent necessity, as of war or invasion, and protects his people to the utmost of his power, commits no sin. 8. The tax on the mercantile class, which in times of prosperity must be only a twelfth part of their crops, and a fiftieth of their personal profits, may be an eighth of their crops in a time of distress, or a sixth, which is the medium, or even a fourth in great public adversity; but a twentieth of their gains on money and other moveables is the highest tax: serving men, artisans, and mechanics, must assist by their labour, but at no time pay taxes." ‡

In these several articles is found an enumeration of all the objects of taxation; and a general expression of the modes and degrees of impost.

We perceive taxes on the produce of land, taxes on the produce of labour, a tax on accumulation, a tax on purchases and sales, poll taxes.

In article 1., is exhibited a tax on the produce of land; In article 2., a tax both on the produce of land, and on the produce of labour; In article 3., is a tax on accumulation, at least in certain commodities; In article 4., is a tax on purchases and sales; In article 5., is one sort of poll tax; In article 6., is another.

Qualities desirable in a system of taxation.

It will shorten explanations if we first premise the qualities desirable in a system of taxation.

There are two primary qualities; and in them every thing is included.

1. Amount of exaction the smallest possible.

The First is, to take from the people the smallest quantity possible of their annual produce.

2. Injury by the mode of exaction the smallest possible.

The Second is, to take from them that which is taken with the smallest possible quantity of hurt or uneasiness.

Causes of exaction undue in the amount.

I. Of taking from the people more than enough of the matter of wealth, the causes are two; 1st. When the government consumes beyond the smallest amount which will suffice to produce the services it renders; 2d. When the collection of the taxes themselves costs more than the lowest sum at which, without sacrificing greater advantages, it is capable of being performed.

Causes of exaction hurtful in the mode.

II. Of the hurt and uneasiness, beyond the loss of what is taken away, which a system of taxation is liable to produce, the causes seem to be; 1. Uncertainty;

* Laws of Menu, ch. vii. 127, 128. † Ib. 137, 138. ‡ Ib. x. 118, 120.

2. Inequality; 3. Impediment to production; 4. Injury to the good qualities, bodily or mental, of the people.

Of the first head and its subdivisions, no illustration is necessary; and a few words will suffice for the second.

1. Uncertainty may arise from two sources; 1. Uncertainty in the meaning of the words, by which the tax is defined; 2. Uncertainty in the circumstances upon which the amount of the tax is made to depend; as if it were made to depend upon the weather, for example, or the state of a man's health. Uncercertainty in the meaning of the words opens a door to oppression and fraud, on the part of the collector. He will exact the largest sum consistent with the words, if he is not bribed; the lowest, if he is. Uncertainty, from whatever source, is a cause of uneasiness. The mind is continually haunted with the idea of the largest possible sum, and with all the fears which attend it; fears which cannot fail to be often very great and tormenting. Uncertainty in the circumstances is very apt to produce uncertainty also in the meaning of the words, as is is difficult for all of a number of circumstances to be exactly defined. As often as a source of chicanery is opened about the amount which the contributor ought to pay, a source of extortion is opened, and a source of oppression, necessary to effect the extortion.

2. Of the unequal partition of taxes, the necessary consequence is, a greater quantity of suffering, than the same amount of taxes would produce, if more equally imposed; because the pain of the man who pays too much is out of all proportion greater than the pleasure of the man who pays too little. To make the burthen of taxes equal, it should be made to press with equal severity upon every individual. This is not effected by a mere numerical proportion. The man who is taxed to the amount of one tenth, and still more the man who is taxed to the amount of one fifth or one half, of an income of 100*l.* per annum, is taxed far more severely, than the man who is taxed to an equal proportion of an income of 1000*l*, and to a prodigious degree more severely than the man who is taxed to an equal proportion of 10,000*l.* per annum.

3. On the mischievousness of all taxes which impede production, it is needless to speak. It is only necessary to make them known, or rather acknowledged. 1. Of this sort, are all taxes which take away any part of that property which has been already employed, as capital; because there is always more or less of difficulty in replacing it from the fund destined for immediate consumption. 2. Of this sort also are all taxes which create any encouragement whatsoever, or any discouragement whatsoever, to any particular employment of capital in respect to

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other employment; for as capital is always carried by a strong impulse to that employment which is the most productive, every thing which turns it out of the course which it would take of its own accord, turns so much of it out of a more, into a less productive channel.

4. That all taxes ought to be shunned which tend to lessen the amount of useful qualities in the people, will not be contradicted. Taxes upon medicines have a tendency to diminish health and strength. Taxes upon innocent amusements, as the sports of the field, have a tendency to drive the people to others that are hurtful. Taxes upon articles of consumption not hurtful, which have a tendency to supplant others that are, as tea and sugar to supplant intoxicating liquors, prompt to the consumption of the hurtful. Taxes upon law proceedings are a mine of immorality: They are a premium upon the practice of every species of iniquity. Lotteries are a direct encouragement to a habit of mind, with which no useful tendency can easily co-exist. And all taxes, of which the quantity due is not clear and certain, train the people, by continual practice, to a state of hardened perfection in mendicity, in fraud, and in perjury.

Conformity and disconformity of the Hindu taxes to the preceding rules.

1. In the above list of the sacred ordinances concerning taxes, the first relates entirely to the tax on the produce of the soil. It offends against the rule of *certainty* to a high degree. The amount varies as one to one half; and the variation is made to depend upon circumstances the uncertainty of which opens a boundless field to all the wretched arts of chicanery and fraud on the part of the people, and all the evils of oppression on the part of the collectors. As the determination of the circumstances on which the amount of the assessment depends belongs of course, in such a state of society as that of the Hindus, to the agents of the treasury, a free career is afforded to all the baneful operations of favour and disfavour, of bribery and corruption. Whenever an option is granted between a less exaction and a greater, the violent propensity of all imperfect governments to excess in expense is sure in time to establish the greater. It would appear accordingly that a sixth part of the produce became the uniform tax in Hindustan; and that the indulgence in favour of the barren soils was extinguished. This is the state in which it was found by the Mohammedan conquerors.* And in Sacontala,† the king is described, at a much earlier period, as "that man whose revenue arises from a sixth part of his people's income." The source of variation and uncertainty from these causes was prodigiously en-

* Ayeen Akbery, p. 347.

† An ancient Sanscrit poem of the dramatic form, translated by Sir William Jones: See the beginning of the fifth act.

larged by the power reserved to the king, of taking even a fourth of the crops, in times of distress. As he was himself the judge of these times of necessity, we may believe that they were of pretty frequent recurrence.

2. In the second of these fiscal ordinances, a variety of products are enumerated, which, in a rude age, are either the spontaneous produce of the soil, as flowers, roots, grass; or obtained from the spontaneous produce, by some very simple process; as perfumes and medical substances, by expression; flesh-meat and honey, by killing the animals which produce them; and these, as costing little in point of labour, are all taxed at the highest rate imposed upon grain. By one of those capricious arrangements which abound in the institutions of a rude people, utensils made of leather, cane, earth, and stone, in the production of which labour is the principal agent, are placed under the same exaction as the spontaneous productions of the soil. The consequence must have been to render these commodities proportionally dear.

In the execution of this ordinance, it seems that there must have been excessive uncertainty, and excessive expense. What is meant by "the annual increase?" Is it the quantity by which the produce of one year exceeds the produce of the former? And when the produce of any one year does not exceed the produce of the former, is there nothing to be taxed? If this is not the case, and if, as we may conjecture, it is the annual produce which was thus to be taxed, the disregard of precision in the wording of these laws is conspicuously manifested. The "annual produce of trees" is an absurd expression: Trees grow not by the year: The quantity of trees annually cut down, is what we may conjecture to have been meant. What shall be said of such expressions, as "the annual produce," "of clarified butter," "of flesh-meat," "of flowers?" These are not commodities, which continue accumulating, till the amount of the annual produce is seen entire at the end of the year. They are commodities daily brought into existence and daily consumed. To collect the tax upon them, a daily visit in each family would hardly suffice. The gatherers of the taxes enumerated in this single ordinance would need to be little below a twentieth part of the whole population. In the execution of this ordinance, the temptation to the incessant practice of all the arts of fraud, on the part of the people, and the powers of oppression bestowed upon the collectors, were well calculated to fill society with immorality and suffering.

3. In the third of the above ordinances are enumerated the principal classes of moveables known to the Hindus. It seems to be the addition made in any year to the previous stock, and not the previous stock itself, of which one fiftieth is taken in the way of tax. In a society, full of knowledge and industry, this

BOOK II. would have been a tax upon capital, and therefore mischievous: in Hindustan, where gold, silver, and gems, were most commonly hoarded, and not devoted to production, as far as they were concerned, it would not have been easy to find a less objectionable tax. Unless in a state of society rapidly progressive, or a state in which there is excessive fluctuation of fortunes, that is, excessive misery, it would be a very unproductive tax.

4. In the words of the fourth ordinance is described a tax on all purchases and sales. The circumstances on which the amount is made to depend are so uncertain, as to constitute, as before, a great seminary of fraud on the one hand, and a great office of oppression on the other. The tax is also hurtful to production, by impeding circulation; that is, the passage of property from a situation in which it is less, to one in which it is more useful. The mode in which, at least in modern times, it was chiefly raised, namely, that of transit duties, multiplied to excess, obstructed all that encouragement to industry which is afforded by the interchange of commodities, not only between different countries, but one province and another of the same country. As often as property which has been, and is to be, employed as capital, is bought and sold, it is a tax upon capital.

5. A poll tax, when paid in money, or any other common measure of value, is chiefly objectionable on account of its inequality; as the same sum is a very different burthen to different persons.

6. A poll tax paid in labour is somewhat less objectionable in point of equality, though the same portion of his time may be a much greater burthen upon one man than it is upon another. It is chiefly objectionable on account of the loss of time, and of property, which it occasions to those who have it to pay. In a well-ordered society, accordingly, where every man's time and labour are disposed of to the best advantage, it has no place.

Some of these ordinances are modified, or the words rendered a little more precise, in the Gentoo Code translated by Mr. Halhed. The following are examples. If a man purchase goods in his own kingdom, and sell them again there, one tenth of his profit goes to the magistrate. If the purchase took place in a foreign kingdom, and the sale in his own, one twentieth only is the share of the magistrate.* If a man, having purchased flowers, or roots, as ginger, radishes, and the like, or honey, or grass, or firewood, from another kingdom, sells them in his own, the magistrate is entitled to one sixth of his profits.† What was

* The political economists of Hindustan, and those of the mercantile theory in modern Europe, proceeded on different views.

† Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. xxi. sect. 4. On sales of very small amount, or on those of young heifers, (the cow was a sacred animal) no tax was levied.

the reason of severe exaction in such cases does not appear. Rude times give not reasons. In the days of Menu these taxes appear to have been much more moderate; a fiftieth of mercantile profits being the ordinary, and a twentieth the extraordinary tax.

Ground on which the public revenue is derived from the land.

In this system of taxation, other sources are of small importance; the revenue of the sovereign arises almost wholly from the artificial produce of the land. To understand in what manner the people of Hindustan were affected by taxation, the circumstances of this impost are all that need be very minutely explored.

The tenure of land in Hindustan has been the source of violent controversies among the servants of the Company; and between them and other Europeans. They first sprung up amid the disputes between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis, respecting the best mode of taxing Bengal. And they have been carried on with great warmth, and sometimes with great acrimony, ever since. Of these controversies the account will be due, at the periods when they occur. At present it will suffice to bring to light the circumstances which appear to ascertain the ancient state of the country, in respect to the distribution of property in the land.

In a state of society resembling our own, in which property is secure, and involves very extensive rights or privileges, the affections towards it become so strong, and these give such a force to the associations, by which the idea of it in our minds is compacted and formed, that in minds of little range whose habits are almost mechanical, and obstinate, the particulars which they have been accustomed to combine together under the idea of property, appear to be connected by nature, and such as cannot, without extreme injustice, be made to exist apart.

Nevertheless, if we examine the history of the different stages of society, we shall find, that at different times, very different rights and advantages are included under the idea of property: that at very early periods of society it included very few: that originally, it probably included nothing more than use during occupancy, the commodity being liable to be taken by another, the moment it was relinquished by the hand which held it: that one privilege is added to another as society advances: and that it is not till a considerable progress has been made in civilization, that the right of property involves all the powers which are ultimately bestowed upon it.

It is hardly necessary to add, that the different combinations of benefits which are included under the idea of property, at different periods of society, are all equally factitious: that they are all equally arbitrary; not the creation of nature, but the creatures of will; determined, and chosen by the society, as that arrangement with regard to useful objects which is, or is pretended to be, the best for all.

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It is worthy of remark, that property in moveables was established; and that it conveyed most of the powers which are at any time assigned to it; while, as yet, property in land had no existence. So long as men continue to derive their subsistence from hunting; so long, indeed, as they continue to derive it from their flocks and herds, the land is enjoyed in common. Even when they begin to derive it partly from the ground, though the man who has ploughed or dug a field is regarded as possessing in it a property till he has reaped his crop, he has no better title to it than another for the succeeding year.*

In rude nations the sovereign is generally the sole proprietor of land.

In prosecuting the advantages which are found to spring from the newly-invented method of deriving the means of subsistence from the ground, experience in time discovers, that much obstruction is created by restricting the right of ownership to a single year; and that food would be provided in greater abundance, if, by a greater permanence, men were encouraged to a more careful cultivation. To make, however, that belong to one man, which formerly belonged to all, is a change to which men do not easily reconcile their minds. When it is a thing of so much importance as the land, the change is a great revolution. To overcome the popular resistance, various expedients are probably employed. That which appears to have been the most generally successful, is to vest the sovereign, as the representative of the society, with that property in the land which belongs to the society; and he parcels it out to individuals, with that permanence, and those other powers of ownership, which are regarded as most favourable to the extraction from the land of those benefits which it is calculated to yield. When a sovereign takes possession of a country by conquest, he naturally appropriates

* Suevorum gens est longe maxima et bellicosissima Germanorum omnium. Ii centum pagos habere dicuntur.* * * Privati et separati agri apud eos nihil est; neque *longius anno* remanere uno in loco, incolendi causa licet: neque multum frumento, sed maximam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt, multumque sunt in venationibus. Cæsar. De Bell. Gal. lib. iv. cap. 1. Among some tribes of negroes on the coast of Africa, each individual must obtain the consent of the chief before he has liberty to cultivate a field, and is only protected in its possession till he has reaped the crop for which he has toiled. Histoire Generale des Voyages, tom. v. ch. vii. sect. 5. "Neque quisquam agri modum certum, aut fines proprios habet: sed magistratus ac principes, in annos singulos, gentibus cognationibusque hominum qui una coierunt quantum et quo loco visum est agri attribuunt; atque anno post, alio transire cogunt." Cæsar. De Bello Gallico, lib. vi. cap. 20.

——Rigidi Getæ,
Immetata quibus jugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
Nec cultura placet longior annua;
Defunctumque laboribus
Æquali recreat sorte vicarius. Hor. lib. iii. Od. 24.

to himself all the benefits which the ideas to which his soldiers have been accustomed permit.

The incipient state of property in land has been observed, in Africa, very nearly such as it has here been described; and a state of things very little removed from it may be traced in every quarter of the globe.

In many of the rude parts of Africa, the property of the land is understood to reside in the sovereign; it is in the shape of a donation from him that individuals are allowed to cultivate any portion of it; and when the son succeeds to the father, as is generally the case, it is only by a prolongation of the royal bounty, which in some places, at least, is not obtained without a formal solicitation.* It is known, that in Egypt, the king was the sole proprietor of the land; and one fifth of the produce appears to have been yielded to him as revenue or rent.† Throughout the Ottoman dominions, the Sultan claims to himself the sole property in land.‡ The same has undoubtedly been the situation of Persia, both in ancient and modern times.§ "It is established," says the late intelligent Governor of Java, "from every source of inquiry, that the sovereign in Java is the lord

* Histoire Generale des Voyages, tom. iv. ch. xiii. p. 203. Modern Universal History, vol. xvii. p. 322. I am induced to transcribe the following passage from Mr. Park: "Concerning property in the soil; it appeared to me that the lands and native woods were considered as belonging to the king, or (where the government was not monarchical) to the state. When any individual of free condition had the means of cultivating more land than he actually possessed, he applied to the chief man of the district, who allowed him an extension of territory, on condition of forfeiture, if the lands were not brought into cultivation by a given period. The condition being fulfilled, the soil became vested in the possessor; and, for aught that appeared to me, descended to his heirs." Travels in Africa, p. 260, 261.

"All the land is said to belong to the king; but if a man chooses to clear a spot and erect a town, he may: the land is free for any of the people. If a stranger, indeed, that is, an European, should wish to settle among them, he must make a present of goods to the king." Correspondence of John Kizell, on the state of the people on the river Sherbro, Appendix to the Sixth Report of the African Institution, p. 133.

† Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cix. says, that Sesostris, as he was told by the priests, divided all the land of Egypt among the people, and thence raised his revenues, imposing an annual tribute on each portion; και απο τουτου τας προσοδους ποιησασθαι, επιταξαντα αποφορην επιτελειν κατ' ενιαυτον. See too, Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 1135. Diod. Sic. lib. i. sect. 2. cap. xxiv.

‡ Volney's Travels in Syria and Egypt, vol. ii. p. 402, et passim. De l'Egypte, par le General Reynier, p. 66, 51.

§ For information on this point, see Herodot. lib. iii.; lib. iv. cap. xlii.; Sir William Ouseley's Translation of Ebn Haukal, an Arabian geographer, who lived in the tenth century, p. 137; Institutes of Timur; Ayeen Akbery; Chardin's Travels.

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of the soil."* And when the fact is established in regard to Java, it is established with regard to all that part of the eastern islands, which in point of manners and civilization resembled Java. It is not disputed that in China the whole property of the soil is vested in the Emperor.† By the laws of the Welsh, in the ninth century, all the land of the kingdom was declared to belong to the king;‡ and we may safely, says Mr. Turner, believe that the same law prevailed while the Britons occupied the whole island.§

The ancient laws and institutions of the Hindus imply, that property in land belonged solely to the king.

To those who contemplate the prevalence of this institution, among nations contiguous to the Hindus, and resembling them in the state of civilization, it cannot appear surprising, that among them, too, the sovereign was the lord of the soil. The fact is, indeed, very forcibly implied, in many of the ancient laws and institutions. "Of old hoards," says one of the ordinances of Menu, "and precious minerals in the earth, the king is entitled to half by reason of his general protection, and because he is the supreme lord of the soil."‖ The king, as proprietor, and as fully entitled to an equitable return for the land which he has let, is empowered to punish the cultivator for bad cultivation. "If land be injured, by

* Gov. Raffles' Minute on Java, p. 6; also, p. 79, 108. The distribution of the land among the Peruvians was as follows: One third part of it was dedicated to, and cultivated for, the gods; that is, the priests. Another third part the Inca reserved for himself, for the maintenance of his court and of his armies. The remaining third he distributed to the people, assigning an established portion to each family. "But no particular man," (says Acosta, Nat. and Mor. Hist. of the Indies book VI. ch. xv.) "possessed any thing proper to himself of this third portion, neither did the Indians ever possess any, if it were not by special grace from the Inca." Garcilasso de la Vega tells us, (part I. book V. ch. i.) that it was only when there was more land than sufficed for the people, that the Inca and the Sun received their full thirds; when that was not the case, these portions were diminished to augment to the proper proportion that of the people. See too Carli, Lettres sur l'Amerique, let. xv. For great services land was given in full property; Acosta, book VI. ch. xviii; and this is another remarkable coincidence with what existed in Hindustan.

† Abbé Grosier Descr. de la Chine; but Mr. Barrow's testimony is the most direct and satisfactory. "The emperor," says he, "is considered as the sole proprietary of the soil, but the tenant is never turned out of possession as long as he continues to pay his rent, which is calculated at about one tenth of what his farm is supposed capable of yielding; and though the holder of lands can only be considered as a tenant at will, yet it is his own fault if he should be dispossessed." Barrow's China, p. 397.

‡ Leges Wallicæ, Hoel, cap. 337.

§ Turner's History of the Anglo-saxons, vol. ii. ch. iii.

‖ Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 39. I have here substituted the word *supreme* for the word *paramount*, used by Sir William Jones, which has no meaning but as it relates to the feudal institutions of Europe, and is calculated to convey an erroneous idea.

the fault of the farmer himself, as if he fails to sow it in due time, he shall be fined ten times as much as the king's share of the crop, that might otherwise have been raised; but only five times as much, if it was the fault of his servants without his knowledge."* Among other ancient memorials of Hindu institutions and manners, are certain inscriptions engraved on durable materials. Some of them are records of grants of land, commonly to favourite Brahmens; and afford strong indication of the proprietary rights of the sovereign. The sovereign gives away villages and lands, not empty, but already occupied by cultivators, and paying rent.† It appears from an ordinance of Yagyawalcya, one of the most sacred of the law sages, that the kings alienated the lands within their dominions, in the same manner, and by the same title, as they alienated any portion of their revenues.‡ On this point, it is of material importance to remark, that up to the

* Laws of Menu, ch. viii. 243.

† See a royal grant of land, engraved on a copper plate, bearing date twenty-three years before Christ; and discovered among the ruins at Monguîr, translated by Mr. Wilkins, Asiat. Researches, i. 123. "Be it known," says the inscription, (p. 126) "that I have given the above-mentioned town of Meseeka, whose limits include the fields where the cattle graze, above and below the surface, with all the lands belonging to it, together with all the Mango and Modhoo trees; all its waters, and all their banks and verdure; all its *rents*, all its tolls and fines for crimes, and rewards for catching thieves. In it there shall be no molestation, no passage for troops," &c. It is here remarkable that the sovereign as well as the proprietary rights are given away; so indissolubly were these united in the minds and institutions of the Hindus. In the same manner in another grant of land found at Tanna, and bearing date An. Christi, 1018, the land is given away "with its herbage, wood, and water, and with power of punishing for the ten crimes." Asiat. Researches, i. 364.

‡ "Let a king, *having given land*, or *assigned revenue*, cause his gift to be written for the information of good princes, who will succeed him, either on prepared cloth, or on a plate of copper, sealed above with his signet; having described his ancestors and himself, the dimensions or quantity of the gift, with its metes and bounds, if it be land, and set his own hand to it, and specified the time, let him render his donation firm." See the original, and the translation of Sir William Jones, Asiat. Res. iii. 50.

The Digest of Hindu law, translated by Colebrooke, (i. 460) declares, "By conquest, the earth became the property of the holy Parasu Rama, by gift the property of the sage Casyapa; and, committed by him to Cshatriyas for the sake of protection, became their protective property successively held by powerful conquerors, and not by subjects, cultivating the soil." It further appears, from the same passage, that by agreement with the sovereign, and not otherwise, a tenure of more than one year might be required; but without such agreement, the cultivator might be turned away at the end of every year, if a larger rent was offered by any other. It was highly necessary to quote this passage, though it is affirmed by Col. Wilks, to be a law manufactured by the complaisant Brahmens, who made the Digest, on purpose to suit the opinions of the ruling power, at that time in love with the Zemindarry system. Col. Wilks affirms, that there is nothing

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time, when the interests of the Company's servants led them to raise a controversy about the rights of the Zemindars, every European visitor, without one exception that I have found, agrees in the opinion, that the sovereign was the owner of the soil.*

whatsoever which the Brahmens cannot make to be law, on a similar occasion. And it is at least certain, that part of what they give as law has been proved to be at variance with all that appears either of their present or ancient institutions.

"That there were no hereditary estates in India; for that all the land belonged to the king, which he disposed of at pleasure." Persian authority, quoted by Stewart, Hist. of Bengal, p. 132.

* It is proper to adduce the more remarkable instances. The ancient Greeks who visited India expressly inform us, that the kings were the sole proprietors of the soil, and that a fourth part of the produce was usually paid them in kind as the rent or tribute. Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1030. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 53.

"Diodorus, Strabo, the voyagers and travellers of later times, without any exception that has fallen within the scope of my limited reading, the authors of the Lettres Edifiantes, and the European travellers who visited the court of Aurungzebe in the latter part of the seventeenth century, Bernier, Thevenot, Chardin, Tavernier, and I believe, Manouchi, are unanimous in denying the existence of private landed property in India." Wilks, Hist. Sketches, p. 114.

"In revenue the Emperor doubtless exceeds either Turk or Persian, or any eastern prince, the sums I dare not name, but the reason. All the land is his, no man has a foot." Sir T. Roe to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Churchill, i. 803.

"Toutes les terres du royaume," says Bernier, "estant en propre au roi," &c. Suite de Mem. sur l'Emp. du Grand Mogol, t. ii. p. 10. See also, p. 150, 174, 178: at p. 189, he makes the following remark; "Ces trois etats, Turkie, Perse, et l'Hindoustan, comme ils ont tous osté ce *Mien*, et ce *Tien*, a l'egard des fonds de terre et de la propriété des possessions, qui est le fondement de tout ce qu'il y a de beau et de bon dans le monde, ne peuvent qu'ils ne se ressemblent de bien prés." Montesquieu seems to have been fully aware of this important fact.—"Les loix des Indes, *qui donnent les terres aux princes*, et *ôtent aux particuliers l'esprit de propriété*, augmentent les mauvais effets du climat, c'est à dire, la paresse naturelle." Esp. de Loix, liv. xiv. ch. 6.

"All the lands in India are considered as the property of the king, except some hereditary districts possessed by Hindoo princes." Dow's Hindostan, preface, p. xiii.

"All the lands in the kingdom," says Mr. Orme, (Fragments, p. 403) belong to the king: therefore all the lands in the provinces are subject to the Nabob. With him, or his representatives, farmers agree for the cultivation of such an extent, on reserving to themselves such a proportion of the produce. This proportion is settled according to the difficulty or ease of raising the grain, and seldom exceeds a third." One third to the cultivator, and two thirds to the proprietor, would be accounted a rackrent in England. Mr. Orme says again, (Ibid. p. 414) "The king, by being proprietor of the lands, sells to his subjects their subsistence, instead of receiving supplies from them." Mr. Holwell says, (Interesting Historical Events, i. 220). "The rents of the lands are the property of the emperor." And again, "The tenures of the ryots are irrevocable, as long as they pay the rent; and by the laws of Hindostan, they must be twelve months in arrear before they can be ejected." Ibid.

Present practice corresponds with ancient law.

Wherever the Hindus have been left most entirely under the influence of their ancient customs and laws, the facts which now offer themselves to the senses of the observer fully correspond with the inference which would be drawn from these laws, and prove that property in land was vested in the sovereign. Under the direction of the Governor-General of Bengal, a journey was undertaken, in the year 1766, by Mr. Motte, to the diamond mines in the province of Orissa. In a narrative of his journey, he gives an account of the distribution of the land at Sumbhulpoor, which till that time had remained under the native government. Each village being rated to the government at a certain quantity of rice, which is paid in kind, the land is thus divided among the inhabitants: To every man, as soon as he arrives at the proper age, is granted such a quantity of arable land as is estimated to produce 242$\frac{1}{8}$ measures of rice, of which he must pay 60$\frac{5}{8}$ measures, or about one fourth to the rajah or king. Mr. Motte adds; "The reserved rent of three or four villages, being one fourth the produce of the land, is applied to the use of the rajah's household. The reserved rent of the rest is given to his relations or principal servants, who by these means have all the inhabitants dependent on them." * Dr. Buchanan gives a most instructive account of the manner in which the crop, in those parts of India which are most purely Hindu, is divided between the inhabitants and the government. In Bengal it is not allowed to be cut down till the rent or tax is first paid: but in those countries to which his journey principally relates, it is the custom, after the grain has been thrashed out in the field, to collect it into heaps, and then to divide it. A heap generally consists of about 110 Winchester bushels, of which he presents the following distribution as a specimen of the partition which is usually made. For the gods, that is, for the priests at their temples, is deducted five seers, containing about one-third of a Winchester gallon each; for charity, or for the mendicant Brahmens, an equal quantity; for the astrologer and the Brahmen of the village, one seer each; for the barber, the potmaker, the washerman, and the Vasaradava, who is both carpenter and blacksmith, two seers each; for the measurer, four seers; for the Aduca, a kind of beadle, seven seers; for the village chief, eight seers, out of which he has to furnish the village sacrifices; and for the accomptant, ten seers. All these perquisites are the same, whatever

* A Narrative of a Journey to the Diamond Mines of Sumbhulpoor, in the Province of Orissa, by Thomas Motte, Esq., Asiat. Annual Register, i., Miscellaneous Tracts, p. 75. Mr. Motte further informs us that every man at Sumbhulpoor is enrolled as a soldier, and is allowed half a measure of rice in the day for his subsistence, while his wife cultivates the farm. He seems to say that this subsistence is given to him by the wife from the produce of the farm.

BOOK II. be the size of the heap beyond a measure of about twenty-five Winchester bushels. When these allowances are withdrawn the heap is measured; and for every candaca which it contains, a measure equal to $5\frac{1}{20}$ Winchester bushels, there is again deducted half a seer to the village watchmen, two and a half seers to the accomptant, as much to the chief of the village; and the bottom of the heap, about an inch thick, mixed with the cow-dung which in order to purify it had been spread on the ground, is given to the Nirgunty, or conductor of water. These several deductions, on a heap of twenty candacas, or 110 Winchester bushels, amount to about $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the gross produce. Of the remainder, 10 per cent. is paid to the collectors of the revenue, as their wages or hire; and the heap is last of all divided into halves between the king and the cultivator.*

From these facts only one conclusion can be drawn, that the property of the soil resided in the sovereign; for this reason, that if it did not reside in him, it will be impossible to show to whom it belonged. The cultivators were left a bare compensation, often not so much as a bare compensation, for the labour and cost of cultivation: they got the benefit of their labour: all the benefit of the land went to the king.†

Upon the state of facts, in those places where the present practices of the Hindus have not been forced into a disconformity with their ancient institutions, the fullest light has been thrown, by those servants of the Company, who made the inquiries requisite for the introduction of a regular system of finance, into the extensive regions in the south of India added to the British dominions

* Buchanan's Journey through the Mysore, &c. i. 2, 3, 130, 194, 265. "This simple mode of rating lands for half their yearly produce is derived from the remotest antiquity in different parts of Hindostan, and still invariably prevails in such countries as were left unsubdued by the Mahomedans, like Tanjore, where the ancient Indian forms of administration are, for the most part, preserved entire." British India Analysed, i. 195.

† The Missionary Dubois, with his singular opportunities of correct information, says peremptorily; "Creditors can have no hold on the real estate of their debtors, because the Hindus have no property in the soil. The lands which they cultivate are the domain of the prince, who is the sole proprietor. He can resume them at his pleasure, and give them to another to cultivate. Even the huts in which they live, built of mud and covered with thatch, are not their own. All belongs to the prince; and if a man, for any reason whatever, quits his habitation in the village, he can by no means dispose of it to another, although it were constructed by his own hands. The only property they possess is their few cows and buffaloes; and upon these no creditor is allowed to lay his hands; because, if deprived of his cattle, he would be unable to cultivate the land; whence an injury would accrue to the prince." Description, &c. of the People of India, by the Abbe Dubois, p. 496.

during the administrations of the Marquisses Cornwallis and Wellesley. Place, Munro, Thackeray, and Hodgson, were happily men of talents; sufficiently enlightened, that is sufficiently free from prejudices, to see the things which were before them with their naked eyes; and not through the spectacles of English anticipations. The reports of these meritorious gentlemen, presented to their superiors, have been secured for the public by the printed Reports of the Committee of the House of Commons, which inquired into East India affairs in 1810, and confirm the truth of the delineation which we had already received.

A general picture of the mode of occupying the soil and sharing its produce.

From these documents the committee have drawn the following as a general picture: "A village, geographically considered, is a tract of country, comprising some hundreds, or thousands, of acres of arable and waste land. Politically viewed, it resembles a corporation, or township. Its proper establishment of officers and servants consists of the following descriptions: The *Potail,* or head inhabitant, who has the general superintendance of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs the duty of collecting the revenues within his village: The *Curnum,* who keeps the accounts of cultivation, and registers every thing connected with it: The *Talliar* and *Totie;* the duty of the former appearing to consist in a wider and more enlarged sphere of action, in gaining information of crimes and offences, and in escorting and protecting persons travelling from one village to another; the province of the latter appearing to be more immediately confined to the village, consisting, among other duties, in guarding the crops, and assisting in measuring them: The *Boundaryman,* who preserves the limits of the village or gives evidence respecting them in cases of dispute: The *Superintendant of water-courses and tanks,* who distributes the water for the purposes of agriculture: The *Brahmen,* who performs the village worship: The *Schoolmaster,* who is seen teaching the children in the villages to read and write in the sand: The *Calendar Brahmen,* or astrologer, who proclaims the lucky, or unpropitious periods for sowing and thrashing: The *Smith,* and *Carpenter,* who manufacture the implements of agriculture, and build the dwelling of the ryot: The *Potman* or potter: The *Washerman:* The *Barber:* The *Cow-keeper,* who looks after the cattle: The *Doctor:* The *Dancing Girl,* who attends at rejoicings: The *Musician,* and the *Poet.*

"Under this simple form of municipal government, the inhabitants of the country have lived, from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been seldom altered: and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated, by war, famine, and disease, the same name, the

same limits, the same interests, and even the same families, have continued for ages. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged; the Potail is still the head inhabitant, and still acts as the petty judge and magistrate, and collector or renter of the village." *

These villages appear to have been not only a sort of small republic, but to have enjoyed to a great degree the community of goods. Mr. Place, the collector in the jaghire district at Madras, informs us, that "Every village considers itself a distinct society; and its general concerns the sole object of the inhabitants at large: a practice," he adds, "which surely redounds as much to the public good as to theirs; each having, in some way or other, the assistance of the rest; the labours of all yield the rent; they enjoy the profit, proportionate to their original interest, and the loss falls light. It consists exactly with the principles upon which the advantages are derived from the division of labour; one man goes to market, whilst the rest attend to the cultivation and the harvest; each has his particular occupation assigned to him, and insensibly labours for all. Another practice very frequently prevails, of each proprietor changing his lands every year. It is found in some of the richest villages; and intended, I imagine, to obviate that inequality to which a fixed distribution would be liable."†

The state of taxation is described by the same committee, in the following terms: "By the custom of the Hindu government, the cultivators were entitled to one half of the paddy produce (that is, grain in the husk) depending on the periodical rains. Of the crops from the dry grain lands, watered by artificial

* Fifth Report, Commit. 1810, p. 85. See, in "Considerations on the State of India," by A. Fraser Tytler, i. 113, a description of a village in Bengal, which shows that the Indian continent was pervaded by this institution.

An association of a similar kind existed among the Mexicans. Robertson's America, iii. 283.

Some curious strokes of resemblance appear in the following particulars of the Celtic manners, in the highlands and islands of Scotland. "The peculiarities which strike the native of a commercial country, proceeded in a great measure from the want of money. To the servants and dependants, that were not domestics, were appropriated certain portions of land for their support. Macdonald has a piece of ground yet, called the bard's, or senachie's field. When a beef was killed for the house, particular parts were claimed as fees by the several officers, or workmen. The head belonged to the smith, and the udder of a cow to the piper; the weaver had likewise his particular part; and so many pieces followed these prescriptive claims, that the laird's was at last but little." Johnson's Hebrides.

† Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 723.

means, the share of the cultivator was about two-thirds. Before the harvest commenced, the quantity of the crop was ascertained, in the presence of the inhabitants and village servants, by the survey of persons, unconnected with the village, who, from habit, were particularly skilful and expert, in judging of the amount of the produce, and who, in the adjustment of this business, were materially aided by a reference to the produce of former years, as recorded by the accountants of the villages. The quantity which belonged to the government being thus ascertained, it was received in kind, or in money." Of garden produce, of which the culture was more difficult, a smaller portion was taken; because, if field culture was taxed as much as it could bear, it seems to have been supposed that garden culture, at an equal rate of taxation, could not have been carried on.

"Such," continue the committee, "were the rights of the ryots, according to the ancient usage of the country. In consequence, however, of the changes introduced by the Mahomedan conquest, and the many abuses which later times had established, the share really enjoyed by the ryots was often reduced to a sixth, and but seldom exceeded a fifth. The assessments had no bounds but those which limited the supposed ability of the husbandman. The effects of this unjust system were considerably augmented by the custom, which had become common with the Zemindars, of sub-renting their lands to farmers, whom they armed with unrestricted powers of collection, and who were thus enabled to disregard, whenever it suited their purpose, the engagements they entered into with the ryots; besides practising every species of oppression, which an unfeeling motive of self-interest could suggest. If they agreed with the cultivators at the commencement of the year, for a rent in money, and the season proved an abundant one, they then insisted on receiving their dues in kind. When they did take their rents in specie, they hardly ever failed to collect a part of them before the harvest time had arrived and the crops were cut; which reduced the ryots to the necessity of borrowing from money lenders, at a heavy interest of 3, 4, and 5 per cent. per month, the sums requisite to make good the anticipated payments that were demanded of them. If, from calamity or other cause, the ryots were the least remiss in the discharge of their rents, the officers of the renters were instantly quartered upon them; and these officers they were obliged to maintain, until they might be recalled on the demand being satisfied. It was also a frequent practice with the renters to remove the inhabitants from fertile lands, in order to bestow them on their friends and favourites; and to oblige the ryots to assist them, where they happened to be farmers, in the tilling of their

Book II. lands; and to furnish them gratuitously with labourers, bullocks, carts, and straw." *

The two terms, Ryots, and Zemindars, introduced into this passage, are of frequent recurrence in the history of India, and require to be explained. By ryots, are always denoted the husbandmen; the immediate cultivators of the ground. The Persian term Zemindar, introduced by the Mohamedan conquerors, was the name of a certain sort of middlemen, between the cultivator who raised the crop, and the king who received the greater part of the surplus produce. Into the controversy respecting the nature of the interest which the Zemindar possessed in the land with respect to which he performed his function of middleman, I shall not at present enter. Another occasion will present itself for the examination of that subject. It is here sufficient to say, that in districts, sometimes of greater, sometimes of less extent, a person, under the title of Zemindar, received the share of the produce which was exacted from the ryot, either by himself, or the persons to whom he farmed the receipts; and paid it over to the sovereign, reserving a prescribed portion to himself. The Zemindar was thus, whatever else he might be, the collector of the revenue, for the district to which he belonged. As the receipt of revenue, in a rude state of government, is the business most dear to the governors, the Zemindar, in order the better to secure this favourite end, was vested with a great share of the powers of government. He was allowed the use of a military force; the police of the district was placed in his hands; and he was vested with the civil branch of judicature. When his district was large, he was a sort of a petty prince.

It is necessary to advert to another circumstance in this quotation. The committee say, that by the custom of the Hindu government one rate of taxation was established: a rate much more severe was introduced by the Mohamedan governments, and amid the abuses of modern times. For this opinion they have no authority whatsoever. It is, therefore, a mere prejudice. The rate which they mention goes far beyond the scale of the ancient ordinances: And what reason is there to believe that the ancient Hindu governments did not, as the Mohamedan, levy assessments to the utmost limits of the supposed ability of the ryots? In those parts of India which Europeans have found still remaining under Hindu governments, and which have never been subject to Mohame-

* Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 81, 82.

dan rule, were the subjects less oppressed, and more happy? If there was any difference, the state of the people under the Hindu governments was always the worst.

The rate established in the ancient ordinances has been regarded as evidence of mild taxation, that is, of good government. It only proves that agriculture was in its earliest, and most unproductive state; and that it could not afford to pay any more.* We may assume it as a principle, in which there is no room for mistake, that a government constituted and circumstanced as that of the Hindus had only one limit to its exactions, the non-existence of any thing further to take. And, under any state of cultivation, but the very worst, if the whole except a sixth of the produce of a soil, so rich as that of Hindustan, had been left with the cultivator, he must have had the means of acquiring wealth, and of attaining a rank and consequence which it is well ascertained that the ryots in India never enjoyed.†

Question, respecting the interest in the soil which belonged to the ryots.

Notwithstanding these proofs that the ownership in the land was reserved to the king, this conclusion has been disputed in favour, 1st. of the Zemindars, and 2dly. of the ryots. The question with regard to the Zemindars may be reserved till that period of the history, when it was agitated for the sake of practical proceedings on the part of government. The question with regard to the ryots belongs peculiarly to this part of the work.

The circumstance which appears to have misled the intelligent Europeans who have misinterpreted this part of the Hindu institutions, is the tenure of the ryot or husbandman, and the humane and honourable anxiety, lest the interests and the happiness of the most numerous class of the population should be sacrificed, if a right of ownership should be acknowledged in the sovereign.

But if this acknowledgment were ever so completely made, it is a mistake to suppose, that it is either inconsistent with the tenure which is claimed in favour of the ryots, or with the means of their prosperity and happiness. Not even if the ownership itself were ever so opposite to that prosperity, would the acknowledgment of its previous existence be any bar to a preferable arrangement; for

* By the same rule, the Turkish government would be ranked as excellent. It takes little: but the reason is, there is nothing more which it can take. The ancient assessment on the cultivator in Persia was one-tenth; but in the days of the Indian Emperor Akbar, he was by one means or other made to pay more than a half. Ayeen Akberry, Ed. in 4to. p. 348.

† The population in India, through so many ages, must have been kept down by excess of exaction. Even in the richest parts of India one half of the soil has never been under cultivation.

as the sovereign can have a right to nothing which is injurious to his people, his ownership, if such were its tendency, ought immediately to cease.

In a situation in which the revenue of the sovereign was increased in proportion to the number of cultivators, and in which a great proportion of the land continued void of cultivators, there would be a competition, not of cultivators for the land, but of the land for cultivators. If a ryot cultivated a piece of ground, and paid his assessment punctually to the sovereign, the sovereign would be far from any wish to remove him, when it was difficult to supply his place. If he sold the ground to another ryot, or left it to a successor, that is, put another in his place who would fulfil the wishes of the sovereign, the sovereign, whose source of fear was the want of a cultivator, had still cause for satisfaction; and seldom, if ever, interfered.

By practice, the possession of the ryot became, in this manner, a permanent possession; a possession from which he was not removed except when he failed to pay his assessment or rent; a possession which he could sell during his life, or leave by inheritance when he died. As far as rights can be established by prescription, these rights came undoubtedly to be established in the case of the ryots in India. And to take them away is one of the most flagrant violations of property which it is possible to commit.

But, even according to European ideas, a right to cultivate the land under all these, and still greater advantages, is not understood to transfer the ownership of the land. The great estates, in Ireland for example, let under leases perpetually renewable, are vendible and inheritable by the leaseholders, without affecting the ownership of their lords; subject, moreover, to a very important restriction, from which the sovereigns in India were free:* The lords of such estates cannot raise their rents at pleasure: The sovereigns in India enjoyed this privilege, and abused it to excess. Thus, the sovereigns in India had not only the ownership, but all the benefit of the land; the rights of the ryots, which are incontestable, secured to them nothing more than the privilege of employing their labour always upon the same soil, and of transferring that privilege to any other body; the sovereign claiming a right to take of the produce as much as he pleased, and seldom leaving them more than a very scanty reward for their labour.

* It is remarkable that the king's tenants in *ancient* demesne were, in England, perpetual, on the same condition as the ryots in India. A gleba amoveri non poterint, quamdiu solvere possunt debitas pensiones. Bracton, lib. i. cap. ii.

That ownership in the land gave any right to this extent of exaction is so far from a justifiable inference that it is the very reverse. A government, whatever be its form, cannot, without violating its obligations to the people, spend any sum, even the smallest, beyond what is strictly necessary for the performance of the services, which it is destined to render. Even this smallest possible sum, a government, whatever its ownership, is justifiable in taking from the cultivators of the land, only if that is the mode in which all the qualities desirable in a financial system are the most completely obtained.

The facts, upon which this view of the subject is established, are now, by the satisfactory investigations of some of the most accomplished of the servants of the Company, placed beyond the possibility of doubt. In contending for the privileges of the ryots, they would no doubt observe, that in this mode of interpretation we reduce the ownership of the sovereign to an empty name; and that to the admission of it, thus understood, they see no objection. The controversy is then at a close. It is most certain, that the principles which constitute the very foundation of government reduce the ownership of the sovereign in the soil, wherever it exists, to the limits above described. And it is no less certain, that all which is valuable in the soil, after the deduction of what is due to the sovereign, belongs of incontestable right to the Indian husbandman.*

* The following quotations will show how completely these deductions accord with the facts which the late perfect investigation has elicited. Mr. Thackeray, in his general report, remarks, "All this peninsula, except, perhaps, only Canara, Malabar, and a few other provinces, has exhibited, from time immemorial, but one system of land revenue. The land has been considered the property of the Circar [government], and of the ryots. The interest in the soil has been divided between these two; but the ryots have possessed little more interest than that of being hereditary tenants. If any persons have a claim to participate with government in the property of the soil, it is the ryots." (Fifth Report, ut supra, p. 992.) These ideas, and even the very words, have been adopted, in the Report of the Board of Revenue, Ib. p. 898. "Lands," says Mr. Place, "cannot be alienated without a written instrument; because both the sovereign and the subject have a mutual property in them. Each, however, may alienate his own, and the other is not affected. The sovereign may part with his interest in them: but the usufructuary right remains with the subject. And all that the latter can sell, mortgage, or give away, is the enjoyment of the profit, after paying what is due to the sovereign." (Ibid. p. 718.) Mr. Harris, in his report on Tanjore, informs us, "A meerassadar (ryot) disposes of his station in any manner he pleases. He disposes of it, too, and quits, without being bound to give, to any one, notice of his transfer and departure. Like him, his successor superintends its cultivation, and pays its revenue. Government know nothing of his relinquishment; and if they knew of it, they would not care about it here, as in Europe. The proprietorship of the land belongs to government or the landlord; and he who is entrusted with the duty of making it productive, lives upon it and cultivates it, so long as he pays its revenue, and no longer. But this occupation of it, while the superior is satisfied, has been

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Advantages and disadvantages of the Hindu mode of raising the public revenue from the land.

The Hindu mode of raising the revenue of the state, wholly, or almost wholly, by taking as much as necessary of the rent of the land, while it is the

converted by the meerassadar, into a right. They have made the right a property; and they retain, sell, lend, give, or mortgage, according to their inclination, the whole or any part of it." (Ibid. 829.) Even Mr. Hodgson, who is an advocate for raising the revenue through the instrumentality of Zemindars, affirms the rights of the cultivators to be incontestable. "I make," says he, "the following inductions: 1st. that the cultivators have a right, every where, to pay a fixed tax for the land they occupy; 2dly. that they have the right, universally, to occupy this land, so long as they pay the standard rent; 3dly. that they have the right to sell or transfer, by deed, gift, or otherwise, the land they occupy, subject always to the condition of paying the standard rent; 4thly. that they exercise the right, stated in the third position, wherever the standard rent has not been increased, so as to absorb all the profit on cultivation, or arable land is sufficiently scarce to be of value in the acquisition." (Ib. 979.) If the writer means, by saying that the cultivator had a *right* to pay no more than a fixed rent, that it would have been right or good to pay only in that manner, I maintain the same doctrine; but if he means that the cultivator ever *enjoyed* this right, the proposition is far from true. In every other respect I assent to the propositions of Mr. Hodgson. I also agree with him, when he says; "Provided the property in private estates, that is, the standard rent, and no more, be paid by these owners of private estates, I hold it to be a matter of very secondary importance to them, whether the rent is demanded of them by the ancient rajahs or polygars, the officers of Byjnuggur or Bednore government, the rajah coorg, the tehsildars of the Company, or the (to be created) zemindars of the Company." (Ib. 980.) The collector of Tanjore also thinks it not worth inquiring what ownership the sovereign has, provided the usufruct of the ryot is well defined and secured. (Ib. 831.) See Hodgson again to the same effect. (Ib. p. 926.) We are informed by Mr. Park, that in Africa, when a permission to cultivate a spot of ground has been granted by the sovereign, it is not resumed, while the revenue or rent is paid. (Travels, p. 261.) In China, Mr. Barrow assures us, that the cultivator, though in reality a tenant at will, is never dispossessed, but when he fails to discharge the stated engagements. "So accustomed," he adds, "are the Chinese to consider an estate as their own, while they continue to pay the rent, that a Portuguese in Macao had nearly lost his life for endeavouring to raise the rent upon his Chinese tenants." (Travels in China, p. 397.) Dr. Buchanan says, "The ryots or farmers have no property in the ground; but it is not usual to turn any man away, so long as he pays the customary rent. Even in the reign of Tippoo, such an act would have been looked upon as an astonishing grievance." (Journey through Mysore, &c. i. 124.) "The genius and tendency of all Hindu institutions is, to render offices, as well as property, hereditary." (Wilks's Hist. Sketches, p. 231.) "The king is the general heir of all his subjects; but when there are children to inherit, they are seldom deprived of their father's estate." (Dow's Hindostan, pref. p. xiii.) Η χωρα της πολεως· αλλ' ουδεν ἡττον των κεκτημενων ἑκαστος κυριος εστι των ἑαυτου. (Dio Chrysostom. Orat. 31. in Rhodiac.) Anquetil Duperron was the first of the Europeans who maintained that the ownership of the land was vested in the ryots. He has written a discourse upon the subject, in his work entitled, *Recherches Historiques et Geographiques sur l'Inde.* He proves what is now acknowledged, that a man might dispose of his farm, and was seldom turned out of it, while he continued to pay his taxes or rent. There is a learned and able chapter, in support of the same opinion, in "Historical Sketches of the South of India, by Col. Wilks."

obvious expedient which first presents itself to the rudest minds, has no inconsiderable recommendation from science itself. Previous to allotment, the productive powers of the soil are the joint property of the community; and hence are a fund peculiarly adapted to the joint or common purposes and demands. If the whole of what is strictly rent were taken away, the application of labour and capital to the land would resemble the application of labour and capital to wood or iron; and the same principles, in both cases, would determine their reward.

But as the expense requisite for the services which government renders, exceeds not a very small portion of the rent of the land, unless where the quantity of it is very minute, it is most favourable to the acquisition of the greatest possible benefit from the productive powers of the soil, that they should become the property of individuals. The disposition, accordingly, which has been made of the benefits of the soil, over the greater part of the globe, has been first to supply in whole, or for the greater part, the demands of government, next to enrich the individual occupant. The most remarkable exception is in modern Europe, where, after the conquests of the Gothic nations, the land was thrown in great portions into the hands of the leading men; who had power to place the taxes where they chose; and who took care that they should fall any where rather than upon the land; that is, upon any body rather than themselves. Further, as their influence over the sovereign made him glad to share with them the produce which he derived from the taxes, they, in this manner, not only threw the burthen off their own shoulders, but taxed the rest of the community for their own benefit; as they have continued to do, and sometimes in a progressive ratio, to the present hour.

The objections to the Hindu system of providing for the expenses of government, by the rent of the lands, arise from the mode, rather than the essence.

By aiming at the receipt of a prescribed portion of the crop of each year; and by exacting the same proportion of the produce from lands of all degrees of fertility, the Hindus incurred most of the evils which a bad method of raising a tax is competent to produce. They rendered the amount of the tax always uncertain; they rendered necessary a perfect host of tax-gatherers; they opened a boundless inlet to partiality and oppression on the part of the fiscal officers; and to fraud and mendacity on the part of the people. A tax, moreover, of a third, or a half, or any other proportion of the whole produce, is a very different tax on rich and on poor land. On poor land the expense of cultivation leaves little or no surplus. On land of much greater fertility it leaves a much greater sur-

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plus. A tax consisting of any portion of the gross produce of the soil, raises the price of that produce; because, whatever is the amount of the tax raised from the poorest of the cultivated land, the price must be sufficient to afford that tax over and above the expense of cultivation. And in this manner a tax is levied upon the consumers of corn, the amount of which is liable to go far beyond the sum paid to the government, and enriches the owners of the best land at the expense of the rest of the community.*

An expensive mode of raising the taxes is a natural effect of a rude state of society. We are informed by Sully, that the receipt into the French exchequer, in the year 1598, was only thirty millions of French money; while the sum, dragged out of the pockets of the people, was 150 millions. "The thing appeared incredible," says the statesman: "but by the due degree of labour, I made the truth of it certain." † The proportion was doubtless greater in Hindustan.

Receiving the taxes in kind was a practice which ensured a prodigious expense, and a prodigious waste, by which nobody gained. Scarcely any other mode seems to have been known to the Hindus in the time of their ancient institutions; and to a great degree it continued down to the latest period of their history. ‡ How rude and inconvenient soever this practice must be regarded; and how certainly soever a better mode is adopted, after the use of money is generally known and a slight degree of civilization has been attained, we find several nations, who make a considerable figure in the history of the world, and who in this respect have not proceeded beyond the Hindus. It may not surprise any one, that taxes were raised in kind in the ancient empire of Mexico. § The

* See a Dissertation on the Principles of Taxation, the most profound, by far, which has yet been given to the world, by David Ricardo, Esq. in his work "On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation."

† Mem. du Sully, liv. xx.

‡ Among the Mexicans, says Dr. Robertson, "Taxes were laid upon land, upon the acquisitions of industry, and upon commodities of every kind exposed to sale in the public markets. These duties were considerable, but not arbitrary or unequal. They were imposed according to established rules, and each knew what share of the common burden he had to bear." History of America, iii. 295, 229. The political descriptions of this admired historian are, commonly, by far too general and thence vague. We cannot suppose that the Mexicans were more skilled in the policy of taxation than the Hindus.

§ "As the use of money was unknown," says Robertson, (Ibid. p. 296,) "all the taxes were paid in kind, and thus not only the natural productions of all the different provinces in the empire, but every species of manufacture, and every work of ingenuity and art, were collected in the

greater part, though not the whole, were raised in the same manner, in Persia, even in the time of Darius Hystaspes ; * and the mixture, at least, whatever the proportion, continues to the present day. † The whole revenue of China, with the exception of some trifling articles, is paid in kind. ‡

public storehouses." It is worthy of remark that the same mode of taxing handicrafts and labourers was adopted in Mexico as in Hindustan ; " People of inferior condition (Ibid.), neither possessing land nor engaged in commerce, were bound to the performances of various services. By their stated labour the crown lands were cultivated, public works were carried on, and the various houses belonging to the emperor were built and kept in repair."

* It is remarkable that, in Persia, the use even of coined money was unknown till the time of Darius Hystaspes. The portion of tribute that was paid in gold and silver was received by weight. Herodot. lib. iv. cap. clxvi. Major Rennel, not aware that this was only a portion, and a small portion, of the Persian taxes, is exceedingly puzzled to account for the diminutive amount of the Persian revenues, and at last concludes that " the value of money was *incredibly* greater at that time than at present." Rennel's Geography of Herodotus, p. 316.

† Ebn Haukal, translated by Sir William Ousely, p. 136. Chardin's Travels in Persia.

‡ Abbé Grosier, p. 76 ; Barrow's China, p. 499. Mr. Barrow informs us that a vast number of the vessels on the canals and rivers are employed in conveying the taxes to the capital. Ib. p. 508. In those countries on the Euxine Sea which early attained so high a state of civilization as to have a large export trade in grain, even the custom house duties, or the taxes on export and import, were levied in kind. We are informed by Demosthenes, Orat. adv. Leptinem, that Leucon king of Bosphorus, from which Athens derived her principal supplies, levied a duty of one thirtieth in kind upon all the corn shipped in his ports.

CHAP. VI.

Religion.

BOOK II.

Influence of religion upon the condition of the people.

IT is difficult to determine whether the constitution of the government and the provisions of law, or Religion, have, among the Hindus, the greatest influence upon the lives of individuals, and the operations of society. Beside the causes which usually give superstition a powerful sway in ignorant and credulous ages, the order of priests obtained a greater authority in India than in any other region of the globe; and this again they employed with astonishing success in multiplying and corroborating the ideas on which their power and consequence depended. Every thing in Hindustan was transacted by the Deity. The laws were promulgated, the people were classified, the government was established, by the Divine Being. The astonishing exploits which the Deity had performed, and ever would continue to perform, in that sacred land, were innumerable. For every stage of life from the cradle to the grave; for every hour of the day; for every function of nature; for every social transaction, he prescribed a number of religious observances. And meditation upon his incomprehensible attributes, as it was by far the most difficult of all human operations, so was it that glorious occupation which alone exalted the intense votary to the participation of the Divine nature.

Of so extensive and complicated a subject, as the religion of the Hindus, a very general view is all that can be taken here. Every thing, however, which is interesting to the politician and the philosopher, may, it is probable, be confined within a moderate space. The task is rendered difficult by the unparalleled vagueness which marks the language of the Brahmens respecting the nature of the gods, the vast multiplicity of their fictions, and the endless discrepancy of their ideas. From these circumstances it arises that no coherent system of belief seems capable of being extracted from their wild eulogies and legends; and if he who attempts to study their religion is disposed, like themselves, to build his faith on his imagination, he meets with little obstruction from the stubborn precision of Hindu expressions and belief.

Origin of religious ideas.

Nothing is more curious than to trace the ideas concerning Divine power which the natural faculties of man suggest to him at the various stages of his

progress. It seems more than doubtful whether, in the very rude and imperfect state in which society originated, the human mind can so far enlarge its views as to draw conclusions respecting the universe. Those operations and events of nature, which more immediately concern mankind, and on which their happiness and misery depend, no doubt engage their eager curiosity. The causes of light and darkness, of drought and rain, of the thunder, of the hurricane, of the earthquake, suggest many an anxious inquiry; but to put all the visible objects of nature, and all the changes and events which they undergo, into one group of ideas, and to ask whence did the whole proceed, seems to be too difficult and complicated an operation, and too far removed from the ordinary track of his ideas, to be one of the first that takes place in the mind of a savage.

With regard to that class of questions which more easily occur to him, it appears that his nature very readily suggests an answer. Prior to experience and instruction there is a propensity in the imagination to endow with life whatever we behold in motion, or, in general, whatever appears to be the cause of any event. A child beats the inanimate object by which it has been hurt, and caresses that by which it has been gratified. The sun, which is the cause of day, the savage regards as a beneficent deity; a spirit resides in the storm; the woods and the waters are peopled with deities; there is a god of plenty, and a god of want; a god of war, and a god of peace; a god of health, and a god of sickness. By the laws of human nature, and the ideas which have been discovered among rude tribes, we are authorized to consider this as an outline of the first religion which is suggested to the human mind.

Second stage in the progress of religious ideas.

It appears, however, that men are not long in making another step in their religious progress. Not satisfied with asking the cause of the *events* which affect them, the origin too of the *things* which they perceive attracts their curiosity; and from inquiring the cause, first of one great object, and then of another, they come at last to put the general question, what is the cause and origin of the whole? There are very few, therefore, even among the most barbarous nations, who have not made an attempt to account for the origin of the universe, and in whose religious ideas some species of cosmogony is not involved. But, in answering the question respecting the origin of the universe, it is impossible that men should not be guided by their previous ideas. It follows, that among the divinities whom they already adored, he whom they regarded as the most powerful should be selected as the maker of the world. Were they placed in circumstances of tolerable tranquillity this potent god would probably be the sun;

BOOK II. were they a people almost constantly plunged in the horrors of war, the god of arms would naturally be their chief divinity. Hence we see that in many nations of Asia, who at an early period seem to have been placed in favourable circumstances, the sun was supreme among the gods, and the great principle of the universe; among the turbulent and warlike tribes who inhabited the north of Europe, Odin, the god of war, was the supreme deity, and author of all things.

The Hindus had made considerable progress beyond the first and lowest stage of human nature. It seems common, however, to retain for a long time the ideas which are then implanted; and, rather than eradicate the old ideas, to engraft upon them, if possible, the new. The Greeks accordingly, and the Romans, did not reject their Jupiter, and Mars, their gods of the mountains, trees, and rivers, when they rose to more enlarged views of the universe; they only endeavoured to accommodate to these primary conceptions their new apprehensions and conclusions. In like manner, the Hindus have still their Indra, or the god of the firmament, Varuna, or the god of the waters, Rembha, the goddess of love, and so many other gods, that to Dr. Tennant, asking how many the Hindus acknowledged, a Brahmen answered thirty-three crore.*

We have translations from the Hindu books of several passages containing accounts of the creation.† They differ from one another very widely in the minor forms and circumstances; but strongly resemble in the general character, and in the principal ideas. I have selected for examination that contained in the sacred volume which bears the name of Menu; as more full and circumstantial than any of those which are given us from the Vedas; as derived from a work of equal authority with the Vedas themselves; and as drawn up at a later period; exhibiting the improvement, if any, which the ideas of the people had acquired.

* Tennant's Indian Recreations, i. 113; and the verbal communication of the author. A crore is 100 lacs, and a lac is 100,000; so that thirty-three crore of Deities is just 330 millions.

† Three of these we have, translated from the Vedas themselves by Mr. Colebrooke, As. Res. viii. 404, 421, 452; another account, translated from the Puranas by Mr. Halhed, is published in Maurice's History, i. 407: Mr. Wilford has given us another, derived from the same source, As. Res. iii. 358. An account of the creation is prefixed to the Gentoo code translated by Halhed; We have another in the French translation, entitled Bagavadam, of the Bhagavat. The author of the Ayeen Akbery informs us that no fewer than eighteen opinions respecting the creation were entertained in Hindustan, and presents us three as a specimen, of which the last, taken from the Surya Sidhanta, he says, is the most common. Ayeen Akbery, iii. 6. The most important of all is that which I have inserted in the text, from the Institutes of Menu, ch. i. 5, &c.

CHAP. VI.

Hindu cosmogony.

"5. This *universe* existed only *in the first divine idea yet unexpanded, as if involved* in darkness, imperceptible, undefinable, undiscoverable *by reason, and* undiscovered *by revelation,* as if it were wholly immersed in sleep:

"6. Then the *sole* self-existing power, himself undiscerned, but making this world discernible, with five elements and other principles *of nature,* appeared with undiminished glory, *expanding his idea, or* dispelling the gloom.

"7. He, whom the mind alone can perceive, whose essence eludes the external organs, who has no visible parts, who exists from eternity, even he, the soul of all beings, whom no being can comprehend, shone forth in person.

"8. He, having willed to produce various beings from his own divine substance, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed:

"9. The *seed* became an egg bright as gold, blazing like the luminary with a thousand beams; and in that egg he was born himself, *in the form of* BRAHMA, the great forefather of all spirits.

"10. The waters are called *nara,* because they were the production of NARA, *or the Spirit of God*; and, since they were his first *ayana, or place of motion,* he thence is named NARAYANA, *or moving on the waters.*

"11. From THAT WHICH IS, the first cause, not the object of sense, existing *every where in substance,* not existing *to our perception,* without beginning or end, was produced the divine male, famed in all worlds under the appellation of BRAHMA.

"12. In that egg the great power sat inactive a whole year *of the Creator,* at the close of which, by his thought alone, he caused the egg to divide itself;

"13. And from its two divisions he framed the heaven *above* and the earth *beneath*: in the midst *he placed* the subtil ether, the eight regions, and the permanent receptacle of waters.

"14. From the supreme soul he drew forth mind, existing substantially though unperceived by sense, immaterial; and *before mind, or the reasoning power, he produced* consciousness, the internal monitor, the ruler;

"15. And, *before them both,* he produced the great *principle of the soul, or first expansion of the divine idea;* and all vital forms endued with the three qualities of *goodness, passion, and darkness;* and the *five* perceptions of sense, and the five organs of sensation.

"16. *Thus,* having at once pervaded, with emanations from the Supreme Spirit, the minutest portions of six principles immensely operative, consciousness and the five perceptions, he framed all creatures;

"17. And since the minutest particles of visible nature have a dependence on those *six* emanations from God, the wise have accordingly given the name of *sarira or depending on six, that is, the ten organs on consciousness, and the five elements on as many perceptions,* to his *image or* appearance in visible nature:

"18. Thence proceed the great elements endued with peculiar powers, and mind with operations infinitely subtil, the unperishable cause of all apparent forms.

"19. This *universe,* therefore, is compacted from the minute portions of those seven divine and active principles, *the great soul, or first emanation, consciousness, and five perceptions; a* mutable *universe* from immutable *ideas.*

"20. Among them each succeeding element acquires the quality of the preceding; and, in as many degrees as each of them is advanced, with so many properties is it said to be endued.

"21. He too first assigned to all creatures distinct names, distinct acts, and distinct occupations; as they had been revealed in the pre-existing *Veda.*

"22. He, the supreme ruler, created an assemblage of inferior deities, with divine attributes and pure souls; and a number of genii exquisitely delicate; and he *prescribed* the sacrifice ordained from the beginning.

"23. From fire, from air, and from the sun he milked out, *as it were,* the three primordial *Vedas,* named *Rich, Yajush, and Saman,* for the due performance of the sacrifice.

"24. He gave being to time and the divisions of time, to the stars also, and to the planets, to rivers, oceans, and mountains, to level plains, and uneven valleys.

"25. To devotion, speech, complacency, desire, and wrath, and to the creation, which shall presently be mentioned; for he willed the existence of all those created things.

"26. For the sake of distinguishing actions, he made a total difference between right and wrong, and enured these sentient creatures to pleasure and pain, *cold and heat,* and other opposite pairs.

"27. With very minute transformable portions, called *matras,* of the five elements, all this perceptible world was composed in fit order;

"28. And in whatever occupation the supreme lord first employed any vital soul, to that occupation the same soul attaches itself spontaneously, when it receives a new body again and again:

"29. Whatever quality, noxious or innocent, harsh or mild, unjust or just, false or true, he conferred on any being at its creation, the same quality enters it of course *on its future births;*

"30. As the *six* seasons of the year attain respectively their peculiar marks in due time, and of their own accord, even so the several acts of each embodied spirit *attend it naturally*.

"31. That the human race might be multiplied, he caused the *Brahmen*, the *Cshatriya*, the *Vaisya*, and the *Sudra* (so named from the *scripture, protection, wealth, and labour*) to proceed from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot.

"32. Having divided his own substance, the mighty Power became half male, half female, *or nature active and passive*; and from that female he produced VIRAJ:

"33. Know me, O most excellent of BRAHMENS, to be that person, whom the male *power* VIRAJ, having performed austere devotion, produced by himself; me, the *secondary* framer of all this *visible world*.

"34. It was I, who, desirous of giving birth to a race of men, performed very difficult religious duties, and first produced ten lords of created beings, eminent in holiness,

"35. Marichi, Atri, Angeras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Cratu, Prachetas, or Dacsha, Vasishtha, Bhrigu, and Narada:

"36. They, abundant in glory, produced seven other *Menus*, together with deities, and the mansions of deities, and *Maharshis*, or great Sages, unlimited in power;

"37. Benevolent genii, and fierce giants, blood-thirsty savages, heavenly quiristers, nymphs and demons, huge serpents, and snakes of smaller size, birds of mighty wing, and separate companies of *Pitris*, or progenitors of mankind;

"38. Lightnings and thunder-bolts, clouds and coloured bows of *Indra*, falling meteors, earth-rending vapours, comets, and luminaries of various degrees;

"39. Horse-faced sylvans, apes, fish, and a variety of birds, tame cattle, deer, men, and ravenous beasts with two rows of teeth;

"40. Small and large reptiles, moths, lice, fleas, and common flies, with every biting gnat, and immoveable substances of distinct sorts."

Such is the account of the creation which is contained in one of the principal standards of Hindu faith; such is one of the chief documents from which we can draw precise ideas respecting the religious principles of the Hindus. It is necessary to bestow upon it a careful examination. The darkness, the vagueness, and the confusion, which reign in it, need not be remarked; for by these the Hindu mythology is throughout distinguished. The first of the propositions, as it now stands, can be adequately designated only by the familiar appellative, nonsense; the ideas are heterogeneous, and incompatible. "This universe" it is said,

Book II. "existed only *in the first divine idea.*" When any thing is said to exist in idea, the meaning is, that it is conceived by the mind, or, in common language, that it is an idea in the mind. This universe then, according to the above passage, was conceived by the divine mind before it was actually produced, or, in other words, it was an idea in the divine mind. This idea existed in the divine mind, "yet unexpanded." But what are we to understand by an idea in the divine mind "unexpanded?" In regard to human thought an idea may be said to be unexpanded, when something is conceived very generally and obscurely; and it may be said to be expanded when the thing is conceived minutely, distinctly, and in all its parts. Are we then to understand by the idea of the universe being unexpanded in the divine mind, that the universe was conceived by it only generally, obscurely, indistinctly, and that it was not till creation was actually performed, that the divine idea was clear, full, and precise? How infinitely removed is this from the sublime conception which we entertain of the Divine Being; to whose thoughts all his works past, present, and to come, and every thing in the universe from eternity to eternity, are present always, essentially, perfectly, in all their parts, properties, and relations! This divine idea is still farther described: it existed "as if involved in darkness." When an idea is involved in darkness, it is an idea not perfectly understood; an apprehension only compatible with the most imperfect notions of the divine nature. It existed "imperceptible." If this means by the senses, all ideas are imperceptible; if it means by the mind, it is impossible, for the very essence of an idea consists in its being perceived by the mind. It existed "undefinable, undiscoverable by reason, undiscovered by revelation, as if it were wholly immersed in sleep." What sort of an idea could that be in the divine mind which the divine mind could not define, that mind by which it was formed? If the meaning be, that it could not be defined by any other mind; neither can the idea, not yet expressed, which exists in the mind of the most foolish of men. "Not discoverable by reason;" does this mean that the divine reason did not discover the divine idea; or does it mean that human reason could not discover it? An idea in the mind of another being is not discoverable to man by reason, but by enunciation. The last expression is the most extraordinary; "as if immersed in sleep:" "an idea immersed in sleep!" An idea too in the divine mind immersed in sleep! What notion can be formed of this?

But it must be explained that this incoherence and absurdity is not the work of Menu, or of the author, whoever he was, of the treatise which goes by his name. It is a common plan in India, for a commentator who is explaining a

book, to insert between the words of the text such expressions as to him appear necessary to render the sense of the author clear and distinct. This has been done by a commentator of the name of Culluca, in regard to the ordinances of Menu; and his gloss or commentary, interworded with the text, Sir William Jones has translated along with his author. As he has, very judiciously, however, printed the interwoven expressions of the commentator in italics, it is easy for the reader to separate them, and to behold the sense of the original unadulterated. According to this expedient, the words of Menu appear thus: "This existed only in darkness, imperceptible, undefinable, undiscoverable, undiscovered, as if it were wholly immersed in sleep." It seems remarkably the genius of the ancient Sanscrit writings to be elliptical, and the adjective pronouns especially are very frequently used without a substantive. "This," in the passage which we are now examining, is in that situation. The mind of the reader is left to supply the word which the sense of the context demands. This—every thing; this—whole; this—universe; such is the manner in which the mind easily here suggests the requisite idea; and when this is done, the incoherence and absurdity which the supplement of Culluca engendered, is entirely dispelled. The passage presents clearly, and unambiguously, a description, a very vague and unmeaning description, it must be owned, of that chaos of which the Greeks and Romans drew so striking and awful a picture, and of which the belief appears to have been so widely and generally diffused.* The notion which Culluca endeavoured to engraft, is remarkable. It is no other than the celebrated Platonic principle of the pre-existence of all things in the divine mind, which Culluca, it is evident, neither understood nor could apply, and with which he made such havoc on the genuine sense of his author. It is probable that he borrowed the idea from some foreign source, that it pleased him as preferable to the more rude conception of a chaos, and that he resolved, according to the invariable rule of the Brahmens, to give his own order the credit of it, by incorporating it with the doctrines of the sacred authors.

This chaos, this universe, then, in its dark, imperceptible, undefinable state,

* There is a remarkable coincidence, and there is a remarkable discrepancy, between this passage in the Institutes of Menu, and the following at the beginning of the book of Genesis: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep." The coincidence appears in the chaotic description here applied to the earth: the discrepancy consists in this, that the Jewish legislator informs us of the previous creation of the shapeless mass, the Hindu legislator describes it as antecedent to all creation.

BOOK II. existed, according to Menu, antecedent to creation. This too was the idea of the Greeks and Romans, who thence believed in the eternity of matter. It is doubtful, from the extreme vagueness of the Hindu language, whether they had carried their thoughts so far as to conceive the question respecting the origin of matter; but as its eternity is implied in several of their doctrines, so it appears to be recognized in some of their expressions. It appears, indeed, that they were unable to make any clear distinction between matter and spirit, but rather considered the latter to be some extraordinary refinement of the former. Thus even the Divine Being, though they called him soul, and spirit, they certainly regarded as material. In the passage already quoted, it is said, "that he willed to produce various beings from *his own divine substance.*" Now what can be meant by substance, if not material substance? Besides, from material substance alone can material beings be produced. But the first thing which we are told was produced from the divine substance, was water. It is worth remarking, at the same time, that in other places water appears to be spoken of as uncreated, and as the material out of which all other things were produced. A passage describing the creation, translated from the Yajur Veda by Mr. Colebrooke, commences thus: "Waters alone there were; this world originally was water. In it the lord of creation moved, having become air." *

We have next to contemplate the mode in which the Hindu divinity performed the creation. If we examine the manner in which a man possessed of refined and exalted notions of the Divine Nature, would describe the great work of creation; we shall be sensible that he would have the clearest conviction of his own incompetence; and that he would, as Moses, attempt no more than by a few strokes to convey an idea of the magnitude of the operation, and of the power and wisdom of the operator. If, indeed, he is yet far removed from this degree of knowledge and reflection, he will enter without hesitation upon a minute and detailed description both of the plan, and of its execution. Nevertheless, if the society in which he lives has attained any considerable improvement, the process which he conceives will indicate some portion of human wisdom; will, at least, be such as an instructed member of that society, had he infinite power imparted to him, would devise for himself. On the other hand, if a description of the creation presents no idea but what is fantastic, wild, and irrational; if it includes not even a portion of that design and contrivance which appear in the ordinary works of man; if it carries the common analogies of production, in animal and

* Asiat. Res. viii. 452

vegetable life, to the production of the universe, we cannot be mistaken in ascribing it to a people, whose ideas of the Divine Being were still very rude and grovelling. CHAP. VI.

"The self-existing power," says Menu, "having willed to produce various beings, first with a thought created the waters." This appears no unworthy conception: but what operation succeeds? "He placed in these waters a productive seed." This is one of those analogies to the growth of a plant or an animal which are generally the foundation of the cosmogony of every rude people. What however in the next place is the effect of the seed? It becomes an egg, which is a very extraordinary product to arise from a seed, and a very wonderful course for the self-existing power to follow in the formation of the universe. The following steps are not less amazing. In this egg the divine being deposited himself, and there he lay, in a state of inactivity, a whole year of the Creator, that is, according to the Hindus, 1,555,200,000,000 solar years of mortals.* At the end of this astonishing period he caused by his thought the egg to divide itself, and was himself born in the form of Brahma, the great forefather of all spirits;† thus, "from THAT-WHICH-IS, the first cause, was produced the divine male, famed in all worlds, under the appellation of Brahma."‡ This is celebrated in Hindu books as the great transformation of the Divine Being, from neuter to masculine, for the purpose of creating worlds; and under this masculine form of Brahma it was that he effected the rest of creation. The Hindus believe that he was engaged in it for no less than 17,064,000 years.§ First of all, of the two divisions of the egg from which he had just been freed, he framed the heaven above, the earth beneath, and in the midst the subtle ether, the eight regions, and the permanent receptacle of waters. The creation

* The length of a year of the Creator may be thus computed. A calpa, or grand period, containing the reigns of fourteen Menus, constitutes, Sir William Jones informs us (Asiat. Research. i. 237) one day of Brahma. This period comprises (see an accurate calculation, according to the books of the Hindus, in Mr. Bentley's Remarks on Ancient Eras and Dates, Asiat. Research. v. 316) 4,320,000,000 years; and such is the length of one day of the Creator. A divine year again contains 360 days; and the multiplication of these numbers produces the amount which appears in the text. Mr. Wilford (see Asiat. Research. iii. 382) makes this computation in a manner, and with a result, somewhat different. "One year of mortals," he says, "is a day and a night of the gods, and 360 of our years is one of theirs: 12,000 of their years, or 4,320,000 of ours, constitute one of their ages, and 2,000 such ages are Brahma's day and night, which must be multiplied by 360 to make one of his years."

† In other words, he was hatched.

‡ Vide supra, p. 201, the quotation from the Institutes of Menu, paragraph 11.

§ Asiat. Research. ii. 237 and 232.

of mind is next described; but this I shall examine minutely when we come to appreciate the notions and attainments of the Hindus in the philosophy of thought. The creation however of man, or at least of the Hindus, is worthy of our particular regard. "That the human race might be multiplied, He caused the Brahmen to proceed from his mouth, the Cshatriya from his arm, the Vaisya from his thigh, and the Sudra from his foot." The analogy of ordinary descent is again the foundation of this fantastic imagination; and the Hindu could picture to himself the production of a human being, even by the Deity, only in the way of a species of birth. This analogy leads to a still more extravagant conceit for the creation of other races of men, and living creatures. As if "The Mighty Power" could not produce them by his male virtue alone, "He divided his own substance, and became half male, half female. By this female the male half produced Viraj, a demigod and saint; Viraj, by the virtue of austere devotion, produced Menu, another demigod and saint. Menu, again, "desirous," he says, "of giving birth to a race of men," produced ten lords of created beings; and these lords produced at his command "seven other Menus, and deities, and the mansions of deities, and great sages, and also benevolent genii, and fierce giants, blood-thirsty savages, heavenly quiristers, nymphs and demons, huge serpents and snakes of smaller size, birds of mighty wing, and separate companies of Pitris or progenitors of mankind; lightnings and thunderbolts, clouds and coloured bows of Indra, falling meteors, earth-rending vapours, comets, and luminaries of various degrees; horse-faced sylvans, apes, fish, and a variety of birds, tame cattle, deer, men, and ravenous beasts with two rows of teeth; small and large reptiles, moths, lice, fleas, and common flies, with every biting gnat, and immoveable substances of distinct sorts. Thus was this whole assemblage of moveable and stationary bodies framed by those high-minded beings."

Another and a very remarkable account of the creation of living creatures is found in the Vedas, and translated by Mr. Colebrooke. "This variety of forms was, before the production of body, soul, bearing a human shape. Next, looking round, that primeval Being saw nothing but himself; and he first said, *I am I.* Therefore his name was I: and thence even now, when called, a man first answers, *it is I*, and then declares any other name which appertains to him.—Since he, being anterior to all this which seeks supremacy, did consume by fire all sinful obstacles to his own supremacy, therefore does the man, who knows this truth, overcome him, who seeks to be before him.—He felt dread; and, therefore, man fears, when alone. But he reflected

'Since nothing exists besides myself, why should I fear?' Thus his terror departed from him; for what should he dread, since fear must be of another?—He felt not delight; and, therefore, man delights not when alone. He wished the existence of another; and instantly he became such as is man and woman in mutual embrace. He caused this his own self to fall in twain; and thus became a husband and a wife. Therefore was this body, so separated, as it were an imperfect moiety of himself: for so Yajnyawalcya has pronounced it. This blank, therefore, is completed by woman. He approached her; and thence were human beings produced.—She reflected, doubtingly; How can he, having produced me from himself, incestuously approach me? I will now assume a disguise? She became a cow; and the other became a bull and approached her; and the issue were kine. She was changed into a mare, and he into a stallion; one was turned into a female ass, and the other into a male one: thus did he again approach her, and the one-hoofed kind was the offspring. She became a female goat, and he a male one; she was an ewe, and he a ram: thus he approached her, and goats and sheep were the progeny. In this manner, did he create every existing pair whatsoever, even to the ants and minutest insect."* This much will suffice to impart a notion of the system of Hindu belief in regard to the origin and creation of the Universe.

Lofty descriptions of the Divine attributes.

But in the Hindu books we find applied to the Divinity a great variety of expressions, so elevated that they cannot be surpassed even by those men who entertain the most sublime ideas of the Divine Nature. In the passage immediately quoted from Menu, he is described as the sole self-existing power, the soul of all beings, he whom the mind alone can perceive, who exists from eternity, and whom no being can comprehend. In a passage from the Brahmanda Purana, translated by Mr. Wilford, he is denominated; "The great God, the great Omnipotent, Omniscient One, the greatest in the World, the great Lord who goes through all worlds, incapable of decay."† In a prayer, translated by Mr. Colebrooke, from one of the Vedas, he is called, "the pure Brahme, whom none can apprehend as an object of perception, above, around, or in the midst; the God who pervades all regions, the first-born; he, prior to whom nothing was born; who became all beings, himself the Lord of creatures; he, who made the fluid sky and solid earth, who fixed the solar orb and celestial abode, whom heaven and earth mentally contemplate; the mysterious Being, in whom the

* See a curious Discourse of Mr. Colebrooke on the Vedas, or Sacred Writings of the Hindus, Asiat. Research. viii. 440, 441.

† Asiat. Research. viii. 352.

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universe perpetually exists, resting on that sole support; in whom this world is absorbed, from whom it issues." * Without multiplying instances, it may shortly be stated that human language does not supply more lofty epithets of praise than are occasionally addressed to their deities by the Hindus.

Their meaning in the mouths of a rude people.

To form a true estimate of the religion of this people it is necessary by reflection to ascertain what those expressions in the mouth of a Brahmen really mean. We shall incur the *risk* at least of completely deceiving ourselves, if, with the experience how naturally vague and general expressions, especially in such abstract and mental subjects, convey the most different ideas to people in different stages of society, we take the lofty expressions of devotion in Hindu books as full and satisfactory evidence of lofty conceptions of the Divine Nature. It is well ascertained that they are evidence of no such thing; and that nations who have the lowest and meanest ideas of the Divine Being, may yet apply to him the most sounding epithets by which perfection can be expressed.

In tracing the progress of natural religion through the different stages of intellectual acquirement, a very important fact is discovered; that language on this subject has a much greater tendency to improve, than ideas. It is well known how vile and degrading were the notions of the Divine Nature presented in the fictions of the Greek poets; insomuch that Plato on this account deemed them unfit to be read; † yet the Brahmens themselves do not surpass the Greek poets in elevated expressions concerning the Deity. Orpheus, early and rude as is the period to which his poetry relates, thus describes the celestial King; "Jupiter, the sovereign; Jupiter, the original parent of all things; and Wisdom, the first procreator; and all-delighting love: For in the mighty frame of Jupiter all are contained: One power, one godhead: He is the great Regent of all." ‡

* Asiat. Research. viii. 432.

† He states that the only practical inference the youth could draw from the accounts delivered by the poets concerning the gods, was; to commit all manner of crimes, and out of the fruits of their villainy to offer costly sacrifices and appease the divine powers; αδικητεον και θυτεον απο των αδικηματων. De Repub. lib. ii. 595, 6.

‡ Orphic. Fragm. vi. 366. Numerous passages might be produced:

Ζευς εστιν αιθηρ, Ζευς δε γη, Ζευς δ' ουρανος·
Ζευς τοι τα παντα. Euphorion.
Ἑις Θεος εν παντεσσι. Orphic. Frag. iv. 363.
Jane pater, Jane tuens, Dive biceps, biformis,
O! cate rerum sator; O! principium Deorum.

Verses from an ancient Choriambic poem, which are quoted by Terentianus Maurus de Metris.

Cæsar informs us that the Druids among the ancient Gauls delivered many doctrines concerning the nature of the universe, and the powers of the immortal gods;* and it is remarkable that the Greeks and the Romans were forcibly struck with the similarity between the ideas of the Druids, and those of the Brahmens of India, the Magi of Persia, the Chaldeans of Assyria, and the priests of Egypt.† The creed of the ancient Germans, as we are informed by Tacitus, was, "that God is the Ruler of all: other things are to him subject and obedient."‡ In the ancient Scandinavian mythology the Supreme God was described as, "The author of every thing that existeth; the eternal, the ancient, the living and awful Being, the searcher into concealed things; the Being that never changeth." § On the statue of the Egyptian goddess Isis was this inscription; "I am every thing past, every thing present, and every thing to come."|| The Deity was described by Zoroaster as "The First, the Incorruptible, the Eternal, without generation, without dissolution, without a parallel, the charioteer of all which is good, inaccessible to bribes, the best of the good, the wisest of the wise." ** The Getes asserted their deity Zamolxis to be the true God, that besides him there was none other, and that to him they went after death, being endowed with spirits immortal.†† Even the rude tribes of America, wandering naked in the woods, "appear," says Robertson, "to acknowledge a Divine Power to be the maker of the world, and the disposer of all events. They denominate Him the Great Spirit." ‡‡ Thus it appears how commonly

Ζευς ὁ προ τριων Κρονιδων. Ὁυτος εστι των ὁλων δημιουργος. Procl. in Platon. Tim. p. 95. It is almost needless to quote Homer's

Ζηνα τε μητιοεντα, Θεων πατερ' ηδε και ανδρων.

"The Araucanians [the native Indians of Chili] acknowledge a Supreme Being, the Author of all things, whom they call Pillan, a word derived from *pulli* or *pilli*, the soul, and signifies the supreme essence; they also call him Guenu-pillan, the Spirit of heaven; Buta-gen, the Great Being; Thalcove, the Thunderer; Vilvemvoe, the Creator of all; Vilpepilvoe, the Omnipotent; Mollgelu, the Eternal; Avnolu, the Infinite, &c." Molina, Civil Hist. of Chili, book II. ch. v.

A passage of Empedocles, containing the language of a pure theology, may be seen in Harris's Philos. Arrangements, ch. viii. p. 162.

* Cæsar. de Bel. Gal. lib. vi. cap. 13.

† See Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, i. 149; and the authorities there adduced.

‡ Regnator omnium Deus; cætera subjecta atque parentia. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. cap. xxxv.

§ See a translation from the Edda in Mallet's Introduct. Hist. Denmark, i. ch. 5, and ii. p. 7, 8.

|| Plutarch. de Iside and Osiride.

** Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. p. 42.

†† Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 93, 94

‡‡ Robertson's Hist. Amer. ii. 197.

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the loftiest *expressions* are used concerning the gods, by people whose *conceptions* of the Divine Nature are confessedly mean.*

The principle of panegyric; and its agency.

This important fact, however remarkable, is founded on principles of very common and very powerful operation in the nature of man. The timid barbarian, who is agitated by fears respecting the unknown events of nature, feels the most incessant and eager desire to propitiate the Being on whom he believes them to depend. His mind works, with laborious solicitude, to discover the best means of recommending himself. He naturally takes counsel from his own sentiments and feelings; and as to his rude breast nothing is more delightful than praise and flattery, he is led by a species of instinct to expect the favour of his god from the same prevailing application. How strong is this sentiment, in an uncultivated and barbarous mind, a very superficial knowledge of human nature may convince us; and the recollection of every person of reading must supply him with a variety of instances and proofs. Mr. Forster, in his Travels over land from India, was overtaken by a storm in the Caspian Sea, by which the vessel was brought into considerable danger; and remarks that "every man was imploring the Divine interposition in his own manner and language." "But my attention," says he, "was chiefly attracted by a Persian. His ejaculations were loud and fervent; and the whole force of his prayers was levelled at Ali; on whom he bestowed every title that could denote sanctity or military prowess. He called on him, by the name of the Friend of God; the Lord of the Faithful; the Brandisher of the invincible sword; to look down on his servant, and shield him from the impending evil. Thinking also to obtain the more grace with the father, he would occasionally launch out into the praises of his two sons." †

When the belief is once admitted that the Deity is pleased with panegyric, it is evident to what extent the agitated and ignorant votary will speedily be carried. Whatever the phrases with which he begins, in a short time, the ardour of his fears incites him to invent new and stronger, as likely to prove more agreeable and prevalent. Even these by a short use become familiar to his mind. When they begin to be stale and feeble, he is again prompted to a new invention, and to more violent exaggerations.

He quickly exhausts the powers of his language; but still has other

* "Ces peuples (les Romains) adorent un Dieu supreme et unique, qu'ils appellent toujours *Dieu tres-grand, et tres-bon;* cependant ils ont bâti un temple a une courtisanne nommée Flora, et les bonnes femmes de Rome ont presque toutes chez elles de petits dieus penates hauts de quatre ou cinq pouces; une de ces petites divinités est la deesse de tetons, l'autre celle de fesses; il y a un penat qu'on appelle le *dieu Pet.*" Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit de Nations, iv. 373.

† Forster's Travels, ii. 256.

expedients in store. The god, on whom his eulogies have been lavished, is only that one, among the invisible powers supposed to conduct the operations of nature, on whom his interests seem more immediately to depend: And this deity is at first panegyrised on account of those operations alone which belong to his own department: The Sun is originally applauded only as the Regent of day; the bountiful giver of light, and of all its attendant blessings. But when panegyric on this subject is exhausted, the unwearied adorer opens a new fountain of adulation. The operations of some divinity whose department most nearly resembles that of the favourite deity affords some circumstance which, it is imagined, might do honour to that patron god. It is accordingly, as a very artful expedient, immediately detracted from the one and ascribed to the other. No sooner is the novelty of this new attribute decayed, than the prerogative of some other divinity is invaded, and the great object of worship is invested with a new power or function of nature. This, it is evident, is a fertile discovery. The votary has many articles to add to his list of powers and functions, before he exhausts the provinces of the whole family of gods. He proceeds incessantly, however, adding to the works and dominions of the great divinity one province after another, till at last he bestows upon him the power and functions of all the gods. He is now the supreme deity, and all the rest are subordinate. He is the king of the celestial powers; or, what is still more sublime, their author or father, he from whom their very being and powers are derived. They still, however, retain their ancient departments: and he who was god of the winds remains the god of the winds; he who was god of the waters remains god of the waters. But they are no longer independent deities; they have now a superior, and are regarded in the light of his ministers or agents.

The ingenuity of fear and desire sometimes invents a higher strain of flattery still. The power, which is supposed to be delegated to so many extraordinary beings, is regarded as a deduction from that which might otherwise be wielded by the supreme. And happy is the man who first imagines he can inform the Divinity that no such division and diminution of his power exists: That those supposed agents or ministers are not in reality beings endowed with the powers of the Almighty; they are those powers themselves; they are but the different modes in which the Divine Being manifests himself. He is the one God: He is all in all: From him every thing begins, in him every thing terminates: He unites all possible attributes: Like time, he has no beginning and shall have no end: All power belongs to him, all wisdom, and all virtue. Such is the progress of the language, not of knowledge and cultivated reason, but of the rude and selfish

passions of a barbarian; and all these high and sounding epithets are invented by men whose ideas of the divine nature are mean, ridiculous, gross, and debasing.

Some of the most enlightened of the Europeans who have made inquiries concerning the ideas and institutions of the Hindus, have been induced, from the lofty epithets occasionally applied to the gods, to believe and to assert that this people had attained refined and lofty conceptions of the Divine Nature. Nothing is more certain than that such language is far from proof of such conceptions. Yet remarkable it is that those ingenious men from some of whom we have largely derived instruction appear to have thought that no other proof was requisite; and, as on this evidence they adopted the opinion themselves, that others ought to receive it on the same foundation.*

* Among the similar proofs, which might be produced, of sublime theological notions, may be quoted the following remarkable passage from Garcilasso de la Vega (Royal Commentaries, book II. ch. ii.) "Besides the sun, whom they worshipped for the visible God, to whom they offered sacrifice and kept festivals, the *Incas*, who were kings, and the *Amautas*, who were philosophers, proceeded by the mere light of nature, to the knowledge of the true Almighty God our Lord, Maker of Heaven and Earth, as we shall hereafter prove by their own words and testimonies, which some of them gave of the Divine Majesty, which they called by the name of *Pachacamac*, and is a word compounded of *Pacha*, which is the universe, and *Camac*, which is the soul; and is as much as he that animates the world. * * * Being asked who this *Pachacamac* was, they answered that it was he who gave life to the universe; sustained and nourished all things; but because they did not see him they could not know him; and for that reason they erected not temples to him, nor offered sacrifice, howsoever they worshipped in their hearts and esteemed him for the unknown God." And in book VIII. ch. vii. he gives us the following argument of an Inca, Topac Yupanqui, "Many say that the sun lives, and that he is the maker of all things: now it is necessary that the thing which is the cause of the being of another, should be assistant and operate in the production thereof; now we know that many things receive their beings, during the absence of the sun, and therefore he is not the maker of all things. And that the sun hath not life is evident, for that it always moves in its circle, and yet it is never weary; for if it had life it would require rest, as we do; and were it free, it would visit other parts of the heavens, into which it never inclines out of its own sphere; but, as a thing obliged to a particular station, moves always in the same circle, and is like an arrow which is directed by the hand of the archer." The Mexicans, too, as we are informed by Clavigero, Hist. of Mexico, book VI. sect. 1, besides the crowd of their ordinary Deities, believed in "a supreme, absolute, and independent Being, to whom they acknowledged to owe fear and adoration. They represented him in no external form, because they believed him to be invisible; and named him only by the common appellation of God, in their language *Teotl*, a word resembling still more in its meaning than in its pronunciation the *Theos* of the Greeks; but they applied to him certain epithets which were highly expressive of the grandeur and power which they conceived him to possess. They called him *Ipalnemoani*, that is, "He by whom we live:" and *Tloque Nahuaque*, "He who is all in himself." Clavigero adds, "But their knowledge and worship of this Supreme Being was obscured, and in a manner lost, in the crowd of deities invented by their superstition."

Chap. VI.

Agency of the divine power in the government of the world; or the Hindu ideas of Providence.

Since the language employed by any people is a very fallacious test of the ideas which they entertain concerning the Divine Nature, it is requisite to inquire what are the circumstances, in their religious practice, or belief, which enable us in any degree to define their vague expressions, and to ascertain the state of their minds. Those circumstances are few; but their evidence is very determinate and conclusive. They are the operations ascribed to the Divinity, the services reputed agreeable to him, and the laws which he is understood to have ordained. If these correspond with the ideas of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, we may believe with certainty that the sublime language employed by such a people is the expression of corresponding conceptions; but, on the other hand, where those operations, services, and laws, are in the highest degree unworthy of a perfect nature, we may be fully assured, that there the sublime language is altogether without a meaning, that it is the effect of flattery, and the meanest of human passions, and is directly suggested, not by the most lofty, but by the most grovelling and base ideas of the Divine Nature.

Of the host of Hindu Divinities, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, are the most exalted. Other nations have most frequently carried on the applause of *one* favourite deity till they bestowed upon him alone all power in heaven and earth. The Hindus have distributed the creation and government of the universe among those three, denominating Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Siva the destroyer.

The highest scene of operation in which the Divine Being can be contemplated by mortals, the creation of the universe, we have already considered. The conception of it formed by the Hindus is so far from corresponding with high and noble ideas of the creating power, that it is abhorrent from all but the most unworthy and base. This itself, when duly considered, is a criterion of a religious system from which there is no appeal.

Of the peculiar functions of Vishnu and Siva no determinate conception appears to have been formed. They are two beings of mighty power, by whom great actions are performed; but there is no distinct separation of their provinces. Whenever indeed we seek to ascertain the definite and precise ideas of the Hindus in religion, the subject vanishes before us like a dissolving cloud. All is loose, vague, wavering, obscure, and inconsistent. Their expressions point at one time to one meaning, and another time to another meaning;* and

* This is admitted even by those whom the occasional expressions of the Hindus have most strongly convinced of the sublimity of their sentiments. Mr. Colebrooke says, " There is indeed much disagreement and consequent confusion in the gradation of persons interposed by Hindu

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their wild fictions, to use the language of Mr. Hume, seem rather the playsome whimsies of monkeys in human shape, than the serious asseverations of a being who dignifies himself with the name of rational.* Vishnu is not unfrequently employed in acts which properly belong only to a destructive power; and Siva is so far from answering to the title bestowed upon him, that he is a divinity hardly less beneficent than Vishnu himself.

In the conception which the Hindus have formed of the government of the world, the visible agency of the Deity is peculiarly required. "I have passed," says the preserving god, "many births. Although I am not in my nature subject to birth or decay, and am the lord of all created beings, yet having command over my own nature, I am made evident by my own power; and as often as there is a decline of virtue, and an insurrection of vice and injustice in the world, I make myself evident; and thus I appear from age to age, for the preservation of the just, the destruction of the wicked, and the establishment of virtue." † "Aty Sechen himself," says another sacred book, "all-knowing as he is, could not number the metamorphoses and different forms under which Vishnu has appeared for the salvation of the universe." ‡ Such are the Hindu ideas of the manner in which the power of the Divine Being is exerted in the government of the universe.

The avatars.

Of these visible appearances or incarnations of the divinity, ten, known in the Hindu mythology under the name of avatars, are peculiarly distinguished. The first, which is denominated the avatar of the fish, is thus described.§ At the close of the last calpa, there was a general destruction occasioned by the sleep of Brahma, whence his creatures in different worlds were drowned in a vast ocean. Brahma, being inclined to slumber, desiring a repose after a lapse of ages, the strong demon Hagyagriva came near him and stole the Vedas, which had flowed from his lips. When the preserver of the universe discovered this deed, he took the shape of a minute fish, called sap'hari. A holy king named Satyavrata then reigned. One day, as he was making a libation in the river Critamala, the little fish said to him, How canst thou leave me in this river

theology between the Supreme Being and the created world." Asiat. Research. viii. 442. Even Sir William Jones is constrained to confess that the Hindu "scheme of theology is most obscurely figurative, and consequently liable to dangerous misconception; that it is filled with idle superstitions, abounds with minute and childish formalities, with ceremonies generally absurd and often ridiculous." Pref. to Institutes of Menu.

* Hume's Essays, ii. 470. † Bagvat-Geeta, p. 51, 52. ‡ Bagavadam, p. 11.

§ I have merely abridged the account which is given by Sir William Jones in a literal translation from the Bhagavat, Asiat. Res. i. 230.

water, when I am too weak to resist the monsters of the stream who fill me with dread? Satyavrata placed it under his protection in a small vase full of water; but in a single night its bulk was so increased, that it could not be contained in the jar, and thus again addressed the prince: I am not pleased with living miserably in this little vase; make me a large mansion where I may dwell in comfort. The king successively placed it in a cistern, in a pool, and in a lake, for each of which it speedily grew too large, and supplicated for a more spacious place of abode; after which he threw it into the sea, when the fish again addressed him: Here the horned sharks and other monsters of great strength will devour me; thou shouldest not, O valiant man, leave me in this ocean. Thus repeatedly deluded by the fish, who had addressed him with gentle words, the king said, Who art thou that beguilest me in that assumed shape. Never before have I seen or heard of so prodigious an inhabitant of the waters, who like thee has filled up, in a single day, a lake 100 leagues in circumference. Surely thou art the great God whose dwelling was on the waves. Salutation and praise to thee, O first male, the lord of creation, of preservation, of destruction! Thou art the highest object, O supreme ruler, of us thy adorers, who piously seek thee. All thy delusive descents in this world give existence to various beings: yet I am anxious to know for what cause that shape has been assumed by thee. The lord of the universe, loving the pious man, and intending to preserve him from the sea of destruction, caused by the depravity of the age, thus told him how he was to act: In seven days from the present time, O thou tamer of enemies, the three worlds will be plunged in an ocean of death; but in the midst of the destroying waves, a large vessel, sent by me for thy use, shall stand before thee. Then shalt thou take all medicinal herbs, all the variety of seeds; and, accompanied by seven saints, encircled by pairs of all brute animals, thou shalt enter the spacious ark, and continue in it secure from the flood, on one immense ocean, without light, except the radiance of thy companions. When the ship shall be agitated by an impetuous wind, thou shalt fasten it with a large sea serpent on my horn; for I will be near thee, drawing the vessel with thee and thy attendants. Thus instructed, the pious king waited humbly for the appointed time. The sea, overwhelming its shores, deluged the whole earth; and it was soon perceived to be augmented by showers from immense clouds. He, still meditating on the divine command, and conforming to the divine directions, entered the ship; when the god appeared again distinctly on the vast ocean in the form of a fish, blazing like gold, extending a million of leagues, with one stupendous horn, on which the king, as he had before been commanded, tied the ship with a cable

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made of a vast serpent. Afterwards the god, rising, together with Brahma, from the destructive deluge, which was abated, slew the demon Hagyagriva.

Such are the operations in the government of the universe, which the religious ideas of the Hindus lead them to ascribe to the divine Being. The second appearance or avatar of the Preserver is of the same character, and suggested by similar views. Hirinacheren, a malignant and destructive giant, who delighted in afflicting the earth, at last rolled it up into a shapeless mass, and plunged down with it into the abyss. On this occasion there issued from the side of Brahma, a being, shaped like a boar, white, and exceedingly small, which in the space of one hour grew to the size of an elephant of the largest magnitude, and remained in the air. This being Brahma discovered to be Vishnu, who had assumed a body and become visible. Suddenly it uttered a sound like the loudest thunder, and the echo reverberated, and shook all the corners of the universe. Shaking the full-flowing mane which hung down his neck on both sides, and erecting the humid hairs of his body, he proudly displayed his two most exceedingly white tusks; then rolling round his wine-coloured eyes, and erecting his tail, he descended from the region of the air, and plunged head foremost into the water. The whole body of water was convulsed by the motion, and began to rise in waves, while the guardian spirit of the sea, being terrified, began to tremble for his domain, and cry out for quarter and mercy. At length, the power of the omnipotent having divided the water, and arriving at the bottom, he saw the earth lying, a mighty and barren stratum; then he took up the ponderous globe (freed from the water) and raised it high on his tusk: one would say it was a beautiful lotos blossoming on the tip of his tusk. In a moment, with one leap, coming to the surface, by the all-directing power of the Omnipotent Creator, he spread it, like a carpet, on the face of the water, and then vanished from the sight of Brahma.*

Of the third avatar we have so particular and remarkable a description, that it merits uncommon regard.† The soors, a species of angels, and all the glorious host of heaven, sat on the summit of Mount Meru, a fictitious mountain, highly celebrated in the books of the Hindus, meditating the discovery of the Amreeta,

* For an account of this avatar, see an extract from the Mahabarat, Asiat. Research. i. 154; Bartolomeo's Travels, book ii. ch. 7. The peculiar description of the boar is taken from a translation by Mr. Halhed, of a passage in the Puranas, published in Maurice's Hindustan, i. 407.

† It is a passage translated from the Mahabarat, by Mr. Wilkins, in one of the notes to his translation of the Bagvat-Geeta, p. 145, 146, note 76.

that is, being translated, the water of immortality; when Narayan* said unto Brahma, Let the ocean, as a pot of milk, be churned by the united labour of the soors and asoors; and when the mighty waters have been stirred up, the Amreeta shall be found. A great mountain, named Mandar, was the instrument with which the operation was to be performed; but the dews † being unable to remove it, they had recourse to Vishnu and Brahma. By their direction, the king of the serpents lifted up that sovereign of mountains, with all its forests and inhabitants; and the soors and asoors having obtained permission of the king of the tortoises, it was placed for support on his back, in the midst of the ocean. Then the soors and asoors, using the serpent Vasookee for the rope, the asoors pulling by the head, and the soors by the tail, began to churn the ocean; ‡ while there issued from the mouth of the serpent, a continued stream of fire, and smoke, and wind; and the roaring of the ocean, violently agitated with the whirling of the mountain, was like the bellowing of a mighty cloud. Meanwhile a violent conflagration was raised on the mountain, by the concussion of its trees and other substances, and quenched by a shower which the lord of the firmament poured down; whence an heterogeneous stream of the concocted juices of various trees and plants, ran down into the briny flood. It was from this milk-like stream, produced from those juices, and a mixture of melted gold, that the soors obtained their immortality. The waters of the ocean, being now assimilated with those juices, were converted into milk, and a species of butter was produced, when the churning powers became fatigued; but Narayan endued them with fresh strength, and they proceeded with greater ardour to stir that butter of the ocean. First, arose from it the moon; next, Sree, the goddess of fortune; then the goddess of wine, and the white horse, Oochisrava; afterwards the jewel kowstoobh; the tree of plenty; and the cow that granted every heart's desire. Then the dew Dhanwantaree, in human shape, came forth, holding in his hand a white vessel filled with the immortal juice, amreeta; which, when the asoors beheld, they raised their tumultuous voices, and each of them clamorously exclaimed, This of right is mine! But as they continued to churn the ocean more than enough,

* A name of Vishnu.

† Dew, written otherwise dewa, or deva, is a general name for a superior spirit.

‡ By twisting the serpent about the mountain, like a rope, and pulling it out first towards the one end, and then towards the other; which affords us a description of their real mode of churning. A piece of wood so formed as best to agitate the milk, was placed upright in the vessel, and a rope being twisted round it which two persons pulled alternately, one at the one end, and the other at the other, it was whirled round, and thus produced the agitation required.

a deadly poison issued from its bed, confounding the three regions of the world with its mortal stench, until Siva, at the word of Brahma, swallowed the fatal drug to save mankind. In the mean while a violent jealousy and hatred, on account of the amreeta, and the goddess Sree, sprung up in the bosoms of the asoors. But Narayan, assuming the form of a beautiful female, stood before them, whose minds becoming fascinated by her presence, and deprived of reason, they seized the amreeta and gave it unto her. But a dreadful battle arose between the soors and asoors, in which Narayan, quitting the female figure, assisted the soors. The elements and powers of nature were thrown into confusion by the conflict; but with the mighty aid of Narayan, and his weapon chacra, which of itself, unguided even by a hand, performed miraculous exploits, the soors obtained the victory, and the mountain Mandar was carried back to its former station. The soors guarded the amreeta with great care; and the god of the firmament, with all his immortal hands, gave the water of life unto Narayan, to keep it for their use. This was the third manifestation of the Almighty, in the preservation and government of the world.

The fourth I shall describe with greater brevity. Hirinacheren, the gigantic ruler, who rolled up the earth, and plunged with it to the bottom of the abyss, left a younger brother Hirinakassup, who succeeded him in his kingdom, and refused to do homage to Vishnu, but persecuted his own son, who was an ardent votary of that god. I, said he, am lord of all this visible world. The son replied, that Vishnu had no fixed abode, but was present every where. Is he, said his father, in that pillar? Then let him come forth; and rising from his seat, he struck the pillar with his foot; upon which Vishnu, bursting from it, with a body like a man, but a head like a lion, tore Hirinakassup in pieces, and placed his son upon the throne.*

In the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh avatars, the Preserving Power appeared in human shapes for the destruction of impious and ferocious kings, performing many heroic and many miraculous deeds. But, after the examples which have already been given, a particular description of these extravagant legends would poorly compensate the toil of a perusal. The eighth, however, is one of the most celebrated of all the incarnations of Vishnu. He was born the son of Vasudeva and Devaci, of the royal family of Cansa, and obtained the name of Crishna. But as it had been predicted to Cansa, that a child of that family would occasion his destruction, and he, in consequence, had decreed the death of every one born

* Asiat. Research. i. 154.

in it, Crishna was secretly withdrawn, and brought up in the family of a shepherd or herdsman. Many and wonderful were the transactions of his childhood, in which the wanton pranks of the mischievous, but amiable boy, are not less distinguished, than the miraculous exploits of the god. When he grew up, however, to be a youth, the indulgence of licentious love was his great occupation and enjoyment. It is a small part of the picture which I can, or which I need, to present. Were it not for disclosing the real ideas of the Divine Being, which the Hindus entertain, I could have been well pleased to have withheld it altogether. The scenes with the young shepherdesses are painted by the Hindus in all the glowing colours of oriental poetry. A passage from a hymn, or divine song, translated by Sir William Jones, is in the following words: "With a garland of wild flowers, descending even to the yellow mantle that girds his azure limbs, distinguished by smiling cheeks, and by ear-rings that sparkle as he plays, Heri* exults in the assemblage of amorous damsels. One of them presses him with her swelling breast, while she warbles with exquisite melody. Another, affected by a glance from his eye, stands meditating on the lotos of his face. A third, on pretence of whispering a secret in his ear, approaches his temples and kisses them with ardour. One seizes his mantle, and draws him towards her, pointing to the bower on the banks of Yamuna, where elegant vanjulas interweave their branches. He applauds another who dances in the sportive circle, whilst her bracelets ring, as she beats time with her palms. Now he caresses one, and kisses another, smiling on a third with complacency; and now he chases her whose beauty has most allured him. Thus the wanton Heri frolics, in the season of sweets, among the maids of Vraja, who rush to his embraces, as if he were pleasure itself assuming a human form; and one of them, under a pretext of hymning his divine perfections, whispers in his ear: Thy lips, my beloved, are nectar." † I shall select but another instance, which is from the translation before us of the Bhagavat. "Crishna, finding himself on the banks of the Yamuna‡ began to play on his pastoral flute. All the shepherdesses, filled with desire, ran in crowds to hear his enchanting sounds. Crishna, beholding them burning with passion, said to them that it was contrary to the order established in the world, to quit their houses to seek the enjoyment of a lover. He added that their families might thus, if their husbands were jealous, be thrown into disorder, and disgrace come upon themselves. He advised them accordingly to return. The

* A name of Vishnu.

† Asiat. Research. i. 187.

‡ This is spelt Emuney in the French translation.

BOOK II. women replied, that their passion, it was true, were it for an ordinary man, would be criminal; but desiring to unite themselves with the absolute master of all things, they could not believe that such an impulse was any other than meritorious. In regard to their husbands, they could have no rights which tended to the exclusion of God. Crishna, who saw the innocence of their hearts, graciously gave them entire satisfaction; and by a miracle continually repeated, in all that multitude of women, each was convinced that she alone enjoyed the Deity, and that he never quitted her an instant for the embraces of another.* "Crishna," says Sir William Jones, "continues to this hour the darling god of the Indian women. The sect of Hindus," he adds, "who adore him with enthusiastic and almost exclusive devotion, have broached a doctrine which they maintain with eagerness, and which seems general in these provinces;† that he was distinct from all the avatars, who had only a portion of his divinity; while Crishna was the person of Vishnu himself in a human form."‡ "At a more advanced age," continues Sir William, "he put to death his cruel enemy, Cansa; and having taken under his protection the king Yudhisht'hir and the other Pandus, who had been grievously oppressed by the Curus, and their tyrannical chief, he kindled the war described in the great epic poem, entitled the Mahabharat, at the prosperous conclusion of which he returned to his heavenly seat in Vaicont'ha, having left the instructions comprised in the Gita with his disconsolate friend Arjoon."§ He was afterwards slain, being wounded by an arrow in the foot.||

* Bagavadam, p. 60. This indeed was but a trifle; for with his 16,000 or 17,000 wives he could perform the same feat. See Halhed's translation of the Bhagavat, in Maurice's Hind. vol. ii.

† He means, the provinces where he then resided, Bengal, &c.

‡ Asiat. Research. i. 260.

§ Ib. i. 261. He sometimes, however, met with severe repulses. "Calijun, a prince who resided in the western parts of India, was very near defeating his ambitious projects. Indeed, Crishna was nearly overcome and subdued, after seventeen bloody battles; and according to the express words of the Puranas, he was forced to have recourse to treachery; by which means Calijun was totally defeated in the eighteenth engagement." Wilford, on Chron. of Hindus, Asiat. Research. v. 288.

|| Bagavadam, p. 313. "The whole history of Crishna," (says Anquetil Duperron, in his Observations on the Bhagavat, in the Recherches Historiques et Geographiques sur l'Inde) "is a mere tissue of Greek and Roman obscenities, covered with a veil of spirituality, which, among the fanatics of all descriptions, conceals the most abominable enormities." Speaking of a temple of Vishnu, at Satymangalam, in the Mysore, Dr. Buchanan says, "The rath, or chariot, belonging to it is very large, and richly carved. The figures on it, representing the amours of that god, in the form of Crishna, are the most indecent that I have ever seen." Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, &c. ii. 237.

The ninth incarnation of Vishnu, and the last, yet vouchsafed, of the Divine appearances, was in the person of Buddha. The object of this avatar is described in the following verse of a Hindu poet: "Thou blamest, Oh wonderful, the whole Veda, when thou seest, O kind-hearted, the slaughter of cattle prescribed for sacrifice, O Cesava,* assuming the body of Buddha. Be victorious, O Heri,† lord of the universe! ‡ But though Buddha is by the Hindus regarded as a manifestation of the Divine Being, the sect of Buddhists are regarded as heretical, and are persecuted by the Brahmens. It is conjectured that, at one time, a great number of them had been compelled to fly from the country, and spread their tenets in various directions. § The religion of Buddha is now found to prevail over the greater part of the East; in Ceylon, in the farther peninsula, in Thibet, in China, and even as far as Japan.|| "The tenth avatar," says Sir William Jones, "we are told is yet to come, and is expected to appear mounted (like the crowned conqueror in the Apocalypse) on a white horse, with a cimeter blazing like a comet, to mow down all incorrigible and impenitent offenders who shall then be on earth."**

Actions and qualities of the Hindu divinities farther illustrated.

It will require the addition of but a few passages more of this wild mythology, to convey a satisfactory idea of the actions and qualities which the Hindus ascribe to their supreme deities. "It is related," says Mr. Wilford,†† "in the Scanda,‡‡ that when the whole earth was covered with water, and Vishnu lay extended

* A name of Vishnu.

† Another name of Vishnu, vide supra, p. 221.

‡ Asiat. Research. ii. 121.

§ "As to Buddha," says Sir William Jones, (Disc. on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India) "he seems to have been a reformer of the doctrines contained in the Vedas; and, though his good nature led him to censure these ancient books, because they enjoined the sacrifices of cattle, yet he is admitted as the ninth avatar, even by the Brahmens of Casi."

|| A controversy has been started, whether the religion of Buddha was derived from that of Brahma, or that of Brahma, from the religion of Buddha. There seems little chance that data will ever be obtained, to prove either the one or the other. Clemens Alexandrinus would lead us to believe, that the religion of Buddha, in his time, must have been in high repute: Εισι δε των Ινδων, says he, (Strom. lib. i. p. 359) οἱ τοις Βουττα πειθομενοι παραγγελμασι, ὀν δι ὑπερβολην σεμνοτητος ὡς Θεον τετιμηκασι. (See also Hieronym. Cont. Jovian. lib. i. cap. 26.) This divinity was not confined to the Asiatics. There was a Butus, or Buto of Egypt, a Battus of Cyrene, and a Bœotus of Greece. (See Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology, iii. 170.) One of the primitive authors of the sect of Manicheans took the name of Buddas; another that of Manes; both of them names identical with the names of gods and sacred beings among the Hindus. Beausobre Hist. de Manichee, liv. i. ch. i.

** Asiat. Research. i. 236. See also Ward's View, &c. of the Hindus, (i. 3. London Ed.) for an account of the ten avatars.

†† Asiat. Research. iii. 374.

‡‡ One of the Puranas.

asleep in the bosom of Devi,* a lotos arose from his navel. Brahma sprang from that flower, and looking round without seeing any creature on the boundless expanse, imagined himself to be the first-born, and entitled to rank above all future beings. Resolving, however, by investigation, more fully to satisfy himself, he glided down the stalk of the lotos, and finding Vishnu asleep, asked loudly who he was. I am the first-born, answered Vishnu, waking: and as Brahma contradicted him, they had an obstinate battle, till Mahadeva, or Siva, pressed between them in great wrath, saying, It is I who am truly the first-born: but I will resign my pretensions to either of you who shall be able to reach and behold the summit of my head, or the soles of my feet. Brahma instantly ascended; but having fatigued himself to no purpose in the regions of immensity, yet loth to abandon his claim, he returned to Mahadeva, and declared that he had attained the crown of his head, calling, as his witness, the first-born cow. For this union of pride and falsehood, the angry god ordained, that no sacred rites should be performed to Brahma. When Vishnu returned, he acknowledged that he had not been able to see the feet of Mahadeva, confessed him to be the first-born among the gods, and entitled to rank above them all."

After a passage such as this, who would expect to find the following? "The patriarch Atterien retired into a forest, and there performed rigorous devotion, having for his nourishment nothing but the wind, and being exposed to all the injuries of the atmosphere. One day he addressed his vows to the Eternal in these words: O thou who hast created, and who preservest the universe; O thou by whom it is destroyed; give me the knowledge of thyself, and grant me the vision of thee! Then a fire issuing from the crown of the votary's head, made all the gods tremble, and they had recourse to Vishnu, to Siva, and to Brahma. Those three divinities, completely armed and mounted, accompanied by Lacshmi, Guenga, and Seraswati, their wives, presented themselves before the saint. Prostrating himself, Atterien worshipped them, and uttered the following words: O you three Lords, know that I recognise only one God: inform me which of you is the true divinity, that I may address to him alone my vows and adorations! To this supplication the three Gods replied; Learn, O devotee, that there is no real distinction between us: what to you appears such is only by semblance: the Single Being appears under three forms; by the acts of creation, of preservation, and destruction: but he is One."† Yet this "Single" Being, this One God, is thus again represented, a few pages after, in the same Purana: "Even Brahma, finding himself alone with his daughter, who was full of charms and knowledge,

* This means literally the goddess.

† Bagavadam, p. 96, et seq.

conceived for her a criminal passion."* Thus are we taught by the Hindus themselves to interpret the lofty phrases which the spirit of exaggeration and flattery so frequently puts into their mouths.

Chap. VI.

Of the First-born, Mahadeva, or the One, Eternal God, under one of his forms, we have the following sacred story. He was playing one day at dice with Parvati,† when they quarrelled, and parted in wrath to different regions. They severally performed rigid acts of devotion, but the fires which they kindled blazed so vehemently as to threaten a general conflagration. The devas,‡ in great alarm, hastened to Brahma, who led them to Mahadeva, and supplicated him to recall his consort; but the wrathful deity only answered, that she must come by her own free choice. They accordingly dispatched Ganga, the river goddess, who prevailed on Parvati to return to him, on condition that his love for her should be restored. The celestial mediators then employed Camadeva,§ who wounded Siva with one of his flowery arrows; but the angry divinity reduced him to ashes with a flame from his eye. Parvati soon after presented herself before him in the form of a Cirati, or daughter of a mountaineer, and seeing him enamoured of her, resumed her own shape.|| Of the various passages of a similar nature presented to us in the history of this God, I shall content myself with another, extracted by Mr. Wilford, from the Scanda Purana. "There had subsisted," says he,** "for a long time, some animosity between Brahma and Mahadeva in their mortal shapes; and the latter on account of his bad conduct, which is fully described in the Puranas, had it appears given much uneasiness to Swayambhuva, and Satarupa. For he was libidinous, going about stark-naked, with a large club in his hand. Be this as it may, Mahadeva, who was the eldest, saw his claim as such totally disregarded, and Brahma set up in his room. This intrusion the latter wanted to support; but made use of such lies as provoked Mahadeva to such a point, that he cut off one of his heads in his divine form." Such are the ideas which the Hindus entertain of the actions and character of their supreme deities; on whom, notwithstanding, they lavish all the most lofty epithets of divinity which human language can supply.

In what manner flattery to the gods grows more and more excessive: Strikingly exemplified in the religion of the Hindus.

This theology affords a remarkable instance of that progress in exaggeration and flattery which I have described as the genius of rude religion. As the Hindus, instead of selecting one god to whom they assigned all power in heaven and in earth, distributed the creation and administration of the universe

* Bagavadam, p. 178.

† One of the names of his wife.

‡ A general name of the inferior gods.

§ One of the devas.

|| See this story as extracted from the Puranas, Asiat. Research. iii. 402.

** Ib. vi. 474.

BOOK II. among three divinities, they divided themselves into sects; and some attached themselves more particularly to one deity, some to another.*

Presently the usual consequence ensued. Whichever of the three gods any votary selected for his peculiar patron, he expected to perform to him one of the most agreeable of all possible services, by representing him as superior to the other two. This we find to have been the practice invariably, and enthusiastically. In

* Mr. Paterson, in his Discourse on the Origin of the Hindu Religion, delineates a terrible picture of this Hindu controversy. The people separated, he tells us, "into sects, each selecting one of the triad, the particular object of their devotion, in preference to and exclusive of the others: the followers of Vishnu and Siva invented new symbols, each, to ascribe to their respective divinity the attribute of creation. This contention for pre-eminence ended in the total suppression of the worship of Brahma, and the temporary submission of Vishnu to the superiority of Siva; but this did not last long; the sects raised crusades against each other; hordes of armed fanatics, under the titles of Sanyasis and Vairagis, enlisted themselves as champions of their respective faith; the former devoted their lives in support of the superiority of Siva; and the latter were no less zealous for the rights of Vishnu: alternate victory and defeat marked the progress of a religious war, which for ages continued to harass the earth, and inflame mankind against each other." Asiat. Research. viii. 45, 46. Dr. Buchanan informs us, "That the worshippers of the two gods (Vishnu and Siva,) who are of different sects, are very apt to fall into disputes, occasioning abusive language and followed by violence; so that the collectors have sometimes been obliged to have recourse to the fear of the bayonet, to prevent the controversy from producing bad effects." Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, &c. i. 13. The missionary Dubois observes, that "we see the two sects striving to exalt the respective deities whom they worship, and to revile those of their opponents. . . . The followers of Vishnu vehemently insist that he is far superior to Siva, and is alone worthy of all honour. . . . The disciples of Siva, on the contrary, no less obstinately affirm that Vishnu is nothing, and has never done any act, but tricks so base as to provoke shame and indignation," &c. Description, &c. of the People of India, p. 58. See too the Missionary Ward, View, &c. of the Hindoos. Lond. Ed. Introd. p. 27.

The preface to (*Bhagavadam*) the French translation of the Bhagavat, by M. D'Obsonville, says, "The Indians are divided into two orthodox sects, which, however, violently oppose one another; the one asserting the supremacy of Vishnu, the other of Siva. * * The Puranas," it says, "differ in their interpretations of the Vedas, some of them giving the supremacy to Brahma, some to Vishnu, and some to Siva. These books are, properly speaking, pieces of controversial theology. The Brahmens, who composed them, disputing to which of their three gods the supremacy belongs, support the pretensions of each by an enormous mass of mythological legends, and mystical opinions, in favour of the God whom the author adopts. All are equally supported by the authority of the Vedas."

Mr. Colebrooke, describing the different sects of the Hindus, informs us that "Sancara Acharya, the celebrated commentator on the Veda, contended for the attributes of Siva, and founded or confirmed the sect of Saivas, who worship Mahadeva as the Supreme Being, and deny the independent existence of Vishnu and other Deities. Madhava Acharya and Vallabha Acharya have in like manner established the sect of Vaishnavas who adore Vishnu as God. The Suras (less numerous than the two sects above mentioned) worship the sun, and acknowledge no other divinity. The Ganahatyas adore Ganesa, as uniting in his person all the attributes of the Deity." Note A. on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus. Asiat. Research. vii.

a passage from the Scanda Purana, one of the sacred books in honour of Siva, we have seen by what legends his votaries endeavour to elevate him above Brahma, and Vishnu; while he cuts off the head of the one for contesting with him the supremacy, and has it expressly yielded up to him by the other. It is not, however, sufficient that the favourite god should be only superior to the rest; whatever honour is derived from their actions, that too must be claimed for him; and he is asserted to be himself the author of all their achievements.

A still higher strain of flattery succeeds. Not only must he absorb their actions, it is accounted still nobler if he can be asserted to absorb even themselves; if Siva, for example, can be affirmed, not only to be Siva, and to be at once creator, preserver, and destroyer, but can be declared to be Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva themselves. Beyond even this a step remains. In the same manner as he absorbs the gods, he is finally made to absorb every thing. He is asserted to be the universe itself. He is then all in all. We shall find this process pursued with the Hindu divinities, one after another. In another sacred book,* dedicated to Siva, that god is made to declare, "I have always been, and I always am, and I always will be. There is no second of whom I can say that I am he, and that he is I. I am the within of all the withins. I am in all surfaces. Whatever is I am; and whatever is not I am. I am Brahma; and I am also Brahme; and I am the causing cause. Whatever is in the east I am; and whatever is in the west I am; and whatever is in the south I am; and whatever is in the north I am. Whatever is below I am; and whatever is above I am. I am man, and not man, and woman. I am the truth; I am the ox; and I am all other animated beings. I am more ancient than all. I am the king of kings. And I am in all the great qualities. I am the perfect being. Whatever has been, Rudra † is; and whatever is he is; and whatever shall be he is. Rudra is life, and is death; and is the past, present, and future; and is all worlds." ‡ But if the votaries of Siva, with exaggerating devotion, thus infinitely exalt him above all; the same, or, if possible, still greater honours, do the adorers of Vishnu lavish upon that divinity. "Let it not be thought," says the Bhagavat, "that Vishnu is only one of the three divinities, or triple powers. Know that he is the principle of all. It is he who created the universe by his productive power; it is he who supports all by his preserving power; it is he, in fine, who destroys

* The Oupnekhat, of which an ancient version into the Persian language has been found. Anquetil Duperron published first some specimens of a translation from this in the Recherches Historiques et Geographiques sur l'Inde, and has since published a translation of the whole in Latin. There is a translation of it likewise among the late Mr. Allein's manuscripts in the British Museum.

† One of the many names of Siva, or Mahadeva. ‡ Oupnekhat, ix.

Book II. all by his destructive power. He creates under the form of Brahma, and destroys under that of Siva. The productive power is more excellent than the destructive, and the preserving more excellent than the productive. To the name of Vishnu, therefore, is attached the pre-eminence, since the title of preserver or saviour is peculiarly attributed to him." * In the Bhagvat-Geeta, Crishna is thus addressed; " O mighty being! who, greater than Brahma, art the prime creator! eternal god of gods! the world's mansion! thou art the incorruptible being distinct from all things transient! Thou art before all gods, and the supreme supporter of the universe! Thou knowest all things! By thee, O infinite form! the universe was spread abroad. Thou art Vayoo the god of winds, Agnee the god of fire, Varoon the god of oceans, Sasanka the moon, Prajapatee the god of nations! Reverence be unto thee before and behind, reverence be unto thee on all sides, O thou who art all in all! Infinite is thy power and thy glory! Thou includest all things, wherefore thou art all things."† In a Sanscrit inscription taken from a stone at Buddha Gaya, Buddha is thus addressed; " Reverence be unto thee, O god, in the form of the god of mercy; the lord of all things, the guardian of the universe. Thou art Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesa. ‡ Thou art lord of the universe! Thou art, under the proper form of all things, moveable and immoveable, the possessor of the whole! " §

* Bagavadam, p. 8, 9.

† Bhagvat-Geeta, p. 94: see similar strings of praises, Ibid. pp. 84 to 88; pp. 78, 79; p. 70. At p. 80 he is denominated, " The father and the mother of this world;" which affords another curious coincidence with the phraseology of other religions. The Orphic verses περι φυσεως make Jupiter the " father and mother of all things:"

Παντων μεν συ πατηρ, μητηρ, &c.—Hymn. ix. ver. 18.

Valerius Soranus calls Jupiter " the father and mother of the gods:"

Jupiter omnipotens, regum Rex ipse, Deûmque
Progenitor, Genetrixque Deûm; Deus unus et idem.
Apud Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, lib. iv. cap. xi. et lib. vii. cap. ix.

Synesius uses similar language:

Συ πατηρ, συ δ' εσσι μητηρ,
Συ δ' αρσην, συ δε θηλυς.—Synes. Hymn. iii.

Even Martial, in a sort of a hymn, or eulogy upon Mercury, beginning

Hermes Martia seculi voluptas,
Hermes omnibus eruditus armis;
&c. &c., ends thus,
Hermes omnia solus, et ter unus.—Mart. Ep. lib. iv. ep. 25.

" De Deo, ejusque cultu, ita Chaldæos tradidisse referunt; I. *Esse Deum omnium regem, parentemque, cujus providentia universorum ordo atque ornatus factus est.*—Bruckeri Hist. Crit. Philosophiæ, lib. ii. cap. ii. sect. 18.

‡ Another name for Siva.

§ Asiat. Research, i. 284, 285.

CHAP. VI.

THE ONE; its meaning as an epithet applied to the Hindu Gods.

Among the numerous expressions of panegyric and adoration which the Hindus apply to their divinities, none seem to have made a deeper impression upon some of the most intelligent of our English inquirers, than the epithet ONE. This has so far prevailed as to impress them with a belief that the Hindus had a refined conception of the unity of the Divine Nature. Yet it seems very clear that the use of such an epithet is but a natural link in that chain of unmeaning panegyric which distinguishes the religion of ignorant men. When one divinity has been made to engross the powers of all the rest, it is the necessary termination of this piece of flattery to denominate him THE ONE. Oriental scholars ought moreover to have reflected that *one* is an epithet of very common, and vague application in the languages of Asia; and is by no means a foundation whereon to infer among the Hindus any conception analogous to that which we denote by the term unity of God. The translation of the Institutes of Menu affords us a very satisfactory example; "Then only is a man perfect when he consists of three persons united, his wife, himself, and his son; And thus have learned Brahmens announced this—the husband is even ONE with his wife." * Yet surely no unity of being was supposed in this triune person, *a man, his wife, and his son.* Ad, we are informed by Macrobius, was among the Assyrians a word which signified *one*, and was a name conferred by them upon their chief divinity. † The Babylonians applied it to their principal goddess. ‡ The god Rimmon, as we learn from the Bible, had the same epithet. § Mr. Bryant says it was a sacred title among all the Eastern nations, and originally conferred upon the sun. || Even the Greek poets, who have never been suspected of refined notions of the unity of God, employ it to profusion. It is applied to Jupiter, to Pluto, to the sun, to Dionysius.** All the gods are affirmed to be one. †† "One power," says the Orphic poetry, "one divinity, Jupiter is the

* Institutes of Menu, ch. ix. 45.

† Deo, quem summum maximumque venerantur, Adad nomen dederunt. Ejus nominis interpretatio significat *unus.* Macrob. Satur. lib. i. cap. 23. This reduplication Mr. Bryant, with good reason, supposes to be a superlative, but is wrong in supposing it an ordinal, i. 29.

‡ Αδα, ἡδονη· και ὑπο Βαβυλωνιων ἡ Ηρα. Hesychius, ad verb. The Greeks gave it, for a feminine application, a feminine termination.

§ Zechariah, ch. xii. ver. 11. "As the mourning of Adad Rimmon, in the valley of Megiddon."

|| Analysis of Ancient Mythology, i. 29.

** Ἑις Ζευς, ἑις Αϊδης, ἑις Ἡλιος, εις Διονυσος,
Ἑις θεος εν παντεσσι.—Orph. Frag. iv. p. 364.

†† Πλυτων, Περσεφονη, Δημητηρ, Κυπρις, Ερωτες,
Τριτωνες, Νηρευς, Τηθυς, και Κυανοχαιτης,
Ἑρμησθ', Ἡφαιστος τε κλυτος, Παν, Ζευς τε, και Ἡρη
Αρτεμις, ηδ' Εκαεργος Απολλων, ἑις θεος εστι.—Hermesianax.

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great ruler of all." * Plutarch informs us that Apollo was frequently denominated the *monad*, or the ONLY ONE ; † and from the emperor Julian we learn, that the people of Edessa had a god whom they called MONIMUS, a word of the same interpretation. ‡ Few nations shall we find without a knowledge of the unity of the Divine Nature, if we take such expressions of it as abound in the Hindu writings for satisfactory evidence. By this token Mr. Park found it among the savages of Africa. §

Meaning of the term Brahme, in the Hindu theology.

In pursuance of the same persuasion ingenious authors have laid hold of the term Brahme, or Brahm, the neuter of Brahma, the masculine name of the creator. ‖ This they have represented as the peculiar appellation of the one god; Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, being only names of the particular modes of divine action. But this supposition, (for it is nothing more) involves the most enormous inconsistency ; as if the Hindus possessed refined notions of the unity of God, and could yet conceive his modes of action to be truly set forth in the characters of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva ; as if the same people could at once be so enlightened as to form a sublime conception of the Divine Nature, and yet so stupid as to make a distinction between the character of God and his modes of action. The parts of the Hindu writings, however, which are already before us, completely refute this error, and prove that Brahme is a mere unmeaning epithet of praise, applied to various gods, and no more indicative of refined notions of the unity, or any perfection of the Divine Nature, than other parts of their panegyrical de-

* Orphic. Fragm, vi. 366.

† Την ΜΟΝΑΔΑ τους ανδρας ονομαζειν Απολλωνα.—Plutarch. Isis et Osiris, p. 354.

‡ Orat. iv. p. 150. See too note (†) in page 228, where Mercury is denominated the *Thrice-one.*

§ " The belief of ONE GOD," says he," " and of a future state of reward and punishment, is entire and universal among them." Park's Travels in Africa, p. 273.

‖ Sir W. Jones says, (Discourse on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India,) " It must always be remembered, that the learned Indians, as they are instructed by their own books, in truth acknowledge only one supreme being, whom they call Brahme, or the *Great One,* in the neuter gender: they believe his essence to be infinitely removed from the comprehension of any mind but his own; and they suppose him to manifest his power by the operation of his divine spirit; whom they name Vishnu, the *Pervader,* in the masculine gender, whence he is often denominated the first male. * * * * * When they consider the Divine Power exerted in creating, or in giving existence to that which existed not before, they call the Deity Brahma, in the masculine gender also; and when they view him in the light of *Destroyer,* or rather *changer* of forms, they give him a thousand names, of which Siva, Isa or Iswara, Rudra, Hara, Sambhu, and Mahadeva, or Mahesa, are the most common." Mr. Wilford (Asiat. Research. iii. 370) says that Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahadeva, " are only the principal forms, in which the Brahmens teach the people to adore Brahm, or the great one."

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votions. We have already beheld Siva decorated with this title.* Vishnu is denominated the supreme Brahme in the Bhagvat-Geeta. † Nay, we find this

* Vide supra, p. 227.

† Bhagvat-Geeta, p. 84. The term Para Brahme, or Great Brahme, is applied, not once, but many times to Crishna, in the Bhagavat. See Halhed's translation in Maurice's Hindostan, ii. 342, 351, 354, 360, 375, 377, 379, 380, 417, 444. "The Sri Vaishnavam Brahmens," says Dr. Buchanan (Journey through Mysore, &c. i. 144), "worship Vishnu and the gods of his family only, and all over the Decan are almost exclusively the officiating priests in the temples of these deities. They allege Brahma to be a son of Vishnu, and Siva the son of Brahma. Vishnu they consider as the same with Para Brahmă" (thus Dr. Buchanan spells it instead of Brahme) "or the supreme Being." Yet of this supreme Being, this Para Brahma, they believe as follows; "One of the Asuras, or demons, named Tripura, possessed a city, the inhabitants of which were very troublesome to the inhabitants of Brahma Loka, the heaven of Brahma, who attempted in vain to take the place; it being destined not to fall, so long as the women who resided in it should preserve their chastity. The angels at length offered up their prayers to Vishnu, who took upon himself the form of a most beautiful young man, and became Budha Avatara. Entering then into the city, he danced naked before the women, and inspired them with loose desires, so that the fortress soon fell a prey to the angels." Ibid. Even Vach, the daughter of Ambhrina, is decorated with all the attributes of divinity. Mr. Colebrooke gives us the following literal version of a hymn in one of the Vedas, which Vach, he informs us, "speaks in praise of herself as *the supreme and universal soul*" [the title which, it is pretended, exclusively belongs to Brahme]—"I range with the Rudras, with the Vasus, with the Adityas, and with the Viswadevas. I uphold both the sun and the ocean [metra and varuna], the firmament, and fire, &c. * * Me who am the queen, the conferrer of wealth, the possessor of knowledge, and first of such as merit worship, the gods render, universally, present everywhere, and pervader of all beings. He, who eats food through me, as he, who sees, who hears, or who breathes, through me, yet knows me not, is lost; hear then the faith which I pronounce. Even I declare *this Self*, who is worshipped by gods and men. I make strong whom I choose; I make him Brahma, holy and wise. For Rudra I bend the bow, to slay the demon, foe of Brahma; for the people I make war on their foes; and I pervade heaven and earth. I bore the father on the head of this universal mind; and my origin is in the midst of the ocean: and therefore do I pervade all beings, and touch this heaven with my form. Originating all beings, I pass like the breeze; I am above this heaven, beyond this earth; and what is the GREAT ONE, that am I." Asiat. Research. viii. 402, 403. Mr. Colebrooke says that Vach signifies speech, and that she is personified as the active power of Brahma, proceeding from him. Ibid. There is a curious passage, descriptive of the universal soul, translated from the Vedas by Mr. Colebrooke. Several persons "deeply conversant with holy writ, and possessed of great dwellings, meeting together engaged in this disquisition; what is our soul? and who is Brahme?" Going together for information to a profound sage, they addressed him thus; "Thou well knowest the universal soul, communicate that knowledge unto us." The sage asked each of them, "whom he worshipped as the soul." The first answered, "the heaven." But the sage replied, that this was only the head of the soul. The second declared that he worshipped "the sun as the soul." But the sage told him, this was only the eye of the soul. The third said that he worshipped "air as the soul;" and the sage answered, that this was only the breath of the soul. The

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Brahme, the great, the eternal ONE, the supreme soul, employed in rather a subordinate capacity. "The Great Brahm," says Crishna, "is my womb. In it I place my fœtus; and from it is the production of all nature. The great Brahm is the womb of all those various forms which are conceived in every natural womb, and I am the father who soweth the seed." * In one of the morning prayers of the Brahmens, cited from the Vedas by Mr. Colebrooke, water is denominated Brahme. † "The sun," says Yajnyawalcya, "is Brahme; this is a certain truth revealed in the sacred Upanishats, and in various sac'has of the Vedas. So the Bhawishya Purana, speaking of the sun: Because there is none greater than he, nor has been nor will be, therefore he is celebrated as the supreme soul in all the Vedas." ‡ Air, too, receives the appellation of Brahme. Thus, says a passage in the Veda; "That which moves in the atmosphere is air, *Brahme.* § Thus again; "Salutation unto thee, O air! Even thou art Brahme, present to our apprehension. Thee I will call, 'present Brahme:' thee I will name, 'the right one:' thee I will pronounce, 'the true one.' May that Brahme, the universal being entitled air, preserve me." || Food too is denominated Brahme; so is breath, and intellect, and felicity. ** Nay, it is affirmed, as part of the Hindu belief, that man himself may become Brahme; thus in the Bhagvat-Geeta Crishna declares: "A man being endowed with a purified understanding, having humbled his spirit by resolution, and abandoned the objects of the organs; who hath freed himself from passion and dislike, who worshippeth with discrimination, eateth with moderation, and is humble of speech, of body, and of mind; who preferreth the devotion of meditation, and

fourth declared that he worshipped "the ethereal element as the soul." But the sage replied that this was only the trunk of the soul. The fifth answered, that he worshipped "water as the soul." But the sage rejoined that this was only the abdomen of the soul. The sixth informed him that he worshipped "earth as the soul." But the sage declared that this was only the feet of the soul. The sage next proceeds to deliver his own explanation; and utters a jargon, which has not even a semblance of meaning. "He thus addressed them collectively: You consider this universal soul, as it were an individual being; and you partake of distinct enjoyments. But he who worships as the universal soul, that which is known by its manifested portions, and is inferred from consciousness, enjoys nourishment in all worlds, in all beings, in all souls: his head is splendid like that of this universal soul; his eye is similarly varied; his breath is equally diffused; his trunk is no less abundant; his abdomen is alike full; and his feet are the earth; his breast is the altar; his hair is the sacred grass; his heart the household fire; his mind the consecrated flame; and his mouth the oblation."

* Ib. p. 107.

† Asiat. Research, v. 349.

‡ An extract from a Sanscrit commentary by Mr. Colebrooke, Asiat. Research, v. 352.

§ Asiat. Res. viii. 417.

|| Ib. 456.

** Extract from the Vedas by Mr. Colebrooke, Asiat. Research. viii. 455, 456.

who constantly placeth his confidence in dispassion; who is freed from ostentation, tyrannic strength, vain glory, lust, anger, and avarice; and who is exempt from selfishness, and in all things temperate, is formed for being Brahm." *

Vanity of the attempts to allegorize the Hindu mythology.

Such are the proofs on which the opinion has been adopted that sublime principles run through the religion of the Brahmens.† I know no supposition which

* Bhagvat-Geeta, p. 131, 132.

† Sir W. Jones seems to have found proofs of a pure theism almost every where. Speaking of the Arabs, he says, "The religion of the poets, at least, seems to have been pure theism; and this we may know with certainty, because we have Arabian verses of unsuspected antiquity, which contain pious and elevated sentiments on the goodness and justice, the power and omnipotence, of Allah, or *the God.* If an inscription said to have been found on marble in Yemen be authentic, the ancient inhabitants of that country preserved the religion of Eber, and professed a belief in miracles, and a future state." (As. Res. ii. 8.) Did Sir W. not know that the wildest religions abound most in miracles, and that no religion is without a belief of a future state? Did it want an inscription in Yemen to prove to us this? Sir W. finds proofs of a pure theism as easily among the Persians as among the Arabs. "The primeval religion of Iran," he says, "if we rely on the authorities adduced by Mohsani Fani, was that which Newton calls the oldest (and it may be justly called the noblest) of all religions: A firm belief that one supreme God made the world by his power, and continually governed it by his providence; a pious fear, love, and adoration of him; a due reverence for parents and aged persons; a fraternal affection for the whole human race, and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation." Yet under Hushang, who, it would appear, was the author of this primeval religion, he tells us, that the popular worship of the Iranians was purely Sabian. (Ibid. p. 58.) At the same time he assures us, that during his supposed Mahabadian dynasty, when this Hushangism and Sabianism existed, a Brahmenical system prevailed, "which we can hardly," he says, "doubt was the first corruption of the oldest and purest religion." (Ibid. p. 59.) By this account three different religions must have all been the prevalent religions of Persia, at one and the same time. Unless (which is not a theory with slight presumptions in its favour,) we conclude that all three were originally one and the same.—Even on the most sober-minded and judicious men, the lofty language of a mean superstition is calculated to impose. The industrious and intelligent Harris, in his account of the travels of William de Rubruquis, states it as his opinion, "after all the pains that he had been able to take, in order to obtain some sort of certainty on this head," that the religion of the Tartars includes these three points: "First,—That there is one God, the fountain of being, the creator of all things, the ruler of all things, and the sole object of Divine worship. Secondly,—That all men in general are his creatures, and therefore ought to consider each other as brethren descended from one common parent, and alike entitled to all the blessings he bestows; and that therefore it is great impiety to abuse those blessings, or to injure each other. Thirdly,—That inasmuch as the common reason of mankind hath taught them to establish property, it is necessary that it should be preserved, and that it is therefore the duty of every man to be content with his own." (See Harris's Collect. of Voyages, vol. i.) Les Moskaniens m'ont tous assurés unanimement, qu'ils n'avoient jamais eu d'idoles, ni de divinités subalternes, mais qu'ils sacrifioient uniquement à un être suprême et invisible. Pallas, Voyage, i. 126.

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can be employed to reconcile the inconsistencies, and to remove the absurdities, which we have found this opinion to involve, unless it be assumed, that the legends of the Hindus are all allegorical; and though it may be true that, in their literal interpretation, they are unworthy of a perfect being, that yet a recondite and enigmatical meaning may be extorted from them, which will tally with the sublime hypothesis men wish to retain. Undoubtedly, if we assume to ourselves the license of framing to the Hindu mythology, or to any other mythology, a meaning adapted to our own views, we may form out of it not only a sublime theology, but a sublime philosophy, or any thing which we please. It might, however, have been imagined that the futility, the absurdity, the folly of these arbitrary and unfounded interpretations was too well exposed to mislead such men as some of the advocates for the allegorical sense of the Hindu scriptures. The latter Platonists, and other refiners upon the mythology of Greece and Rome, drew from it a pure system of theology by the very same process which is adopted and recommended in regard to the fables of the Hindus. Hear the language of good sense and philosophy on a system which at one time had so many celebrated votaries, and which even now is not altogether deprived of them. "Without a tedious detail," says Mr. Gibbon, "the modern reader could not form a just idea of the strange allusions, the forced etymologies, the solemn trifling, and the impenetrable obscurity of these sages, who professed to reveal the system of the universe. As the traditions of Pagan mythology were variously related, the sacred interpreters were at liberty to select the most convenient circumstances; and as they translated an arbitrary cipher, they could extract from *any* fable *any* sense which was adapted to their favourite system of religion and philosophy. The lascivious form of a naked Venus was tortured into the discovery of some moral precept, or some physical truth; and the castration of Atys explained the revolution of the sun between the tropics, or the separation of the human soul from vice and error."* But if a condemnation thus severe can be justly pronounced upon those who would allegorize the Greek and Roman mythology, what judgment should be formed of those by whom the same mode of interpretation is applied to the fables of the Hindus?† The Egyptian religion is allowed on all hands to have possessed the same funda-

* Gibbon's Hist. of the Decl. and Fall of the Rom. Emp. iv. 71.

† The Hindu ideas are so extremely loose, vague, and uncertain, that they are materials unspeakably convenient for workmanship of this description. "The Hindu religion," says an Oriental scholar of some eminence, "is so pliant, *that there is scarcely an opinion it will not countenance.*" A Tour to Shiraz by Edward Scott Waring, Esq. p. 3, note.

mental principles with the Hindu, and to have resembled it remarkably in its outward features; yet, of all the systems of superstition which were found within the Roman empire, Mr. Gibbon pronounces this to be "the most contemptible and abject."* There are satisfactory reasons for supposing that improvement in the language of the Brahmens, and refinement in the interpretations which they put upon their ancient writings, not to speak of what may have been done by their favourite practice of interpolation, have been suggested by the more rational and simple doctrines of Mahomet.† The natural effect of acquaintance with a superior creed is well described by Mr. Bryant in some reflections on the introduction of Christianity into the Pagan world. "It is to be observed," says that illustrious author, "that when Christianity had introduced a more rational system, as well as a more refined worship, among mankind; the Pagans were struck with the sublimity of its doctrines, and tried in their turns to refine. But their misfortune was, that they were obliged to abide by the theology which had been transmitted to them; and to make the history of the Gentile Gods the basis of their procedure. This brought them into immense difficulties and equal absurdities: while they laboured to solve what was inexplicable; and to remedy what was past cure. Hence we meet with many dull and elaborate sophisms even in the great Plutarch: but many more in after times, among the writers of whom I am speaking. Proclus is continually ringing the changes upon the terms νοος, νοερος, and νοητος: and explains what is really a proper name, as if it signified *sense* and *intellect*. In consequence of this, he tries to subtilize and refine all the base jargon about Saturn and Zeus: and would persuade us that the most idle and obscene legends related to the divine mind, to the eternal wisdom, and supremacy of the Deity. Thus he borrows many exalted notions from Christianity; and blends them with the basest alloy, with the dregs of Pagan mythology."‡ Such are the opinions of the greatest men on those at-

* Gibbon's Hist. of the Decl. and Fall of the Rom. Emp. i. 52.

† Besides the invincible reasons afforded by the circumstances of the case, the artful pretences and evasions of the Brahmens are evidence enough. Mr. Wilford, having stated the general opinion, that the three principal gods of Egypt resolve themselves into one, namely, the sun, says, "The case was nearly the same in ancient India; but there is no subject on which the modern Brahmens are more reserved; for when they are closely interrogated on the title of Deva or God, which their most sacred books give to the sun, they avoid a direct answer, have recourse to evasions, and often contradict one another and themselves. They confess, however, unanimously, that the sun is an emblem or image of the three great divinities jointly and individually; that is of Brahme, or the supreme one." Asiat. Res. iii. 372.

‡ Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology, iii. 104, 105.

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tempts to allegorize a rude superstition, which some of the most celebrated of our Indian guides so vehemently recommend to us.*

Where ideas of the mundane system are rude, ideas of the gods must be rude.

Of the pure and elevated ideas of the Divine Nature which are ascribed to the Hindus, or to any other people, an accurate judgment may be formed by ascertaining the source from which they are derived. It will be allowed that just and rational views of God can be obtained from two sources alone: from revelation; or, where that is wanting, from sound reflection upon the frame and government of the universe. Wherever men are sufficiently improved to take a comprehensive survey of this magnificent system, to observe the connexion of all its parts, the order which prevails throughout, the exquisite adaptation of means to ends, and the incredible train of wonderful effects which flow from the simplest causes; they may then form exalted notions of the intelligence by which so many wonderful effects are supposed to be produced. If all our un-

* Mr. Halhed very judiciously repels the project to allegorize and refine upon the Hindu mythology. " Many conjectural doctrines," says he, " have been circulated by the learned and ingenious of Europe upon the mythology of the Gentoos; and they have unanimously endeavoured to construe the extravagant fables with which it abounds into sublime and mystical symbols of the most refined morality. This mode of reasoning, however common, is not quite candid or equitable, because it sets out with supposing in those people a deficiency of faith with respect to the authenticity of their own scriptures, which, although our better information may convince us to be altogether false and erroneous, yet are by them literally esteemed as the immediate revelations of the Almighty. * * * It may possibly be owing to this vanity of reconciling every other mode of worship to some kind of conformity with our own, that allegorical constructions and forced allusions to a mystic morality have been constantly foisted in upon the plain and literal context of every Pagan mythology. * * * The institution of a religion has been in every country the first step towards an emersion from savage barbarism. * * The vulgar and illiterate have always understood the mythology of their country in its literal sense; and there was a time to every nation, when the highest rank in it was equally vulgar and illiterate with the lowest. * * * A Hindoo esteems the astonishing miracles attributed to a Brihma, a Raam, or a Kishen, as facts of the most indubitable authenticity, and the relation of them as most strictly historical." Preface to Code of Gentoo Laws, p. xiii. xiv. On the religion of ancient nations, Voltaire says with justice, On pourroit faire des volumes sur ce sujet; mais tous ces volumes se reduisent a deux mots, c'est que le gros du genre humain a été et sera tres long-temps insensé et imbecile; et que peut-être les plus insensés de tous ont été ceux qui ont voulu trouver un sens à ces fables absurdes, et mettre de la raison dans la folie. Voltaire, Philosophie de l'Histoire, Œuvres Completes à Gotha, 1785, tom. xvi. p. 22. Mr. Wilkins, reprobating some other attempts at refinement on the Hindu text, says, " he has seen a comment, by a zealous Persian, upon the wanton odes of their favourite poet Hafiz, wherein every obscene allusion is sublimated into a divine mystery, and the host and the tavern are as ingeniously metamorphosed into their prophet and his holy temple." Bhagvat-Geeta, note 114.

revealed knowledge of God, who is the immediate object of none of our senses, is derived from his works, they whose ideas of those works are so far from being just, rational, and sublime, that they are in the highest degree absurd, mean, and degrading, cannot, whatever may be the language which they employ, have elevated, and pure, and rational ideas of their author. It is impossible for the stream to ascend higher than the fountain. The only question therefore is, what are the ideas which the Hindus have reached concerning the wisdom and beauty of the universe. To this the answer is clear and incontrovertible. No people, how rude and ignorant soever, who have been so far advanced as to leave us memorials of their thoughts in writing, have ever drawn a more gross, irrational, and disgusting picture of the universe than what is presented in the writings of the Hindus.* In the whole of the Sanscrit literature now open to Europeans, I do not think that one reflection on the coherence, the wisdom, the beauty, of the universe is to be found.† It is indeed impossible; for in the universe of the Hindus, no coherence, wisdom, or beauty exists: all is disorder, caprice, passion, contest, portents, prodigies, violence, and deformity.‡ It is perfectly evi-

* Even Mr. Maurice says; "The Hindu notions of the mundane system are altogether the most monstrous that ever were adopted by any beings, who boast the light of reason; and, in truth, very little reconcileable with those sublime ideas we have been taught to entertain of the profound learning and renowned sagacity of the ancient Brahmens." Maurice, Hist. of Hindost. i. 490.

† I have met with nothing in Sanscrit literature in any degree to be compared with the following reflection of a Peruvian Inca, "If the heaven be so glorious, which is the throne and seat of the Pachacamac, how much more powerful, glittering, and resplendent must his person and majesty be, who was the maker and creator of them all. Other sayings of his were these, *If I were to adore any of these terrestrial things, it should certainly be a wise and discreet man, whose excellencies surpass all earthly creatures.*" Garcilasso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries of Peru, book iv. ch. 19. There is a passage which I have read since this was written, (which however may well be suspected of flowing at a recent date from a foreign source) translated by Mr. Ward, from a work by Chirunjeevu, in which the inference that a God exists because the universe exists, is very distinctly expressed. Ward's View, &c. ii. 302. Lond. Ed.

‡ In my researches concerning the religious ideas of the Hindus, I was much struck with the title of a chapter or lecture in the Bhagvat-Geeta, "Display of the Divine Nature in the form of the universe." I seized it with eagerness: Here, I thought, will undoubtedly be found some reflections on the wisdom and order of the universe: I met with only the following monstrous exhibition: "Behold," says Vishnu, in the form of Crishna, to Arjoon, "behold things wonderful, never seen before. Behold in this my body the whole world animate and inanimate, and all things else thou hast a mind to see. But as thou art unable to see with these thy natural eyes, I will give thee a heavenly eye, with which behold my divine connection."—After this Arjoon declares, "I behold, O god! within thy breast, the dews assembled, and every specific tribe of beings. I see Brahma, that deity sitting on his lotus-throne; all the Reeshees [saints] and heavenly Ooragas [serpents]. I see thyself, on all sides, of infinite shape, formed with abundant

Book II. dent that the Hindus never contemplated the universe as a connected and perfect system, governed by general laws, and directed to general ends; and it follows, as a necessary consequence, that their religion is no other than that primary worship, which is addressed to the designing and invisible beings who preside over the powers of nature, according to their own arbitrary will, and act only for some private and selfish gratification. The elevated language which this species of worship finally assumes is only the refinement which flattery, founded upon a base apprehension of the divine character, ingrafts upon a mean superstition.*

arms, and bellies, and mouths, and eyes; but I can neither discover thy beginning, thy middle, nor again thy end, O universal lord, form of the universe! I see thee with a crown, and armed with club and chacra, [the martial weapon of Crishna, a sort of discus or quoit,] a mass of glory, darting refulgent beams around. I see thee, difficult to be seen, shining on all sides with light immeasurable, like the ardent fire or glorious sun. Thou art the supreme being, incorruptible, worthy to be known! Thou art prime supporter of the universal orb! Thou art the never-failing and eternal guardian of religion! Thou art from all beginning, and I esteem thee Pooroosh [literally *man*, but here meant to express the vital soul.] I see thee without beginning, without middle, and without end; of valour infinite; of arms innumerable; the sun and moon thy eyes; thy mouth a flaming fire, and the whole world shining with thy reflected glory! The space between the heavens and the earth is possessed by thee alone, and every point around: the three regions of the universe, O mighty spirit! behold the wonders of thy awful countenance with troubled minds. Of the celestial bands, some I see fly to thee for refuge; whilst some, afraid, with joined hands sing forth thy praise. The Maharshees, holy bands, hail thee, and glorify thy name with adorating praises. The Roodras, the Adityas, the Vasoos, and all those beings the world esteemeth good; Asween and Koomar, the Maroots and Ooshmapas; the Gandharos and the Yakshas, with the holy tribes of Soors, all stand gazing on thee, and all alike amazed. The winds, alike with me, are terrified to behold thy wondrous form gigantic; with many mouths and eyes; with many arms, and legs, and breasts; with many bellies, and with rows of dreadful teeth! Thus, as I see thee, touching the heavens, and shining with such glory, of such various hues, with widely opened mouths and bright expanded eyes, I am disturbed within me; my resolution faileth me, O Vishnu! and I find no rest! Having beholden thy dreadful teeth, and gazed on the countenance, emblem of time's last fire, I know not which way I turn! I find no peace! Have mercy, then, O god of gods! thou mansion of the universe! The sons of Dhreetarashtra, now, with all those rulers of the land, Bheeshma, Drona the son of Soot, and even the fronts of our army, seem to be precipitating themselves hastily into thy mouths, discovering such frightful rows of teeth! whilst some appear to stick between thy teeth with their bodies sorely mangled. As the rapid streams of full-flowing rivers roll on to meet the ocean's bed; even so these heroes of the human race rush on towards thy flaming mouths. As troops of insects, with increasing speed, seek their own destruction in the flaming fire; even so these people, with swelling fury, seek their own destruction. Thou involvest and swallowest them altogether, even unto the last, with thy flaming mouths; whilst the whole world is filled with thy glory, as thy awful beams, O Vishnu, shine forth on all sides!" Bhagvat-Geeta, p. 90, &c. Such is "the Display of the Divine Nature in the form of the universe!"

* In the grant of land, translated from a plate of copper, (Asiat. Res. iii. 45,) among the

The Deity, whom the progress of adoring flattery exalted to supremacy among the Hindu gods, was the Sun.

If it be deemed necessary to inquire into the principle of the Hindu superstition, or which of the powers of nature, personified into gods, they exalted in the progress of hyperbolical adoration to the supremacy over the rest, and the lordship of all things, the question is resolved by copious evidence; and on this point inquirers generally coincide. Sir William Jones has written a discourse to prove that the gods of Greece, Italy, and India are the same. But it is sufficiently proved that the Greek and Roman deities ultimately resolve themselves into the sun, whose powers and provinces had been gradually enlarged, till they included those of all nature. It follows that the sun too is the principle of the Hindu religion. Sir William Jones draws this conclusion expressly: "We must not be surprised," says he, "at finding on a close examination, that the characters of all the Pagan deities, male and female, melt into each other, and at last into one or two; for it seems a well-founded opinion, that the whole crowd of gods and goddesses, in ancient Rome and modern Varanes, mean only the powers of nature, and principally those of the sun, expressed in a variety of ways, and by a multitude of fanciful names."* He says too, that "the three Powers, Creative, Preservative, and Destructive, which the Hindus express by the triliteral word *Aum*, were grossly ascribed by the first idolators to the heat, light, and flame of their mistaken divinity the sun."† Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, were, therefore, the heat, light, and flame of the sun; and it follows as a very clear deduction, that Brahme, whose powers were shadowed forth in the characters of those three gods, was the sun himself. This conclusion, too, is established by many express texts of the Hindu scriptures, as well as by the most venerated part of the Hindu ritual. "The syllable Om (Aum) intends," says a passage from the Veda translated by Mr. Colebrooke, "every deity: It belongs to Paramesht'hi, him who dwells in the supreme abode; it appertains to Brahme, the vast one; to Deva, god; to Adhyatma, the superintending soul. Other deities belonging to those several regions, are portions of the three gods;

praises of the sovereign, by whom the donation is made, it is said, "The gods had apprehensions in the beginning of time, that the glory of so great a monarch would leave them without marks of distinction; thence it was, that Purari assumed a third eye in his forehead; Pedmacsha, four arms; Atmabhu, four faces; that Cali held a cimeter in her hand; Rama, a lotos flower; and Vani, a lyre." Sir W. Jones in the note says; "The six names in the text are appellations of the gods Mahadeva, Vishnu, Brahma, and the goddesses Durga, Lacshmi, Seraswati." So that the three supreme deities, with their wives, were afraid of being eclipsed by an earthly king, and were obliged to assume new distinctions (of a very ingenious and imposing sort!) to prevent so lamentable an event.

* On the Gods of Greece, &c., Asiat. Research. i. 267.

† Ib. 272.

for they are variously named and described, on account of their different operations: but in fact there is only one deity, THE GREAT SOUL. He is called the SUN; for he is the soul of all beings. Other deities are portions of him."* I have already quoted a very remarkable passage from Yajnyawalcya, one of the highest of all authorities, in which the sun is directly asserted to be Brahme, and to be the supreme soul, as is declared in all the Vedas.† Another passage translated from a Veda by Mr. Colebrooke says; "Fire is THAT ORIGINAL CAUSE, the SUN is that; such too is that pure Brahme. Even he is the god who pervades all regions; he, prior to whom nothing was born; and who became all beings, himself the lord of creatures."‡ A passage in the Veda, translated by Sir William Jones, says; "That Sun, than which nothing is higher, to which nothing is equal, enlightens the sky, the earth, the lower worlds, the higher worlds, other worlds, enlightens the breast, enlightens all besides the breast."§ In the Bhawishya Purana Crishna himself says; "The sun is the god of perception, the eye of the universe, the cause of day: there is none greater than he among the immortal powers. From him this universe proceeded, and in him it will reach annihilation; he is time measured by instants." I shall add but one instance more. There is a passage in the Vedas, which is regarded by the Hindus with unspeakable veneration. It has a distinctive appellation. It is called the Gayatri, and is used upon the mightiest occasions of religion. It is denominated the holiest text in the Vedas. This extraordinary, this most sacred, most wonderful text, is thus translated by Sir William Jones; "Let us adore the supremacy of that divine Sun, the godhead, who illuminates all, who re-creates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return, whom we invoke to direct our understandings aright in our progress towards his holy seat."|| Another version of it, and somewhat different in its phraseology, is given by Mr. Colebrooke in his account of the first of the Vedas: "I subjoin," says he, "a translation of the prayer which contains it, as also of the preceding one, (both of which are addressed to the sun) for the sake of exhibiting the Indian priests' confession of faith with its context:—'This new and excellent praise of thee, O splendid, playful Sun! is offered by us to thee. Be gratified by this my speech: approach this craving mind as a fond man seeks a woman. May that sun who contemplates and looks into all worlds be our protector!— LET US MEDITATE ON THE ADORABLE LIGHT OF THE DIVINE RULER:

* Asiat. Research. viii. 397.

† Vide supra, p. 232.

‡ Asiat. Research. viii. 431, 432.

§ Ibid. ii. 400.

|| Sir William Jones's Works, vi. 417.

MAY IT GUIDE OUR INTELLECTS!* Desirous of food, we solicit the gift of the splendid Sun, who should be studiously worshipped. Venerable men, guided by the understanding, salute the divine Sun with oblations and praise."† Constrained by these and similar passages, Mr. Colebrooke says; "The ancient Hindu religion, as founded on the Indian scriptures, recognizes but one God, *yet not sufficiently discriminating the creature from the Creator*."‡ This is an important admission, from one of the most illustrious advocates of the sublimity of the Hindu religion. Had he reflected for one moment, he would have seen that between *not sufficiently*, and *not-at-all*, in this case, there can be no distinction.§

Worship of heroes.

In the natural progress of religion, it very frequently happens, that the spirit of adulation and hyperbole exalts admired or powerful individuals to the rank of gods. The name of the sun, or of some other divinity, is bestowed as a title, or as an epithet of inflated praise, upon a great prince, or conqueror.|| Immediately the exploits of the hero are blended with the functions of the god; and, in process of time, when the origin of the combination is forgotten, they form a compound mass of inextricable and inconsistent mythology. Mr. Colebrooke is of

* This particular passage it is, which is pointed out by Mr. Colebrooke as the gayatri.

† Asiat. Research. viii. 400.

‡ Ib. 397.

§ Nations, not behind the Hindus in civilization (the most enthusiastic of their admirers being judges) agree in these ideas. "Les nations savantes de l'Orient," says Dupuis, (Origine de tous les Cultes, i. 4) "les Egyptiens et les Pheniciens, deux peuples qui ont le plus influé sur les opinions religieuses du reste de l'univers, ne connoissoient d'autres Dieux, chefs de l'administration du monde, que le soleil, la lune, les astres, et le ciel qui les renferme, et ne chantoient que la nature dans leurs hymnes et leurs theogonies." The following is a curious passage: "Eutychius, apres avoir pris le Sabiisme en Chaldee, De la, dit il, il est passé en Egypte, de l'Egypte il fut porté chez les Francs, c'est a dire en Europe, d'ou il s'etendit dans tous les ports de la Mediterranée. Et, comme le culte du Soleil et des Etoiles, la veneration des ancestres, l'erection des statues, la consecration des arbres, constituerent d'abord l'essence du Sabiisme, et que cette espece de religion, toute bizarre qu'elle est, se trouva assez vite repandue dans toutes les parties du monde alors connu, et l'infecta jusqu' à l'Inde, jusqu' à la Chine; de sorte que ces vastes empires ont toujours esté pleins de statues adoreés, et ont toujours donné la creance la plus folle aux visions de l'astrologie judiciaire, preuve incontestable de Sabiisme, puisque ç'en est le fond, et le premier dogme; la conclusion est simple, que soit par tradition, soit par imitation et identité d'idees, le monde presqu' entier s'est vu, et se voit encore Sabien. Ib. 25. Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, &c. xii. 25.

|| Adad, the name of the chief Assyrian deity, was held by ten Syrian kings in succession. Nicol. Damasc. ap. Josephum, Antiq. lib. vii. cap. 5. Even among Christians, kings and great men have received all the general titles of the deity, *lord*, *majesty*, *highness*, *excellence*, *grace*.

Book II.

opinion, that in the Vedas the elements and the planets alone are deified; that the worship of heroes was introduced among the Hindus at a later period; and makes a remarkable figure in the Puranas.*

Personification and worship of abstract ideas.

Among the false refinements to which the spirit of a rude religion gives birth, it is worthy of particular remark, that abstract ideas are made to assume the character of gods: health and sickness; war and peace; plenty, famine, or pestilence. When the most general abstractions too begin to be formed, as of space, of time, of fate, of nature, they are apt to fill the mind with a kind of awe and wonder; and to appear to stretch beyond all things. They are either, therefore, apprehended as new gods, and celebrated as antecedent and superior to all the old; or if any of the old have taken a firm possession of the mind, they are exalted to the new dignity, and receive the name of the abstract idea which most forcibly engages the attention. Thus, among the Greeks and the Romans, Fate usurped a power over all the gods. The Parsee books represent Ormusd and Ahriman, the Good Principle and the Evil Principle, sometimes as independent beings; sometimes as owing their existence to something above them; in a manner extremely resembling the language of the Sanscrit books respecting Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. At times, however, the Persians express themselves more precisely. "In the law of Zoroaster," says one of their sacred books," it is positively declared that God [Ormusd] was created by Time along with all other beings; and the creator is Time; and Time has no limits; it has nothing above it; it has no root; it has always been, and always will be. No one who has understanding will ever say, Whence did Time come? In that grandeur wherein Time was, there was no being who could call it creator, because it had not yet created. Afterwards it created fire and water, and from their combination proceeded Ormusd. Time was the creator, and preserved its authority over the creatures which it had produced.* * *I said in the beginning that Ormusd and Ahriman came both from Time." † The Brahmens, on the other hand, rather appear to have advanced the dignity of the acknowledged divinities, so far as to make it embrace the extent of the abstract ideas, and to have regarded them as the abstract ideas themselves. Thus Mr. Wilkins supposes, that Brahme represents nature; Brahma, matter; Vishnu, space; Siva, time. But this is a refinement which is very sparingly, if at all, introduced in the writings of the Brahmens, which have been yet laid open to European eyes.

* Asiat. Research. viii. 398, note.

† Anquetil Duperron, Zendavesta, ii. 344.

Direct contradictions of it, though plentifully diffused, are no proof that it is not at all a Hindu doctrine. Thus Crishna, in the Geeta, says, "I am never-failing time, the Preserver, whose face is turned on all sides;" * a point of view in which it well agrees with the peculiar attributes of Vishnu. But in the very same discourse, Crishna says again, "I am time, the destroyer of mankind," † in which case it agrees only with the character of Siva. But it is still more remarkable that Brahma is said to have "given being to time, and the divisions of time;" ‡ and that space is said to have been produced from the ear of the first victim immolated by the gods.§ Nay, there are passages in which the Hindus acknowledge a destiny or fate, which over-rules the Supreme Beings themselves. "The future condition of great beings is destined with certainty, both the nakedness of Mahadeva, and the bed of Vishnu, on a vast serpent. What is not to be, that will not be; and if an event be predoomed, it cannot happen otherwise." ||

The heterogeneous mass, compounded of the worship of the elements and

When the exaggerations of flattery are in this manner engrafted upon the original deification of the elements and powers of nature; and when the worship of heroes and of abstract ideas is incorporated with the whole; then is produced that heterogeneous and monstrous compound which has formed the religious

* Bhagvat-Geeta, p. 87. † Ib. p. 93.

‡ Institutes of Menu, ch. i. 24.

§ A passage translated from the Veda by Mr. Colebrooke, Asiat. Research. vii. 251.

|| Hetopadesa, book I., Sir William Jones's Works, vi. 7. A personification, and mysterious deification of some very abstract idea, as time, or space, is by no means unnatural to rude nations. It is remarkable that the Scandinavians had a notion of some mysterious power, superior to their gods; for after the great catastrophe, in which Odin, Thor, and the other deities, lose their lives, "comes forth THE POWERFUL, THE VALIANT, HE WHO GOVERNS ALL THINGS, from his lofty abodes, to render divine justice. In his palace the just will inhabit, and enjoy delights for evermore." (See extracts from the Edda, the sacred book of the Scandinavians, in Mallet's Introduct. to the Hist. of Denmark, vol. i. ch. vi.) That historian observes, in a style which almost appears to be copied by those to whom we owe the specimens of the Hindu religion, that a capital point among the Scythians was, the pre-eminence of "One only, all-powerful and perfect being, over all the other intelligences with which universal nature was peopled." The Scandinavians, then, were on a level with all that is even claimed for the Hindus. But these same Scandinavians draw terrible pictures of this perfect One; describing him as a being who even delights in the shedding of human blood; yet they call him, the Father and creator of men, and say, that "he liveth and governeth during the ages; he directeth every thing which is high, and every thing which is low; whatever is great, and whatever is small; he hath made the heaven, the air, and man who is to live for ever; and before the heaven or the earth existed, this god lived already with the giants." Ibid. But what this god was, whether matter, or space, or time, the Scandinavian monuments are too imperfect to determine.

BOOK II. powers of nature, that of heroes, and abstract ideas.

creed of so great a portion of the human race; but composes a more stupendous mass in Hindustan than any other country; because in Hindustan a greater and more powerful section of the people, than in any other country, have, during a long series of ages, been solely occupied in adding to its volume, and augmenting its influence.*

* Bernier, one of the most intelligent and faithful of all travellers, who spent a number of years in great favour at the court of Aurengzebe, formed an opinion of the religion of the Hindus, with which respect was little connected; for one of his Letters he thus entitles, " Lettre, &c. touchant les superstitions, etranges façons de faire, et doctrine des Indous ou Gentils de l'Hindoustan. D'ou l'on verra qu'il n'y a opinions si ridicules et si extravagantes dont l'esprit de l'homme ne soit capable." (Bernier, Suite des Memoires sur l'Empire du Grand Mogol, i. 119.) He appears to have seen more completely through the vague language of the Brahmens respecting the divinity, (a language so figurative, and loose, that if a man is heartily inclined, he may give it any interpretation,) than more recent and more credulous visitors. After giving a very distinct account of the more common notions entertained of the three deities, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, he says, Touchant ces trois Estres j'ai vu des Missionaires Européens qui pretendent que les Gentils ont quelque idée du mystere de la Trinité, et qui disent qu'il est expressement porté dans leurs livres que ce sont trois Personnes un seul Dieu; pour moy j'ai fait assez discourir les Pendets sur cette matiere, *mais ils s'expliquent si pauvrement que je n'ai jamais pu comprendre nettement leur sentiment;* j'en ai meme vu quelques-uns qui disent que se sont trois veritables creatures tres parfaites qu'ils appellent Deutas; comme nos anciens idolatres n'ont à mon avis jamais bien expliqué ce qu'ils entendoient par ces mots de Genius, et de Numina, qui est, je pense, le même que Deuta chez les Indiens; il est vrai que j'en ai vu d'autres, et des plus sçavans, qui disoient que ces trois Etres n'estoient effectivement qu'un meme dieu consideré en trois façons, a sçavoir, en tant qu'il est Producteur, Conservateur, et Destructeur des choses, mais ils ne disoient rien des trois personnes distinctes en un seul Dieu. Ibid. p. 173.—" The history of these gods" (says Mr. Orme, Hist. of the Milit. Trans. &c. in Indostan, i. 3,) " is a heap of the greatest absurdities. It is Eswara twisting off the neck of Brahma; it is the Sun who gets his teeth knocked out, and the Moon who has her face beat black and blue at a feast, at which the gods quarrel and fight with the spirit of a mob." In the Zendavesta, as translated by Anquetil Duperron, many passages are as expressive to the full of just ideas of the Divine Nature as any in the Vedas. The absurdities too, with which they are mixed, are certainly not greater, they are many degrees less, than those with which the sublime phrases in the Vedas are mingled. The ancient magi, we are told, had a most sublime theology.—Nunquam adorabant solem: et mox addiderunt, se non adhibere aliquam adorationem soli, aut lunæ, aut planetis, sed tantum erga solem se convertere inter orandum. Hyde, p. 5. Je vois, ma sœur, says the Guebre in Montesquieu, (Lettres Persanes, Let. lxvii.) que vous avez appris parmi les musulmans à calomnier notre sainte religion. Nous n'adorons ni les astres ni les elemens; et nos peres ne les ont jamais adorés . . . . . . Ils leurs ont seulement rendu un culte religieux, mais inferieur, comme à des ouvrages et des manifestations de la divinité. Beausobre, with his usual critical sagacity, said, in regard to the pictures drawn by Hyde, Pococke, and Prideaux, of the religious system of the magi, Rien de plus beau, rien de

Religious ceremonies of the Hindus.

It is a strong instance of the common incoherence of thought; of that negligence which so much prevails in tracing the relations of one set of opinions to another and forming on any subject a consistent and harmonious assemblage of ideas, that while so many persons of eminence loudly contend for the correctness and sublimity of the speculative, there is an universal agreement respecting the meanness, the absurdity, the folly, of the endless, childish, degrading, and pernicious ceremonies, in which the practical part of the Hindu religion consists. Of the practical part, however, of this religion, it is a small sample only which it is possible to present. Volumes would hardly suffice to depict at large the ritual of the Hindus, which is more tedious, minute, and burthensome; and engrosses a greater portion of human life, than any ritual which has been found to fetter and oppress any other portion of the human race. I shall first present such a specimen, as I think will suffice to convey an idea of the *daily* ceremonies of the Brahmens; and next I shall endeavour to describe those which recur at more distant intervals, or which belong only to certain remarkable epochs or periods of life.

As he rises from sleep, a Brahmen must rub his teeth with a proper withe, or a twig of the racimeferous fig tree, repeating prayers. Should this sacred duty be omitted, so great a sin is incurred, that the benefit is lost of all religious rites performed by him. The next circumstance of importance is, the deposit of the withe after it has done its office. It must be carefully thrown away in a place free from impurities; that is, where none of those religious stains, which are so multiplied among the Hindus, and must infect so many places, have been imprinted. When the business of the teeth and of the twig is accomplished, ablution next engages the attention of the Brahmen. The duty of the bath, particularly in the months of Magha, Pholgima, and Cartica, is no less efficacious than a rigid penance for the expiation of sin. Standing in a river, or in other water, the worshipper, sipping water, which is a requisite preliminary to all rites, and sprinkling it before him, recites inaudibly the gayatri, or holiest text of the

plus orthodoxe que ce systême. Je crains seulement qu'il ne le soit un peu trop pour ces tems-la. Hist. de Manich. lib. ii. ch. ii. Voltaire thus expresses himself; "On ne peut lire deux pages de l'abominable fatras attribué à ce Zoroastre, sans avoir pitié de la nature humaine. Nostradamus et le medecin des urines sont des gens raisonables, en comparison de cet energumene. Et cependant on parle de lui, et on en parlera encore." He had however remarked a little before, that the book contained good precepts of morality, and asked, "Comment se pourrait-il que Zoroastre eut joint tant d'enormes fadaises à cet beau precepte de s'abstenir dans les doutes si on fera bien ou mal?" Dictionnaire Philosophique, Mot Zoroastre.

Veda, with the names of the seven worlds. He next throws water eight times on his head, or towards the sky, and at last upon the ground, to destroy the demons who wage war with the gods, reciting prayers, of which the first may be received as a specimen: "O waters, since ye afford us delight, grant us present happiness, and the rapturous sight of the supreme God." When these ceremonies and prayers are performed, he plunges three times into the water, and each time repeats the expiatory text which recites the creation, and having then washed his mantle, the morning ablution is finished. If he is an householder, it is his duty to bathe again at noon, and if he belongs to an order of devotion, both at noon and in the evening, with ceremonies, differing somewhat in the words and forms, but the same in spirit and substance.*

An important part of the worship of the Brahmen then succeeds. Coming out of the water, and putting on his mantle, he sits down to worship the rising sun. This great duty is performed by first tying the lock of hair on the crown of his head, while he holds much cusa grass in his left hand, and three blades of it in his right, or wears a ring of it on the third finger of that hand, reciting at the same time the gayatri. He then sips water three times, repeats the mysterious names of the seven worlds, recites again the gayatri, rubs his hands as if washing them, touches with his wet hand his feet, head, breast, eyes, ears, nose, and navel, and again three times sips water. If, however, he should sneeze, or spit, he must obey the text which says, "after sneezing, spitting, blowing his nose, sleeping, putting on apparel or dropping tears, a man should not immediately sip water, but first touch his right ear." The sipping, however, being at last performed, he passes his hand, filled with water, briskly round his neck, while he prays; "May the waters preserve me!" He then shuts his eyes and meditates in silence. Till we got better information, very wonderful ideas were formed of the sublimity of the Brahmen's meditations. On this, one of the most sacred and solemn of all occasions, while he meditates in silence, with his eyes shut, and every mark of intense thought, we are informed, that he is only "figuring to himself, that Brahma, with five faces and a red complexion, resides in his navel; Vishnu, with four arms and a black complexion, in his heart; and Siva, with five faces and a white complexion, in his forehead." Nor is this the whole of his meditation. He ponders next on the holiest of texts; and this sublime duty is performed in the following manner. Closing the left nostril with the two longest fingers of the right hand, he draws his breath through the right nostril, and then

* Colebrooke on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, Asiat. Research. v. 345, 346.

closing it with his thumb, and suspending his breath, he repeats to himself the gayatri, the mysterious names of the worlds, and the sacred text of Brahme; after which, raising his fingers from the left nostril, he emits the breath which he had suppressed, and thus ends one part of his meditation. The same process is repeated three times, and the whole is then concluded. This meditation, says Yajnyawalcya, " implies, Om, (aum,) earth, sky, heaven, middle region, place of births, mansion of the blessed, abode of truth. We meditate on the adorable light of the resplendent generator which governs our intellects, which is water, lustre, savour, immortal faculty of thought, Brahme, earth, sky, and heaven." * He then stands on one foot, resting the other against his ancle or heel, and looking towards the east, while his hands are held open before him in a hollow form, and in that posture he recites prayers to the sun, of which the following is one of the most remarkable: " Thou art self-existent, thou art the most excellent ray; thou givest effulgence; grant it unto me." When all these ceremonies are performed, the oblation or offering is the next part of the service. It consists of tila, flowers, barley, water, and red sanders wood; it is put into a vessel of copper in the shape of a boat, and placed on the head of the votary, who presents it with fresh prayers, and holy texts. In the last place comes the invocation of the gayatri. It is first addressed in these words; " Thou art light; thou art seed; thou art immortal life; thou art effulgent: beloved by the gods, defamed by none, thou art the holiest sacrifice." It is then recited measure by measure; next the two first measures are recited as one hemistich; and the third measure as the other; lastly, the three measures are repeated without interruption. It is addressed again in the following words: " Divine text, who dost grant our best wishes, whose name is trisyllable, whose import is the power of the Supreme Being; come, thou mother of the Vedas, who didst spring from Brahme, be constant here." It is then, along with the triliteral monosyllable, and the names of the three lower worlds, pronounced inaudibly a hundred, or a thousand times, or as often as practicable, while the repetitions are counted upon a rosary of wild grains, or of gems set in gold. Additional prayers are recited, and the morning worship of the sun is thus terminated.†

The religious duties which fill up the remaining portion of the day are chiefly comprised in what are denominated the five sacraments. In a passage of the Institutes of Menu these are thus described: " Teaching and studying the scrip-

* Colebrooke on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, Asiat. Res. v. 348.

† Ib. 347 to 358.

CHAP. VI.

ture is the sacrament of the Veda: Offering cakes and water, the sacrament of the manes; An oblation to fire, the sacrament of the deities; Giving rice or other food to living creatures, the sacrament of spirits; Receiving guests with honour, the sacrament of men."* I shall endeavour by a very short illustration to convey an idea of each.

Preparatory to the study of the Veda must ablution be performed. Of this some ceremonies not yet described may be here introduced. "Let a Brahmen at all times perform the ablution," says the law of Menu, "with the pure part of his hand, denominated from the Veda, or with the part sacred to the Lord of creatures, or with that dedicated to the gods; but never with the part named from the Pitris: The pure part under the root of the thumb is called Brahma; that at the root of the little finger, Caya; that at the tips of the fingers, Daiva; and the part between the thumb and index, Pitrya. Let him first sip water thrice; then twice wipe his mouth; and lastly touch with water the six hollow parts of his head, [or his eyes, ears, and nostrils,] his breast and his head. He who knows the law, and seeks purity, will ever perform the ablution with the pure part of his hand, and with water neither hot nor frothy, standing in a lonely place, and turning to the east or the north. A Brahmen is purified by water that reaches his bosom; a Cshatriya, by water descending to his throat; a Vaisya, by water barely taken into his mouth; a Sudra, by water touched with the extremity of his lips."† Having concluded this part of the ceremony, and walked in a circle beginning from the south, he proceeds to the pronunciation of the syllable Aum. "A Brahmen, beginning and ending a lecture on the Veda, must always pronounce to himself the syllable Aum; for unless the syllable Aum precedes, his learning will slip away from him; and unless it follow, nothing will be long retained. If he have sitten on culms of cusa grass, with their points toward the east, and be purified by rubbing that holy grass on both his hands, and be further prepared by three suppressions of breath, each equal in time to five short vowels, he may then fitly pronounce Aum. Brahma milked out, as it were, from the three vedas, the letter A, the letter U, and the letter M, which form by their coalition the triliteral monosyllable, together with three mysterious words, earth, sky, heaven."‡ Turning his face towards the east, with his right hand towards the south, and his left hand towards the north, he then sits down, having the cusa grass before him, holding two blades of it on the tips of his left fingers, and placing on them his right hand with the palm turned upwards, and in this sacred

* Institutes of Menu, ch. iii. 70.

† Ibid. ii. 58 to 62.

‡ Ibid. ii. 74, 75, 76.

position he meditates the gayatri. He then recites the due prayers and texts, and is thus prepared to begin the daily perusal of the Veda.*

The sacrament of the manes, which occupies the second place in the above text of Menu, is described at great length in that sacred volume. "Let the Brahmen smear with cow-dung a purified and sequestered piece of ground; and let him with great care select a place with a declivity toward the south. Having duly made an ablution with water, let him place with reverence the invited Brahmens, who have also performed their ablutions, one by one, on allotted seats purified with cusa grass, honouring them with fragrant garlands and sweet odours, and bringing for them water, with cusa grass and tila; then let him pour the oblation of clarified butter on the holy fire, and afterwards proceed to satisfy the manes of his ancestors. Having walked in order from east to south, and thrown into the fire all the ingredients of his oblation, let him sprinkle water on the ground with his right hand. From the remainder of the clarified butter having formed three balls of rice, let him offer them, with fixed attention, in the same manner as the water, his face being turned to the south: Then having offered those balls, after due ceremonies, and with an attentive mind, to the manes of his father, his paternal grandfather, and great grandfather, let him wipe the same hand with the roots of cusa, which he had before used, for the sake of his paternal ancestors in the fourth, fifth, and sixth degrees, who are the partakers of the rice and clarified butter thus wiped off. Having made an ablution, returning toward the north, and thrice suppressing his breath slowly, let him salute the gods of the six seasons, and the Pitris. Whatever water remains in his ewer, let him carry back deliberately near the cakes of rice; and with fixed attention let him smell those cakes, in order as they were offered, and give part of them to the Brahmens. Having poured water, with cusa grass and tila, into the hands of the Brahmens, let him give them the upper part of the cakes, saying Swadha to the manes. Next, having himself brought with both hands a vessel full of rice, let him, still meditating on the Pitris, place it before the Brahmens without precipitation. Broths, potherbs, and other eatables accompanying the rice, together with milk and curds, clarified butter and honey, let him first place on the ground after he has made an ablution: let him add spiced puddings, and milky messes of various sorts, roots of herbs and ripe fruits, savoury meats and sweet-smelling drinks: then being duly purified, and with perfect presence of mind, let him take up all the dishes one by one, and present them in order to

* Colebrooke on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, Asiatic Res. v. 363.

the Brahmens, proclaiming their qualities. Himself being delighted, let him give delight to the Brahmens, and invite them to eat of the provisions by little and little; attracting them often with the dressed rice and other eatables. Let all the dressed food be very hot. Let not a chandala, a town boar, a cock, a dog, a woman in her courses, or an eunuch, see the Brahmens eating."* These, with a variety of prayers, and several other observances, are the obsequies to the manes of ancestors.

The oblations to fire, which are a most important part of the duties of the Hindu, are dignified with the title of the sacrament of the gods. I shall here premise the ceremonies attending the consecration of the fire, and the sacramental implements, though to all religious rites these may be regarded as introductory. In order to prepare the ground for the reception of the holy fire, the priest chooses a level spot four cubits square, free from all ceremonial impurities, covered with a shed, and this he smears with cow-dung. Next, having bathed and sipped water, he sits down with his face towards the east, and placing a vessel of water with cusa grass on his left, dropping his right knee, and resting on the span of his left hand, he draws, after an established rule, five consecrated lines, and gathering up the dust from the edges of them, throws it away toward the north-east, saying, "What was herein bad is thrown away." Having, also, sprinkled the lines with water, and the ground being now prepared, he takes a lighted ember out of the vessels wherein he preserves the fire, and throwing it away, cries, "I dismiss far away carnivorous fire: May it go to the realm of Yama, bearing sin hence." Then, placing the fire before him, he exclaims, "Earth! sky! heaven!" and adds, "This other harmless fire alone remains here; well knowing its office, may it convey my oblation to the gods." He now bestows upon it a name, conformable to the purpose for which he prefers it, and concludes this part of the ceremony by silently burning a log of wood one span long, smeared with clarified butter. The placing of the superintending priest is the next part of the duty. On very solemn occasions this is a real Brahmen; but in general a substitute is made for him of a bundle of cusa grass. He by whom the sacrifice is performed takes up the vessel of water, and, keeping his right side towards the fire, walks round it: then he pours water near it, in an eastern direction, and spreads on it cusa grass: then he crosses, without sitting down, his right knee over his left; then takes up a single blade of grass between the thumb and ring finger of his left hand; next throws it away towards the

* Institutes of Menu, ch. iii. 206 to 264.—Colebrooke on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, Asiat. Res. v. 364.

south-west, saying, "What was herein bad is cast away:" then he touches the water, resting the sole of his right foot on his left ankle, sprinkles the grass with water, after which he places on it his Brahmen made of cusa, saying to it, "Sit on this seat until thy fee be paid thee:" he then returns round the fire the same way by which he went, and sitting down again with his face towards the east names the earth inaudibly. If no profane word should hitherto have been spoken, for which atonement is requisite, he must next spread leaves of cusa grass on three sides of the fire; he begins with the eastern side, and lays three rows of leaves in such a manner that the tip of the one shall cover the root of the other; after this he blesses the ten regions of space, and rising a little puts some wood on the fire with a ladleful of clarified butter, while he meditates in silence on Brahma, the lord of creatures: next he takes up two leaves of the grass, and with another cutting off the length of a span, and saying, "Pure leaves be sacred to Vishnu," he throws them into a vessel of copper, or other metal; he then takes up other two leaves, and holding the tips of them between the thumb and ring finger of his right hand, the roots between the thumb and ring finger of his left, he takes up, having the one hand crossed over the other, clarified butter in the curvature of the leaves, and throws some of it three several times into the fire. He then sprinkles the leaves with water, and throws them away; next, having sprinkled the vessel containing the clarified butter, he puts it on the fire and takes it off again three several times, when, having recited the proper prayers with cusa grass in both his hands, the ceremony of hallowing the butter is finished. That of hallowing the wooden ladle is performed by describing three times with the tip of his fore finger and thumb the figure 7 on the inside of it, and the figure 9 on the outside, by sprinkling water, having first dropped on one knee, from the palms of his hands, on the whole southern side of the fire, from west to east; on the western side from south to north, on the northern side, and then all around the fire, reciting prayers and sacred texts. Having next recited an expiatory prayer with cusa grass in both his hands, and having thrown the grass away, he has then finished the consecration of the sacrificial implements. It is only after all this is accomplished that he is prepared to begin the oblation to fire, of which the following is one of that variety of forms which it receives according to the rite intended to succeed. First, the priest burns silently a log of wood, smeared with clarified butter: next, he makes three oblations, by pouring each time a ladleful of clarified butter on the fire, and pronouncing severally the following prayers; "Earth! be this oblation efficacious."—"Sky! be this oblation efficacious."—"Heaven! be this oblation

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efficacious." On some occasions the oblation is made a fourth time, and he says, "Earth! sky! Heaven! be this oblation efficacious." An offering of rice, milk, curds, and butter is next performed, and the oblations accompanied with the names of the three worlds are repeated.* "In his domestic fire, for dressing the food of all the gods," says the law of Menu, "let a Brahmen make an oblation each day to these following divinities; first to Agni, god of fire, and to the lunar god, severally; then, to both of them at once; next, to the assembled gods; and afterwards to Dhanwantari god of medicine; to Cuhu, goddess of the day, when the new moon is discernible; to Anumati, goddess of the day after the opposition; to Prajapati, or the lord of creatures; to Dyava and Prithivi, goddesses of sky and earth; and lastly, to the fire of the good sacrifice. Having thus, with fixed attention, offered clarified butter in all quarters, proceeding from the east in a southern direction, to Indra, Yama, Varuna, and the god Soma, let him offer his gift to animated creatures."†

The fourth sacrament, or that of spirits, in the Institutes of Menu, is thus described: "Let him, saying, I salute the marats or winds, throw dressed rice near the door: saying, I salute the water gods, let him throw it in water; and let him throw it on his pestle and mortar, saying, I salute the gods of large trees. Let him do the like in the north-east, or near his pillow, to Sri, the goddess of abundance; in the south-west, or at the foot of his bed, to the propitious goddess Bhadracali; in the centre of his mansion, to Brahma, and his household god; to all the gods assembled, let him throw up his oblation in open air; by day, to the spirits who walk in light; and by night, to those who walk in darkness; in the building on his housetop, or behind his back, let him cast his oblation for the welfare of all creatures; and what remains let him give to the Pitris with his face toward the south."‡

Of those diurnal sacraments, which constitute so great a part of the duty of the Hindus, receiving guests with honour, which is denominated the sacrament of men, is the fifth. This is commonly, by English writers, interpreted "hospitality." But we shall form a very erroneous notion of this sacramental service, if we confound it with the merely human and profane duty of receiving strangers beneficently from motives of humanity. This is a duty purely religious, confined to the twice-born and consecrated classes; and principally contrived for the benefit of the Brahmens; that for them, in all places, and on all occasions, every door may be open, and every table spread. "A Brahmen, coming as a guest, and not

* Colebrooke on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, Asiat. Res. vii. 232 to 239.

† Institutes of Menu, ch. iii. 84 to 87.

‡ Ibid. ch. iii. 88 to 91.

received with just honour, takes to himself all the reward of the housekeeper's former virtue, even though he had been so temperate as to live on the gleanings of harvests, and so pious as to make oblations in five distinct fires." * A guest, in the Hindu sense, is not every man who may claim, or may stand in need of your hospitalities: A guest, according to the commentator, whom Mr. Colebrooke follows as his guide, is "a spiritual preceptor, a priest, an ascetick, a prince, a bridegroom, a friend."† "In the house of a Brahmen," says the law of Menu, "a military man is not denominated a guest; nor a man of the commercial or servile cast;" ‡ so that a Brahmen, to whom are devoted the hospitalities of all the classes, is bound to return them to Brahmens alone. Among the religious ceremonies with which this sacrament is celebrated, a cow is tied on the northern side of the apartment, and a stool and other furniture placed for the guest, when the householder, rising up to bid him welcome, recites the prayer; "May she, who supplies oblations for religious worship, who constantly follows her calf, and who was the milch cow when Yama was the votary, abound with milk, and fulfil our wishes year after year." The guest then sits down on the stool or cushion prepared for him, reciting the text of the Yajurveda, which says; "I step on this for the sake of food and other benefits, on this variously splendid footstool." His host next presents to him a cushion made of twenty leaves of cusa grass, holding it up with both hands, and exclaiming, "The cushion! the cushion! the cushion!" which the guest accepts and places it on the ground under his feet, reciting prayers. This done, a vessel of water is presented to him, the host thrice exclaiming, "Water for ablutions!" Of this the guest declares his acceptance, and looking into the vessel cries, "Generous water! I view thee; return in the form of fertilizing rain from him from whom thou dost proceed." He then takes some of it in the palms of both hands joined together, and throws it on his left foot, saying, "I wash my left foot, and fix prosperity in this realm;" in the same manner on the right foot, with a similar declaration; and lastly, on both feet, saying, "I wash first one and then the other; and lastly, both feet, that the realm may thrive, and intrepidity be gained." With similar formalities is next presented and received, an arghya; that is, a vessel shaped like a boat, or a conch, filled with water, rice, and durva grass; when the guest pouring the water on his head, says, "Thou art the splendour of food; through thee may I become glorious." The host, again presenting water, three times exclaims, "Take water

* Institutes of Menu, ch. iii. 100.

† Asiat. Res. vii. 289.

‡ Institutes of Menu, ch. iii. 110.

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As the daily ceremonies, however, in their full detail, are sufficient to engross the whole time of the votary; for those on whom the functions of society devolve, some alleviation of the burthen, or rather, in the Hindu notion, some restriction of the privilege, was necessarily devised; and while the sanctity of entire accomplishment is reserved for the holy men who maintain perpetual fires, those who are engaged in the affairs of life are obliged to content themselves with a rite, called Vaiswadeva, in which all the daily sacraments, excepting that of the Veda, are comprised. It consists of oblations to the manes, to the gods, and spirits, and of donations to guests, all out of the food prepared for the daily meal; and is thus performed. Sitting down in a place free from impurities, and setting a vessel containing fire on his right hand, the worshipper hallows the ground by throwing away a lighted piece of cusa grass, while he recites the appropriate

* Colebrooke on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, Asiat. Res. vii. 288 to 293.

text,* and then places his fire on the consecrated spot, repeating the prayer which is used, when the household and sacrificial fires are lighted by the attrition of wood.† He next lays cusa grass on the eastern side of the fire, with its tips pointed towards the north, exclaiming, "I praise divine fire, primevally consecrated, the efficient performer of a solemn ceremony, the chief agent of a sacrifice, the most liberal giver of gems." ‡ He spreads it on the southern side, with its points towards the east, reciting the commencement of the Yajurveda. 1. "I gather thee for the sake of rain." 2. "I pluck thee" (at this he is supposed to break off the branch of a tree) "for the sake of strength. 3. Ye are" (he touches calves with the branch he had pulled off) "like unto air. 4. May the liberal generator of worlds make you" (here he touches, or is supposed to touch, milch-cows with the same branch) "happily reach this most excellent sacrifice." § In like manner he lays grass on the two other sides of the fire, on the western side with the tips to the north, crying, "Fire! approach to taste my offering; thou who art praised for the gift of oblations; sit down on this grass, thou, who art the complete performer of the solemn sacrifice;" || and on the northern side with the tips pointed to the east, saying, "May divine waters be auspicious to us," &c.** When all these ceremonies are completed, he stirs the fire, and sprinkles water upon it, after which, having his hands smeared with clarified butter, he offers food three several times, repeating, "Earth! sky! heaven!" Five similar oblations are next performed: one to the regent of fire; one to the god of medicine; one to the assembled deities; one to the lord of created beings; and one to the creator of the universe. Six more oblations are then offered with six prayers, every oblation having its separate prayer. 1. "Fire! thou dost expiate a sin against the gods; may this oblation be efficacious. 2. Thou dost expiate a sin against man. 3. Thou dost expiate a sin against the manes. 4. Thou dost expiate a sin against my own soul. 5. Thou dost expiate repeated sins. 6. Thou dost expiate every sin I have committed, whether wilfully or unintentionally: may this oblation be efficacious." He next worships the fire, making an oblation with the following prayer; "Fire! seven are thy fuels; seven thy

* "I dismiss far away carnivorous fire," &c. quoted above, p. 250.

† "Fire! this wood is thy origin, which is attainable in all seasons; whence, being produced, thou dost shine. Knowing this, seize on it, and afterwards augment our wealth."

‡ This is the first verse of the Rig Veda, with which it is customary to begin the daily perusal of that Veda.

§ A lecture of the Yajush is always begun with this text.

|| The text with which a lecture of the Samaveda is begun.

** The prayer which precedes a lecture of the At'hervan.

tongues; seven thy holy sages; seven thy beloved abodes; seven ways do seven sacrificers worship thee: thy sources are seven: be content with this clarified butter: may this oblation be efficacious." As the sacred lamp was lighted for the repulsion of evil spirits, before the oblations to the gods and the manes were presented, it is now extinguished, while recitation is made of the following text; "In solemn acts of religion, whatever fails through the negligence of those who perform the ceremony, may be perfected solely through meditation on Vishnu." The oblations to spirits are next offered: the performer depositing portions of food in the several places prescribed for it, having previously swept each place with his hand and sprinkled it with water. Near the spot where the vessel of water stands, he makes three offerings, saying, "Salutation to rain! to water! to the earth!" He makes them at both doors of his house to Dhatri, and Vidhatri, or Brahma, the protector and creator. He presents them towards the eight points of the compass, adding salutation to them, and to the regents of them. To Brahm, to the sky, and to the sun, he makes oblations with salutation, in the middle of the house. He then offers similar oblations to all the gods; to all beings; to twilight; and to the lord of all beings. After the sacrament of spirits thus performed, the worshipper, shifting the sacramental cord, and looking towards the south, drops upon one knee, and presents an oblation to the manes of ancestors, saying, "Salutation to progenitors: may this ancestral food be acceptable." Having performed a lustration, he should then present food to his guests. "When he has thus," says Mr. Colebrooke, "allotted out of the food prepared for his own repast, one portion to the gods, a second to progenitors, a third to all beings, and a fourth to his guests, he and his family may then, and not before, consume the remaining portion of the food." This ceremony must be regularly performed in the forenoon, by those to whom the full celebration of the five sacraments is impracticable; and by some persons it is repeated again in the evening.*

After this tedious, though greatly abridged account, of the daily ceremonies of the Hindus, we come to those which are performed at certain great and chosen epochs. On these, however, I shall content myself with some very general notices.

The Brahmens wait not for the period of birth to commence the ceremonies which pertain to each individual. "With auspicious acts," says the holy text, "prescribed by the Veda, must ceremonies on conception, and so forth, be duly

* Colebrooke on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, Asiat. Res. vii. 271 to 275.

performed, which purify the bodies of the three classes in this life, and qualify them for the next." Oblations to fire are required during the mother's pregnancy, and holy rites are commanded on the birth of the child. "Before the section of the navel string, a ceremony is ordained on the birth of a male child: he must be made, while sacred texts are pronounced, to taste a little honey and clarified butter from a golden spoon." * The ceremony of giving a name is ordained to be performed on the tenth or twelfth day after the birth; "or on some fortunate day of the moon, at a lucky hour, and under the influence of a star with good qualities." † The ceremony of the tonsure, which is one of the distinguishing marks of the first three classes, is a rite of great solemnity, commanded to be performed in the first or third year after birth.‡ But of all the ritual ordinances of the Hindus none are reckoned more essential or important than those relating to the investiture. "In the eighth year from the conception of a Brahmen," says the law of Menu, "in the eleventh from that of a Cshatriya, and in the twelfth from that of a Vaisya, let the father invest the child with the mark of his class: Should a Brahmen, or his father for him, be desirous of his advancement in sacred knowledge, a Cshatriya of extending his power, or a Vaisya of engaging in mercantile business, the investiture may be made in the fifth, sixth, or eighth years respectively. The ceremony of investiture, hallowed by the gayatri, must not be delayed, in the case of a priest, beyond the sixteenth year; nor in that of a soldier, beyond the twenty-second; nor in that of a merchant, beyond the twenty-fourth. After that all youths of these three classes, who have not been invested at the proper time, become vratyas or outcasts, degraded from the gayatri, and contemned by the virtuous. With such impure men let no Brahmen, even in distress for subsistence, ever form a connexion in law, either by the study of the Veda, or by affinity." § The investiture, or institution, is usually denominated the second birth; and it is from this ceremony that the three highest classes are denominated the twice-born. || It consists chiefly in bestowing upon the object of the rite, a mantle, a girdle, a sacrificial cord, and a staff, with numerous ceremonies, prayers, and holy texts. "Let students of the Veda," says the law of Menu,** "wear for their mantles, the hides of black antelopes, of common deer, or of goats, with lower vests of woven sana, of cshuma, and of wool, in the direct

* Institutes of Menu, ch. ii. 26, 27, 29. † Ib. 30. ‡ Ib. 35. § Ib. 36 to 40.

|| "The first birth is from a natural mother; the second, from the ligation of the zone; the third, from the due performance of the sacrifice; such are the births of him who is usually called twice-born." Ib. 169.

** Ib. 41 to 48, and 64, 65, 68.

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order of their classes. The girdle of a priest must be made of munja, in a triple cord, smooth, and soft; that of a warrior must be a bow-string of murva; that of a merchant, a triple thread of sana. The sacrificial thread of a Brahmen must be made of cotton, so as to be put on over his head in three strings; that of a Cshatriya, of sana thread only; that of a Vaisya, of woollen thread.* A priest ought by law to carry a staff of Bilva or Palasa; a soldier, of Bata or C'hadira; a merchant, of Venu, or Udumbara. The staff of a priest must be of such a length as to reach his hair; that of a soldier to reach his forehead; and that of a merchant to reach his nose. Let all the staves be straight, without fracture, of a handsome appearance, not likely to terrify men, with their bark perfect, unhurt by fire. His girdle, his leathern mantle, his staff, his sacrificial cord, and his ewer, he must throw into the water, when they are worn out or broken, and receive others hallowed by mystical texts. The ceremony of cesanta, or cutting off the hair, is ordained for a priest in the sixteenth year from conception; for a soldier, in the twenty second; for a merchant, two years later. Such is the revealed law of institution for the twice-born, an institution in which their second birth clearly consists, and which causes their advancement in holiness."

The ceremonies of marriage, which next call for our attention, are extremely numerous. The bridegroom is first of all received by the father of the bride with all the ceremonies of hospitality which we have already described; and during this time the bride is bathed.† When these rules are finished, the hand of the bride is placed in that of the bridegroom, both having been previously rubbed with some auspicious drug, and a matron binds them with cusa grass amid the sound of cheerful music. The father of the bride then bidding the attendant priests begin their acclamations, pours water from a vessel containing tila and cusa grass, upon the hands of the united pair, and uttering the words, "God the existent," and pronouncing the names and designations of the bridegroom, the bride, and

* The Persians also had a cincture which was given them as a grand religious emblem, about the period of manhood. See the Sadda in Hyde, p. 441.

† Three vessels of water are poured severally upon her head, and at each time one of the following prayers is in order pronounced: 1. "Love! I know thy name. Thou art called an intoxicating beverage. Bring the bridegroom happily. For thee was framed the inebriating draught. Fire! thy best origin is here. Through devotion wert thou created. May this oblation be efficacious." —2. "Damsel, I anoint this thy generative organ with honey, because it is the second mouth of the Creator: by that thou subduest all males, though unsubdued; by that thou art lively, and dost hold dominion. May this oblation be efficacious."—3. "May the primeval ruling sages, who framed the female organ, as a fire that consumeth flesh, and thereby framed a procreating juice, grant the prolific power that proceeds from the three-horned bull, and from the sun."

himself, says, "I give unto thee this damsel, adorned with jewels, and protected by the lord of creatures." The bridegroom replies, "Well be it." The bridegroom then having received from the father of the bride a piece of gold, and recited an appropriate text, the parties are affianced, and walk forth, while the bridegroom thus addresses the bride; "May the regents of space, may air, the sun, and fire, dispel that anxiety which thou feelest in thy mind; and turn thy heart to me. Be gentle in thy aspect, and loyal to thy husband; be fortunate in cattle, amiable in thy mind, and beautiful in thy person: be mother of valiant sons; be fond of delights; be cheerful; and bring prosperity to our bipeds and quadrupeds." * A libation of water is afterwards made; and the father of the bride, having meditated the gayatri, ties a knot with the skirts of the mantles of the bridegroom and bride, saying, "Ye must be inseparably united in matters of duty, wealth, and love." The bridegroom next attires the bride with a variety of ceremonies of which the following are the most remarkable. Going to the principal apartment of the house, he prepares a sacrificial fire, and hallows the implements; when one friend of his bearing a jar of water walks round the fire, and stops on the south side of it; and another, performing the same ceremony, places himself on the right of the first. The bridegroom then casts four double handfuls of rice, mixed with leaves of Sami, into a flat basket; and placing near it a stone and mullar, which with formality he had previously touched, he causes the bride to be clothed with a new waistcloth and scarf, while he himself recites a variety of prayers. This being done, the bride goes to the western side of the fire, and recites a prayer, while she steps on a mat made of virana grass, and covered with silk. She then sits down on the edge of the mat, and the bridegroom makes six oblations of clarified butter, reciting a prayer with each. † After this he names the three worlds separately and conjointly, presenting oblations; and makes four or five oblations to fire and to the moon. After these he rises up with the bride, and passing from her left to her right makes her join her hands in a hollow form. The rice, which was previously put in the basket, being then taken up, and the stone which was laid near

* The latter part of this address Mr. Colebrooke thinks proper to veil in a Latin dress, and certainly with good reason; for, if it be considered that this is a speech of a bridegroom to his virgin bride, while the marriage ceremony is yet in the act of performance, it is an instance of grossness to which there is probably no parallel: The speech is as follows. Illa redamans accipito fascinum meum, quod ego peramans intromittam in eam, multæ quâ illecebræ sistunt.

† Of these the first may be taken as a specimen: "May fire come first among the gods; may it rescue her offspring from the fetters of death; may Varuna king of waters grant that this woman should never bemoan a calamity befallen her children."

Book II. being placed before the bride, she treads on it with the point of her right foot, while the bridegroom recites this prayer, "Ascend this stone; be firm like this stone; distress my foe, and be not subservient to my enemies." He then pours on her hands a ladleful of clarified butter; another person gives her the rice; two ladlefuls of butter are poured over it; when she separates her hands, and lets fall the rice on the fire, while a holy text is recited. She treads again on the stone, again makes an oblation of rice, again a prayer is recited, again walking is performed round the fire, again four or five oblations are made with similar ceremonies and prayers, when the bridegroom pours two ladlefuls of butter on the edge of the basket, and then rice out of it into the fire, saying, "May this oblation to fire be efficacious." After the ceremony of ascending the stone and throwing the rice into the fire, the bride is conducted to the bridegroom, and by him directed to step successively into seven circles, while seven texts are repeated. This is the most emphatical part of the ritual; for no sooner is the seventh step of the bride performed, than the nuptial bond is complete and irrevocable. The bridegroom then in appropriate texts addresses the bride and the spectators, dismissing them; after which his friend, who stood near the sacrificial fire, bearing a jar of water, advances to the spot where the seventh step was completed, and, while a prayer is recited, pours water on the head, first of the bridegroom, and then of the bride. Upon this, the bridegroom, putting his left hand under the hands of the bride, which are joined in a hollow posture, takes her right hand in his, and recites six holy texts; after which he sits down with her near the fire, and makes oblations, while severally and conjointly he names the three worlds. On the evening of the same day, when the stars begin to appear, the bride sits down on a bull's hide, of a red colour, placed with the neck towards the east, and the hair upwards; and the bridegroom, sitting down beside her, makes oblations, naming the three worlds as usual; then six other oblations, pouring each time the remainder of the clarified butter on her head, and reciting prayers.* After rising up, and contemplating the polar star as an

* As these prayers have something in them characteristic, they had better here be presented: 1. "I obviate by this full oblation all ill marks in the lines of thy hands, in thy eye-lashes, and in the spots on thy body. 2. I obviate by this full oblation all the ill marks in thy hair; and whatever is sinful in thy looking or in thy crying. 3. I obviate by this full oblation all that may be sinful in thy temper, in thy speaking, and in thy laughing. 4. I obviate by this full oblation all the ill marks in thy teeth, and in the dark intervals between them; in thy hands and in thy feet. 5. I obviate by this full oblation all the ill marks on thy thighs, on thy privy part, on thy haunches, and on the lineaments of thy figure. 6. Whatever natural or accidental evil marks

emblem of stability, matrons pour upon them water mixed with leaves, which had been placed upon an altar prepared for that purpose, and the bridegroom again makes oblations with the names of the worlds. He then eats food, prepared without factitious salt, reciting prayers during the meal; and when he has finished, the remainder is given to the bride. During the three subsequent days the married couple must remain in the house of the father of the bride, must abstain from factitious salt, must live chastely and austerely, sleeping on the ground. On the fourth day the bridegroom carries her to his house, reciting texts when he ascends the carriage, and when they come to cross roads. Leading her into his own house he chants a hymn, when matrons hail, and seat her on a bull's hide as before, and the bridegroom recites a prayer. They place next a young child in her lap, putting roots of lotus, or fruits, into his hand; when the bridegroom takes him up, and, preparing a sacrificial fire with all the usual ceremonies, makes eight different oblations, with as many prayers. The bride then salutes her father in law, and the other relations of her husband. The bridegroom prepares another sacrificial fire, and sits down with the bride on his right hand; when, with the usual preliminary and concluding oblations to the three worlds, he makes twenty oblations, with as many prayers, throwing the remainder of each portion of the consecrated butter into a jar of water, which is afterwards poured on the head of the bride.

If the ceremonies prescribed for marriage are thus multiplied, trivial, and tiresome, those allotted to funerals are in point of number still more exorbitant and oppressive. After a specimen, however, of the Hindu ceremonies, there is something exceedingly monotonous in the detail of the rest; and hardly any thing is more ungrateful than to be obliged to go through them. The reader is, therefore, spared the task of studying the funeral rites of the Hindus, of which, notwithstanding, he may form a sufficient conception as, in point of character they exactly resemble those which have already been described.*

Of the monthly ceremonies, one may suffice to afford an idea of the whole. "From month to month," says the law of Menu, "on the dark day of the moon, let a twice-born man, having finished the daily sacrament of the Pitris, and his fire being still blazing, perform the solemn sraddha." † Of the sraddhas, which are numerous, but very similar, the following is exhibited as a specimen. The

were on all thy limbs, I have obviated all such marks by these full oblations of clarified butter. May this oblation be efficacious."

* See a very full delineation of these funeral rites in Mr. Colebrooke's Second Essay on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, Asiat. Res. vii. 239 to 264.

† Institutes of Menu, iii. 122.

person who is to perform the ceremony having purified the place by smearing it with cow-dung, raises on it an altar of sand of certain dimensions and form, washes his hands and feet, sips water, and puts a ring of cusa grass on the ring finger of each hand. He then sits down on a cushion of cusa grass, and lights a lamp, reciting a prayer. He next places the utensils and materials in order, sprinkles water on himself and all around, meditates on Vishnu, surnamed the Lotos-eyed, meditates three times the gayatri, and after some ceremonies proceeds to invite and to welcome the assembled gods and the manes. Two little cushions, of three blades of cusa grass, he places on one side of the altar for the Viswadevas, and six in front of it for the Pitris, and strewing on them cusa grass, he asks, "Shall I invoke the assembled gods?" *Do so*; is the answer: upon which he exclaims, "Assembled gods! hear my invocation; come and sit down on this holy grass." After scattering barley, and meditating a prayer to the gods, he invites the manes of ancestors with similar invocations; and welcomes the gods and manes with oblations of water, &c in vessels made of leaves. He puts cusa grass into the vessels, and sprinkles them with water, while he recites the prayer, beginning, "May divine waters be auspicious to us;" he next throws barley into the vessels intended for the gods, and tila into those intended for the manes, with a prayer appropriate to each. The vessels are then taken up in succession, a prayer being repeated for each; the cusa grass placed on the vessels is put into the hand of a Brahmen; that which was under them is held in the hand of the person by whom the sraddha is performed; and he pours through it, on the hand of the Brahmen, the water which the vessels contained, then piles up the empty vessels in three sets, and overturns them, saying, while he reverses the first, "Thou art a mansion for ancestors." Taking up food, smeared with clarified butter, he next makes two oblations to fire, with two corresponding prayers. The residue of the oblation, the performer having consecrated it by prayers and other ceremonies, having sweetened it with honey and sugar, and having meditated the gayatri with the names of worlds, is distributed among the Brahmens; and when they have eaten till they have acknowledged that they are satisfied, he gives them water to rinse their mouths. He then offers the cakes, consisting of balls or lumps of food, mixed with clarified butter, observing the requisite ceremonies. In the next place he makes six libations of water from the palms of his hands, with the salutation to the seasons; then places, with due ceremonies and texts, a thread on each funeral cake, to serve as apparel for the manes. After this he takes up the middle cake and smells it, or his wife, if they are desirous of male offspring, eats it, while they recite a correspondent prayer. He takes up the rest of the cakes, and smelling

them one after another, throws them into a vessel; which done, they are given to a mendicant priest, or a cow, or else cast into the water. He then dismisses the manes, reciting a holy text, and having walked round the spot, and recited a prayer, departs.* "Formal obsequies," says Mr. Colebrooke, "are performed no less than ninety six times in every year." †

Grand test of a religion; the comparative degrees of stress which it lays upon moral duties, and religious rites.

We have now contemplated the religion of the Hindus, in two important points of view: but there is no circumstance connected with a religious system more worthy of attention than its morality; than the ideas which it inculcates respecting merit and demerit, purity and impurity, innocence and guilt. If those qualities which render a man amiable, respectable, and useful, as a human being; if wisdom, beneficence, self-command, are celebrated as the chief recommendation to the favour of the Almighty; if the production of happiness is steadily and consistently represented as the most acceptable worship of the Creator, no other proof is requisite, that they who framed, and they who understand this religion, have arrived at high and refined notions of an All-perfect being. But where, with no more attention to morality, than the exigencies and laws of human nature force upon the attention of the rudest tribes, the sacred duties are made to consist in frivolous observances, there, we may be assured, the religious ideas of the people are barbarous. The train of thought which tends to this conclusion is extremely similar to that which gives birth to other deformities in the religious system of ignorant minds. From the imbecility which usually accompanies exalted station, it is found, even when society is considerably improved, that assiduous attendance upon the person of the great man or prince, and unwearied contrivances for the expression of devotion and respect, are the path which leads the most surely to his favour.‡ To the rude mind, no other rule suggests itself for paying court to the Divine Being; and as among a barbarous people, the forms of address, of respect, and compliment, are generally multiplied into a great variety of grotesque and frivolous ceremonies, so it happens with regard to their religious service. An endless succession of absurd observances in compliment to the god is supposed to afford him the most exquisite delight; while the common discharge of the beneficent duties of human life is regarded as an object of comparative indifference. It is unneces-

* Colebrooke on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, Asiat. Res, vii. 264 to 270.

† Ib. 270.

‡ That one campaign in the court is better than two in the field, has passed into a proverb under the monarchies of modern Europe.

Book II. sary to cite instances in support of this representation, of which the whole history of the religion of barbarous nations is a continual proof.

Even those inquirers who have been least aware of the grossness of the ideas which make up the Hindu religion, have seen and acknowledged that wretched ceremonies constituted almost the whole of its practical part. The precepts which are lavished upon its ceremonies bury, in their exorbitant mass, the pittance bestowed upon all other duties taken together. On all occasions ceremonies meet the attention as the pre-eminent duties of the Hindu. The holiest man is always he, by whom the ceremonies of his religion are most strictly performed. Never among any other people did the ceremonial part of religion prevail over the moral to a greater, probably to an equal extent. It is one of the particular modes of thinking among the Hindus, to regard the householder, distinctively, and almost exclusively, as a member of society. Yet of the many rules of conduct prescribed to him, almost the whole concern religious observances.* Nor is it by the general strain alone of the holy text, that rites and ceremonies are made so far to prevail over morality; there are many positive declarations by which the preference, nay the infinite superiority, is ascribed to them. "Devotion," says Menu, "is equal to the performance of all duties; it is divine knowledge in a Brahmen; it is defence of the people in a Cshatriya; devotion is the business of trade and agriculture in a Vaisya; devotion is dutiful service in a Sudra. By reading each day as much as possible of the Veda, by performing the five great sacraments, and by forgiving all injuries, even sins of the highest degree shall soon be effaced." † In the following list of conditions, a small space is allotted to useful virtue. "By injuring nothing animated, by subduing all sensual appetites, by devout rites ordained in the Veda, and by rigorous mortifications, men obtain, even in this life, the state of beatitude." ‡ "It is through sacrifices," says the Calica Purana, "that princes obtain bliss, heaven, and victory over their enemies." §

Ideas of religious purity, and impurity.

In conceiving the honours with which the divine powers should be treated, ideas arise of certain qualities with which it is holy or unholy to approach them. As there are certain pollutions with which it would be held disrespectful to ap-

* The performance (e. g.) of the five daily sacraments, of which no one, not even that which is falsely rendered hospitality, has, properly speaking, any reference to the duties of humanity. A few general precepts respecting the acquisition of the means of subsistence, in the modes prescribed to the different orders of the Hindus, are in fact of the ceremonial and religious cast. Laws of Menu, ch. iii. and iv. where the duties of the householder are described.

† Laws of Menu, ch. xi. 236, &c. ‡ Ibid. ch. vi. 75. § Asiat. Res. v. 371.

proach an earthly superior, the same sentiment, as usual, is transferred to the heavens; and the notion of a religious impurity is engendered. This is a circumstance of considerable importance. By the nature of the particulars to which the belief of religious purity and impurity is attached, a very decisive criterion is afforded of the sort of mind which the Divine Being is supposed to possess. The causes of impurity among the Brahmens are exceedingly numerous; and that they are exceedingly strange a few instances will prove. " When a child has teethed," says the law of Menu, " and when, after teething, his head has been shorn, and when he has been girt with his thread, and when, being full grown, he dies, all his kindred are impure: on the birth of a child, the law is the same."* Among a variety of other instances it is declared, that he who has touched a Chandala, a woman in her courses, an outcast, a new-born child, a corpse, or one who has touched a corpse, is impure. A Brahmen who has touched a human bone is impure.† The rules of purification, which form a remarkable part of this subject, are not less exorbitant in their number, or extravagant in their forms. On the death of a kinsman, the modes of purification are various, according to various cases: one, which we may select as an example, is prescribed in the following words; " Let them eat vegetable food without factitious (that is, only with native) salt; let them bathe for three days at intervals; let them taste no flesh-meat; and let them sleep apart on the ground."‡ " Should a Brahmen touch a human bone moist with oil, he is purified by bathing; if it be not oily, by stroking a cow, or by looking at the sun, having sprinkled his mouth with water."§ All those functions of the body, by which its offensive discharges are effected, or its vital powers communicated, afford occasion for the ceremonies of purification.|| " Oily exudations," says the law of

* Institutes of Menu, ch. v. 58. † Ib. 85, 87. ‡ Ib. 73. § Ib. 87.

|| The Hindus, among whom the idea of delicacy, in regard either to physical or moral objects, appears never to have taken rise, describe these occasions of purification, in the plainest, or in other words the grossest terms. There is a long series of precepts about voiding the excrements, (Laws of Menu, ch. iv. 45 to 52): And for purification afterwards, " Let each man," says the law, " sprinkle the cavities of his body, and taste water in due form when he has discharged urine or feces: First, let him thrice taste water; then twice let him wipe his mouth, but a woman or servile man may once respectively make that ablution;" (Ibid. ch. v. 138, 139.) " Having vomited, or been purged, let him bathe and taste clarified butter: for him who has been connected with a woman, bathing is ordained by law;" (Ibid. 144.) In one instance there is a curious contrariety: It is declared, (Ibid. 108) " A woman whose thoughts have been impure is purified by her monthly discharge." Yet this same peculiarity of the female constitution is a cause of impurity; from which she is separated by bathing. Ibid. 66.

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Menu, "seminal fluids, blood, dandruff, urine, feces, ear-wax, nail-parings, phlegm, tears, concretions on the eyes, and sweat, are the twelve impurities of the human frame, and for cleansing these earth and water must be used."* "He who carries in any manner an inanimate burthen, and is touched by any thing impure, is cleansed by making an ablution, without laying his burden down."† "He who has been bitten by a dog, a shakal, or an ass, by any carnivorous animal frequenting a town, by a man, a horse, a camel, or a boar, may be purified by stopping his breath during one repetition of the gayatri."‡ After the rules for the purification of living bodies, follow precepts for the purification of things inanimate. For each of a great many species, a separate mode is prescribed. Land, for example, is cleansed, by sweeping, by smearing with cow-dung, by sprinkling with cow's urine, by scraping, or by letting a cow pass a day and a night on it.§ "The purification ordained for all sorts of liquids, is by stirring them with cusa grass; for cloths folded, by sprinkling them with hallowed water; for wooden utensils, by planing them. The purificating by sprinkling is ordained for grain and cloths in large quantities; but to purify them in small parcels, such as a man may easily carry, they must be washed."‖ These instances, selected merely as a small specimen of a great whole, will suffice to show what moral ideas are conveyed and inculcated in the notions of purity and impurity comprised in the religion of the Hindus.

Penance; and those ideas of a god, whence it is derived.

As the purifications, so likewise the penances, prescribed by the various systems of religion, afford a remarkable indication of the qualities really ascribed to the object of worship. All penance consists in suffering. In the same degree in which the object of worship is supposed to be delighted with penance; in the same degree he is delighted with human suffering; and so far as he delights in suffering, for its own sake, so far he is a malignant and a mischievous being; whatever epithets of benevolence his votaries may, in the spirit of flattery, confer upon him. It is natural to a rude and ignorant mind to regard the object of its worship as malignant. Things appear great or little by comparison. In the incessant efforts which are made to ascend another step in adulation, all the epithets of greatness and honour are first lavished upon the god; and next, to make his greatness and honour still higher, by contrast, every epithet of meanness and contempt is heaped by the worshipper upon himself and his kind. The same is the case with the

* Laws of Menu, ch. v. 134, 135. † Ibid. 143. ‡ Ibid. xi. 200.
§ Ibid. v. 124. ‖ Ibid. 115, 118.

happiness of the greatest of beings. His happiness will appear the greater, the higher it is raised above that of other beings; of course, the deeper the misery of other beings. Hence it is, that the prayers and praises, addressed to the deity by rude nations, abound with the most hyperbolical expressions of human misery, as well as human depravity; that in the religion of rude minds pleasure in general bears a strong mark of reprobation, and the voluntary creation of pain is the strongest of all recommendations to him on whom the issues of life depend. In the language of the Greeks and Romans, the gods were envious of human happiness;* just as the proud and haughty mind of the earthly despot, the archetype and model according to which, in certain stages of knowledge, the idea of the heavenly is regularly formed, is unwilling that other people should approach to the happiness enjoyed by himself, and reaps a pleasure from their pain, both as enhancing the idea of his own happiness, and lessening the sense of his misery.† "A sin, involuntarily committed," says the sacred text of Menu, "is removed by repeating certain texts of the scripture, but a sin committed intentionally, by harsh penances of different sorts."‡ The following account of the reason for performing penances, must have the mischievous effect of rendering odious all those persons who have the unhappiness to be affected with a bodily infirmity. "Some evil-minded persons," says the same sacred volume, "for sins committed in this life, and some for bad actions in a preceding state, suffer a morbid change in their bodies: a stealer of gold from a Brahmen has whitlows on his nails; a drinker of spirits, black teeth; the slayer of a Brahmen, a marasmus; the violator of his preceptor's bed, a deformity in the generative organs; a malignant informer, fetid ulcers in his nostrils; a false

* Solon asks Crœsus why he interrogates him about human happiness—Ω Κροισε, επισταμενον με το θειον παν εον φθονερον και ταραχωδες; Herodot. lib. i. cap. xxxii.

† "'Tis evident we must receive a greater or less satisfaction or uneasiness from reflecting on our own condition and circumstances, in proportion as they appear more or less fortunate or unhappy; in proportion to the degrees of riches and power, and merit, and reputation, which we think ourselves possessed of. Now, as we seldom judge of objects from their intrinsic value, but form our notions of them from a comparison with other objects; it follows, that according as we observe a greater or less share of happiness or misery in others, we must make an estimate of our own, and feel a consequent pain or pleasure. The misery of another gives us a more lively idea of our happiness, and his happiness of our misery. The former, therefore, produces delight; and the latter uneasiness." Hume's Treatise of Human Nature, ii. 174. If this principle have a real existence in human nature; and if the rude mind invariably fashions the divine mind after itself, the belief, so wonderfully common, that the Divine Being is delighted with the self-inflicted torment of his worshippers, is sufficiently accounted for.

‡ Institutes of Menu, ch. xi. 46.

BOOK II. detractor, stinking breath; a stealer of grain, the defect of some limb; a mixer of bad wares with good, some redundant member; a stealer of dressed grain, dyspepsia; a stealer of holy words, or an unauthorised reader of the scriptures, dumbness; a stealer of clothes, leprosy; a horse stealer, lameness; the stealer of a lamp, total blindness; the mischievous extinguisher of it, blindness in one eye; a delighter in hurting sentient creatures, perpetual illness; an adulterer, windy swelling in his limbs: Thus, according to the diversity of actions, are born men despised by the good, stupid, dumb, blind, deaf, and deformed: Penance, therefore, must invariably be performed for the sake of expiation, since they who have not expiated their sins, will again spring to birth with disgraceful marks."* "Any twice-born man, who has drunk spirit of rice through perverse delusion of mind, may drink more spirit in flame, and atone for his offence by severely burning his body; or he may drink boiling hot, until he die, the urine of a cow, or pure water, or milk, or clarified butter, or juice expressed from cow-dung."† A curious reason is assigned for the heinous guilt ascribed to the drinking of intoxicating liquors by a Brahmen; because, "stupified by drunkenness, he might fall on something very impure, or might even, when intoxicated, pronounce a secret phrase of the Veda, or might do some other act which ought not to be done."‡ "If a Brahmen kill by design a cat, or an ichneumon, the bird chasha, or a frog, a dog, a lizard, an owl, or a crow, he must perform the ordinary penance required for the death of a Sudra;"§ as if the crime of killing a man were the same with that of killing a frog. "Should one of the twice-born eat the food of those persons with whom he ought never to eat, or food left by a woman or a Sudra, or any prohibited flesh, he must drink barley gruel only for seven days and nights."|| "Having taken goods of little value from the house of another man, he must procure absolution by performing the penance santapana, or by eating for a whole day the dung and urine of cows mixed with curds, milk, clarified butter, and water boiled with cusa grass, and then fasting entirely for a day and a night."** The penances prescribed for those who have committed venereal sin, and the description of its various species, are unfit to be transcribed.†† Something might be said for penances, if they were attached solely to moral offences, and proportioned in painfulness to the motives to offend; because the efficacy of the religious punishment which is reserved to a subsequent life is

* Institutes of Menu, ch. xi. 48 to 54. † Ibid. 91, 92. ‡ Ibid. 97.

§ Ibid. 132. || Ibid. 153. ** Ibid. 165, 213.

†† See the Institutes of Menu, ch. xi. 171 to 179, where every species of sexual abomination is deliberately specified.

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prodigiously diminished by remoteness; and because in this scheme of penance it would be applied immediately after the offence. How much of this useful character belongs to the penances of the Hindus, a few passages will disclose. "He, who has officiated at a sacrifice for outcasts, or burned the corpse of a stranger, or performed rites to destroy the innocent," (a strange association of crimes) "may expiate his guilt by three prajapatya penances."* "A total fast for twelve days and nights, by a penitent with his organs controlled, and his mind attentive, is the penance named paraca, which expiates all degrees of guilt."† He who for a whole month eats no more than thrice eighty mouthfuls of wild grains, as he happens by any means to meet with them, keeping his organs in subjection, shall attain the same abode with the regent of the moon."‡ "Sixteen suppressions of the breath, while the holiest of texts is repeated with the three mighty words, and the triliteral syllable, continued each day for a month, absolve even the slayer of a Brahmen from his hidden faults."§ A priest who should retain in his memory the whole Rigveda would be absolved from guilt, even if he had slain the inhabitants of the three worlds, and had eaten food from the foulest hands."|| To such a degree are fantastic ceremonies exalted above moral righteousness; and so easily may the greatest crimes be compensated, by the merit of ritual, and unmeaning services.**

Professors of penance and piety.

But the excess to which religion depraves the moral sentiments of the Hindus is most remarkably exemplified in the supreme, the ineffable merit which they ascribe to the saint who makes penance his trade.

Repairing to a forest, with no other utensils or effects, than those necessary in making oblations to consecrated fire; and leaving all property, and all worldly duties behind him, he is there directed to live on pure food, on certain herbs, roots, and fruit which he may collect in the forest, to wear a black antelope's hide, or a vesture of bark, and to suffer the hairs of his head, his beard, and his nails to grow continually. He is commanded to entertain those who may visit

* Ibid. 198. "When a twice-born man performs the penance prajapati, he must for three days eat only in the morning; for three days only in the evening; for three days food unasked, but presented to him; and for three more days, nothing." Ibid. 212.

† Ibid. 216. ‡ Ibid. 221. § Ibid. 214. || Ibid. 262.

** C'est une superstition tres dangereuse que le pardon des crimes attaché a certaines ceremonies ...... Vous pensez que Dieu oubliera votre homicide, si vous vous baignez dans un fleuve, si vous immolez une brebis noire, et si on prononce sur vous des paroles. Un second homicide vous sera donc pardonné au meme prix, et ainsi un troisieme, et cent meurtres ne vous couteront que cent brebis noires et cent ablutions! Faites mieux, miserables humains, point de meurtres, et point de brebis noires. Voltaire, Diction. Philos. au mot Superstition.

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his hermitage with such food as he himself may use, to perform the five great sacraments, to be constantly engaged in reading the Veda; patient of all extremities, universally benevolent, with a mind intent on the Supreme Being; a perpetual giver, but no receiver of gifts; with tender affection for all animated bodies. "Let him not eat the produce of ploughed land, though abandoned by any man, nor fruits and roots produced in a town, even though hunger oppress him.—Either let him break hard fruits with a stone, or let his teeth serve as a pestle.—Let him slide backwards and forwards on the ground; or let him stand a whole day on tiptoe; or let him continue in motion rising and sitting alternately; but at sunrise, at noon, and at sunset, let him go to the waters, and bathe. In the hot season let him sit exposed to five fires, *four blazing around him with the sun above;* in the rains let him stand uncovered, *without even a mantle,* where the clouds pour *the heaviest* showers; in the cold season, let him wear humid vesture; and, enduring harsher and harsher mortifications, let him dry up his bodily frame. Let him live without external fire, without a mansion, wholly silent, feeding on roots and fruit, sleeping on the bare earth, dwelling at the roots of trees. From devout Brahmens let him receive alms to support life, or from other housekeepers of twice-born classes, who dwell in the forest. Or, *if he has any incurable disease,* let him advance in a straight path, towards the invincible *north eastern* point, feeding on water and air, till his mortal frame totally decay, and his soul become united with the Supreme."*

In conformity with these principles are formed those professors of mortification and piety who are known under the modern name of Fakeers, and presented to Europeans a spectacle which so greatly surprised them. Of all the phenomena of human nature, none at first view appears more extraordinary than the self-torment of the holy saints of Hindustan. Some of them keep their hands closed till they are pierced through by the growth of the nails. Others hold them above their heads, till the power of the arms is destroyed. They make

* Institutes of Menu, ch. vi. 3 to 8, and 16 to 32. There is a certain stage in the progress from extreme barbarity to some degree of intellectual improvement, in which worship by self-inflicted torment seems naturally to suggest itself. Thus, the priests and people of Mexico come next, perhaps, to the Hindus, though certainly at a prodigious distance behind them, in the devotion of pain and suffering. "It makes one shudder," (says Clavigero, book vi. sect. 22.) "to read the austerities which they exercised on themselves. They mangled their flesh, as if it had been insensible, and let their blood run in such profusion, that it appeared to be a superfluous fluid of the body." Their fastings, watchings, and other efforts of abstinence, were pushed to the greatest extremities. Ibid.

vows to remain in the standing posture for years. Three were seen by Fryer, whose vow extended to sixteen years. One of them had completed his dreadful penance; of the rest, one had passed five years in torment, the other three. Their legs were prodigiously swelled, and deeply ulcerated; and became at last too weak to support their bodies, when they leaned on a pillow suspended from a tree. Others turning their heads, to gaze at the heaven over their shoulder, remain fixed in that posture, till the head can no longer be restored to its natural position, and no aliment, except in the liquid state, can pass down their throats.

The ceremony, commanded by Menu, "of sitting in the hot season, between five fires," cannot be conceived without horror. A yogee, or penitent, actually seen by Fryer, had resolved to undergo this penance for forty days, at a public festival, where an immense concourse of spectators were assembled. Early on the morning, after having seated himself on a quadrangular stage, he fell prostrate, and continued fervent in his devotions, till the sun began to have considerable power. He then rose, and stood on one leg, gazing steadfastly at the sun, while fires, each large enough, says the traveller, to roast an ox, were kindled at the four corners of the stage, the penitent counting his beads, and occasionally, with his pot of incense, throwing combustible materials into the fire to increase the flames. He next bowed himself down in the centre of the four fires, keeping his eyes still fixed upon the sun. Afterwards, placing himself upright on his head, with his feet elevated in the air, he stood for the extraordinary space of three hours, in that inverted position; he then seated himself with his legs across one another, and thus remained sustaining the raging heat of the sun and of the fires, till the end of the day. Other penitents bury themselves up to the neck in the ground, or even wholly below it, leaving only a little hole through which they may breathe. They tear themselves with whips; they repose on beds of iron spikes;* they chain themselves for life to the foot of a tree: the wild imagination of the race appears in short to have been racked to devise a sufficient variety of fantastic modes of tormenting themselves. The extent to which they carry the penance of fasting is almost incredible. They fix their eyes on the blazing sun till the power of vision is extinguished.† The following description,

* See a curious description in the Asiat. Res. v. 49, of a fakeer, seen at Benares by Mr. Duncan, who had used this bed for 35 years.

† See Fryer's Travels, pp. 102, 103.—Sonnerat's Voyage, i. 121, 149, 153, 176.—Hamilton's Voyage to the East Indies, i. 274.—Voyage de Tavernier, iv. 118. Mr. Richardson, in his Arabic and Persian Dictionary, under the word Fakeer, says, "Every invention of perverted ingenuity is exhausted in deforming and distorting nature." And Mr. Wilkins

Book II. in the drama entitled Sacontala, how much soever partaking of the hyperbolical character of oriental poetry, conveys a most remarkable image of the length of time, the patience, and steadiness, with which the devotees of the forests must have remained immoveable in their solitary positions. "You see," says one of the personages of the drama, "in that grove a pious Yogee, motionless as a pollard, holding his thick, bushy hair, and fixing his eyes on the solar orb.—Mark; his body is covered with a white ants' edifice, made of raised clay; the skin of a snake supplies the place of his sacerdotal thread, and part of it girds his loins; a number of knotty plants encircle and wound his neck; and surrounding birds' nests almost conceal his shoulders." * The same venerable character is thus farther described in the Bhagvat-Geeta; "The Yogee constantly exerciseth the spirit in private. He is recluse, of a subdued mind and spirit; free from hope, and free from perception. He planteth his own seat firmly on a spot that is undefiled, neither too high, nor too low, and sitteth upon the sacred

(Note 113, subjoined to his translation of the Bhagvat-Geeta) says, "The word zeal, in the vulgar acceptation, signifies the voluntary infliction of pain, the modes of doing which, as practised to this day by the zealots of India, are as various as they are horrible and astonishing." Bernier, who describes most of the penances alluded to in the text, mentions their standing on their hands, with the head down, and the feet up; "D'autres qui se tenoient les heures entieres sur leurs mains sans branler, la tete en bas et les pieds en haut, et ainsi de je ne sçai combien d'autres sortes de postures tellement contraintes et tellement difficiles, que nous n'avons de bâteleurs qui les pûssent imiter; et tout cela, ce semble, par devotion comme j'ai dit, et par motif de religion, ou on n'en sçauroit seulement decouvrir l'ombre." Lettre des Gentils de l'Hindoustan, p. 153, 154.

* Sacontala, Act vii. in Sir William Jones's Works. One of the Mahommedan travellers, whose voyages are described by Renaudot, says of these recluses, "They for the most part stand motionless as statues, with their faces always turned to the sun. I formerly saw one in the posture here described, and returning to India about sixteen years afterwards, I found him in the very same attitude, and was astonished he had not lost his eyesight by the intense heat of the sun." Renaudot's ancient Account of India and China, p. 32. Bernier describes them thus; "On en voit quantité de tout nuds assis ou couchés les jours et les nuits sur les cendres, et assez ordinairement dessous quelques uns de ces grands arbres, qui sont sur les bords des Talabs ou reservoirs, ou bien dans des galeries qui sont autour de leur Deuras ou temples d'idoles....... Il n'y a Megere d'enfer si horrible a voir que ces gens-la tout nuds avec leur peau noire, ces grands cheveux, ces fuseauz des bras dans la posture que j'ai dit, et ces longues ongles entortillés. Lettre des Gentils de l'Hindoustan, p. 151. Orme accounts in part at least, and that very satisfactorily, for these astonishing efforts of patience and self-denial. "The many temporal advantages which the Brahmens derive from their spiritual authority, and the impossibility of being admitted into their tribe, have perhaps given rise to that number of Joguees and Facquires, who torture themselves with such various and astonishing penances, only to gain the same veneration which a Brahmen derives from his birth." Orme's Hist. Milit. Trans. Indostan, i. 4.

grass which is called coos, covered with a skin and a cloth. There he, whose business is the restraint of his passions, should sit, with his mind fixed on one object alone, in the exercise of his devotion for the purification of his soul, keeping his head, his neck, and his body, steady, without motion, his eyes fixed on the point of his nose, looking at no other place around. The man who keepeth the outward accidents from entering his mind, and his eyes fixed in contemplation between his brows; who maketh the breath to pass through both his nostrils alike in expiration and inspiration, who is of subdued faculties, mind, and understanding; the Yogee, who thus constantly exerciseth his soul, obtaineth happiness incorporeal and supreme."* This pure state of meditation, which obtains the name of devotion, is even more exalted than that of penance. "The Yogee," says Crishna, "is more exalted than Tapaswees, those votaries who afflict themselves in performing penance, respected above the learned in science, and" (which is worthy of peculiar regard,) "superior to those who are attached to moral works."† "Be thou at all times," says this supreme god to Arjoon in another place, "employed in devotion. The fruit of this surpasseth all the rewards of virtue pointed out in the Veds, in worshippings, in mortifications, and even in the gifts of charity."‡

Human sacrifices.

It is abundantly ascertained that the Hindus, at one time, and that a time comparatively recent,§ were marked with the barbarity of human sacrifices.|| It even appears that a remainder of that devotional service is now in existence. When it is proposed to resist, as exorbitant, the demands of government, the Brahmens erect, what they denominate a koor, which is a circular pile of wood, with a cow, or an old woman on the top of it. If urged to extremity they set fire to the pile, and consume the victim, a sacrifice by which they are understood to involve their oppressor in the deepest guilt.** The British government has

* Bhagvat-Geeta, p. 60, 63. † Ibid. p. 67. ‡ Ibid. p. 76.

§ It is agreed among the Sanscrit scholars that the Puranas are modern, compared with the Vedas and other ancient monuments of the Hindus. Mr. Colebrooke is of opinion that the worship of heroes is altogether unknown to the author of the Vedas; though it was evidently part of the popular belief at the time the Puranas were composed. A sacrifice, therefore, enjoined in the Puranas, must have prevailed at a pretty late period.

|| See a translation of what is denominated "The Sanguinary chapter" of the Calica Purana, by Mr. Blaquiere, Asiat. Res. v. 371., and Wilkins's Hetopadesa, note 249, and p. 211. In the Bhawishya Purana, it is declared that the head of a slaughtered man gives Durga a thousand times more satisfaction than that of a buffalo. This sacrifice however is forbidden in the Brahma and the Bhagawat Puranas. Asiat. Res. iii. p. 260.

** An instance of this, in which an old woman was the victim, was attempted at Benares, so late as the year 1788. See the account by Lord Teignmouth, Asiat. Res. v. 333.

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Though the progress of improvement has brought into comparative disuse the mode of seeking divine favour by the sacrifice of a fellow creature, horrid rites, which have too near an affinity with it, are still the objects of the highest veneration. It is one of the grandest achievements of piety, for individuals to sacrifice themselves in honour of the gods. There are solemn festivals, in which the images of certain deities are carried in procession in vast, ponderous machines, denominated raths, or chariots, drawn by a multitude of devotees and priests; when it is customary for numbers of the congregated people to throw themselves under the wheels, and even fathers, and mothers, with their children in their arms. The chariot passes on, as if no impediment existed, and crushing them to death, is supposed to convey them immediately to heaven.† The practice of sacrificing themselves in the flames is a noted ceremony of the Hindus. It is sometimes executed with circumstances of studied atrocity; the victim striking himself in front with his sabre, so as to lay open his bowels to the spectators, tearing out part of his liver, cutting it off with the sabre, giving it to a relation or by-stander, conversing all the time with indifference apparently complete, then with unchanged countenance leaping into the flames, and expiring without a movement.‡ In some parts of India a Brahmen devotes himself to death, by eating till he expires with the surfeit.§ On great solemnities, the votaries strike off their own heads, as a sacrifice to the Ganges,|| and many drown themselves in the hallowed streams.** Of the modes adopted by the Hindus of sacrificing

* Papers, relating to East India affairs, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, June 3, 1813, p. 427.

† A distinct description of this human sacrifice, performed at the feast of Juggernaut, is to be found in the voyage, (i. 121) of Sonnerat, who was an eye-witness. It is also described by that faithful traveller Bernier, Lettre sur les Gentils de l'Hindoustan, p. 128. It attracted in a peculiar degree the attention of the Rev. Dr. Buchanan: see his work, entitled, Christian Researches in Asia. The Missionaries have given us several descriptions, published in the Transactions of the Missionary Societies.

‡ Such was the instance witnessed by one of the Arabian travellers of Renaudot. See Ancient Relations, p. 80.

§ Orme, on the Government and People of Indostan, p. 434.

|| See Richardson's Dictionary at the word Fakeer.

** The place where the Jumna and the Ganges meet, is a spot of peculiar sanctity. "Some of the victims of superstition," says Dr. Tennant, "annually drown themselves at the junction of the streams; and this being the most acceptable of all offerings, it is performed with much solemnity. The rapidity with which the victim sinks, is regarded as a token of his favourable acceptance by

themselves to the divine powers, none however has more excited the attention of the Europeans, than the burning of the wives on the funeral piles of their husbands. To this cruel sacrifice the highest virtues are ascribed. "The wife who commits herself to the flames with her husband's corpse, shall equal Arundhati, and reside in Swarga; accompanying her husband, she shall reside so long in Swarga, as are the thirty-five millions of hairs on the human body.* As the snake-catcher forcibly drags the serpent from his earth, so, bearing her husband from hell, with him she shall enjoy the delights of heaven, while fourteen Indras reign. If her husband had killed a Brahmana, broken the ties of gratitude, or murdered his friend, she expiates the crime."† Though a widow has the alternative of leading a life of chastity, of piety, and mortification, denied to the pleasures of dress, never sleeping on a bed, never exceeding one meal a day, nor eating any other than simple food, it is held her duty to burn herself along with her husband; and "the Hindu legislators," says Mr. Colebrooke, "have shown themselves disposed to encourage" this barbarous sacrifice.‡ Chap. VI.

the god of the river. To secure the good inclination of the deity, they carry out the devoted person to the middle of the stream, after having fastened pots of earth to his feet. The surrounding multitude on the banks are devoutly contemplating the ceremony, and applauding the constancy of the victim, who, animated by their admiration, and the strength of his own faith, keeps a steady and resolute countenance, till he arrives at the spot, when he springs from the boat, and is instantly swallowed up, amidst universal acclamations." Indian Recreations, ii. 250.

* The Brahmens are always audacious enough to form a peremptory opinion. We have seen, before, that they never hesitated to assign a fixed number to the veins and arteries of the human body, though they are totally unacquainted with dissection. They here assign, with perfect confidence, a determinate number to the hairs on the human body.

† Sanscrit text, quoted by Mr. Colebrooke, in his discourse on the duties of a faithful Hindu wife, Asiat. Res. iv. 208. The custom of burning wives on the funeral piles of their husbands, was common to the Hindus with the northern nations. See Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, ad verb. *Bayle-Fire.*—The principal among the wives of a Scandinavian chief accompanied him to the funeral pile. Mallet. Introd. Hist. Denmark, vol i. c. 13.—The Scandinavians did not scruple to expose their children. Ibid.—Robertson, who informs us that the wives of the chiefs of the Natchez, an American tribe, were burnt along with them at their death, says that the custom arose from the excessive veneration in which they were held, as brothers of the sun, and representatives of the deity; and that from this impulse, the wives, as well as the domestics who shared the same fate, welcomed death with exultation. Hist. of America, ii. 140.

‡ Asiat. Res. iv. 210. See the whole of that discourse, where a number of authorities are collected. The circumstances of the transaction can be so easily conceived; that, horrid as they are, I have not thought proper to describe them. The prayers and ceremonies are exactly of the usual character. See an account by Bernier, of several cases of which he was an eye-witness, (Lettre sur les Gentils de l'Hindoustan, p. 131); and a variety of cases in the works of the Missionaries, Ward and Dubois.

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Unexceptionable language of the Hindus with respect to morality:

Such are the acts, by which, according to the Hindu religion, the favour of the Almighty Power is chiefly to be gained; such are the ideas respecting purity and merit, which it is calculated to inspire. Yet if any one concludes that the Hindus were unacquainted with the ordinary precepts of morality, he will be greatly deceived. "By Brahmens," says the law of Menu, "placed in the four orders, a tenfold system of duties must ever be sedulously practised; Content; returning good for evil; resistance to sensual appetites; abstinence from illicit gain; purification; coercion of the organs; knowledge of scripture; knowledge of the supreme spirit; veracity; and freedom from wrath."* In this enumeration of duties, though a large proportion is allowed to acts purely ceremonial and useless; yet some of the noblest virtues are included. "Action," says the same sacred code, "is either mental, verbal, or corporeal. Devising means to appropriate the wealth of other men, resolving on any forbidden deed, and conceiving notions of atheism or materialism, are the three bad acts of the mind: scurrilous language, falsehood, indiscriminate backbiting, and useless tattle, are the four bad acts of the tongue: Taking effects not given, hurting sentient creatures without the sanction of law, and criminal intercourse with the wife of another, are the three bad acts of the body; and all the ten have their opposites, which are good in an equal degree."† Though there is something extremely whimsical in the consequence ascribed to the following acts of injustice, yet they are with great propriety forbidden: "He who appropriates to his own use, the carriage, the bed, the seat, the well, the garden, or the house of another man, who has not delivered them to him, assumes a fourth part of the guilt of their owner."‡ The following observations are in a pure and elevated strain of morality: "Even here below an unjust man attains no felicity; nor he whose wealth proceeds from giving false evidence; nor he, who constantly takes delight in mischief. Though oppressed by penury, in consequence of his righteous dealings, let him never give his mind to unrighteousness; for he may observe the speedy overthrow of iniquitous and sinful men. Iniquity, committed in this world, produces not fruit immediately, but, like the earth, in due season; and, advancing by little and little, it eradicates the man who committed it. Yes; iniquity, once committed, fails not of producing fruit to him who wrought it. He grows rich for a while through unrighteousness; then he beholds good things; then it is that he vanquishes his foes; but he perishes at length from his whole root upwards. Let a man continually take pleasure in truth, in justice, in laudable practices, and in

* Institutes of Menu, ch. vi. 91, 92. † Ibid. ch. xii. 3, 5, 6, 7. ‡ Ibid. ch. iv. 202.

purity; let him chastise those, whom he may chastise, in a legal mode; let him keep in subjection his speech, his arm, and his appetite: wealth and pleasures, repugnant to law, let him shun; and even lawful acts, which may cause future pain, or be offensive to mankind."*

Common to them with rude nations; and no proof of holding its proper place in the scale of estimation.

Sir William Jones, whom, it is useful to quote, because his authority may have influence with those whose opinions I am obliged to controvert, observes, that "the principles of morality are few, luminous, and ready to present themselves on every occasion."† Descanting on the rudeness, and ignorance, of the Scythian nations; "of any philosophy," he says, "except natural ethics, which the rudest society requires, and experience teaches, we find no more vestiges in Asiatic Scythia, than in ancient Arabia."‡ He was not surprised to find natural ethics, where not a vestige of philosophy was found; because "natural ethics," are what "*the rudest society requires, and experience teaches.*" If we search a little further, we shall discover that nations do not differ so much from one another in regard to a knowledge of morality, and of its obligations, the rules of morality having been taught among nations in a manner remarkably similar, as in the various degrees of steadiness, or the contrary, with which they assign the preference to moral above other acts. Among rude nations it has almost always been found, that religion has served to degrade morality, by advancing to the place of greatest honour, those external performances, or those mental exercises, which more immediately regarded the deity; and with which, of course, he was supposed to be more peculiarly delighted. On no occasion, indeed, has religion obliterated the impressions of morality, of which the rules are the fundamental laws of human society: It has every where met with the highest applause; and no where has it been celebrated in more pompous strains, than in places where the most contemptible, or the most abominable rites have most effectually been allowed to usurp its honours.§ It is not so much, therefore, by the mere words in which

* Institutes of Menu, ch. iv. 170 to 177.

† Discourse on the Philosophy of the Asiatics, Asiat. Res. iv. 166.

‡ Discourse on the Tartars, Asiat. Res. ii. 33.

§ Few states of society are more low and degraded than that of the Mussulmans in modern Egypt. Hear what is said of their ethics: "On remarque chez les principaux chefs de la religion, nommés en Egypte cheiks de la loi, l'astuce commune à tous les prêtres, qui, pour mieux dominer, cherchent à s'emparer de l'esprit des hommes. Leur conversation est remplie de belles sentences morales, and de grandes images poetiques qu'ils pillent dans les livres Arabes, c'est tout leur savoir; ou ne doit pas chercher en eux d'autres connoissances sur la politique, les sciences, &c.; ils n'en soupçonnent pas plus l'existence que l'utilité. (De l'Egypte par le Gen. Reynier, p. 63.) Voltaire remarks, with that felicity with which he sometimes touches an important truth; "La reli-

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morality is mentioned, that we are to judge of the mental perfections of different nations, as by the place which it clearly holds in the established scale of meritorious acts. In a moment of hyperbolical praise, it may even receive a verbal preference to ceremonies; as in one passage of the Institutes of Menu: "A wise man should constantly discharge all the moral duties, though he perform not constantly the ceremonies of religion; since he falls low, if, while he performs ceremonial acts only, he discharge not his moral duties."* Yet in the entire system of rules concerning duty, the degree of stress which is laid upon moral acts, may, as in the case of the Hindus, bear no comparison to the importance which is attached to useless or pernicious ceremonies. Such a maxim as that which has just been quoted, can be regarded as but of little value, when it is surrounded by numerous maxims of the following tendency; "Not a mortal exists more sinful than he, who, without an oblation to the manes or gods, desires to enlarge his own flesh with the flesh of another creature."† "From the three Vedas, the lord of creatures, incomprehensibly exalted, successively milked out the three measures of that ineffable text, beginning with the word *tad*, and entitled, *savitri*, or *gayatri*; whoever shall repeat, day by day, for three years, without negligence, that sacred text, shall hereafter approach the divine essence, move as freely as air, and assume an ethereal form." § "Studying and compre-

gion de ce Siamois nous prouve que jamais legislateur n'enseigna une mauvaise morale. Voyez, lecteur, que celle de Brama, de Zoroastre, de Numa, de Thaut, de Pythagore, de Mahomet, et meme du poisson Oannes, est absolument la même. J'ai dit souvent qu'on jeterait des pierres à un homme qui viendrait prêcher une morale relâchée. Dictionnaire Philosophique, au mot SAMMONOCODOM.

Garcilasso de la Vega gives us a list of the moral sayings of a celebrated Inca of ancient Peru, named Pachacatec, of which the following are a specimen:

"Better is it, that thou shouldst be envied by others for being good, than that thou shouldst envy others because thou art bad.

"Envy is a cancer, which eats and gnaws into the bowels of the envious.

"Drunkenness, anger, and folly, are equally mischievous; differing only in this, that the two first are transient and mutable, but the third permanent and continuing.

"Adulterers, who take away the good reputation and honesty of another family, are disturbers of the common peace and quiet, and are as bad as thieves and robbers, and therefore to be condemned to the gallows without mercy.

"A truly noble and courageous spirit is best tried by that patience which he shows in the times of adversity.

"Impatience is the character of a poor and degenerate spirit, and of one that is ill taught and educated." (Royal Commentaries, book IV. ch. xxxvi.)

* Institutes of Menu, ch. iv. 204. † Ib. v. 52. ‡ Ib. ii. 77, 82.

hending the Veda, practising pious austerities, acquiring divine knowledge, command over the organs of sense and action, avoiding all injury to sentient creatures, and showing reverence to a natural and spiritual father, are the chief branches of duty which ensure final happiness." * "Even three suppressions of breath made according to the divine rule, accompanied with the triverbal phrase, and the triliteral syllable, may be considered as the highest devotion of a Brahmen; for as the dross and impurities of metallic ores are consumed by fire, thus are the sinful acts of the human organs consumed by suppressions of the breath."† If we examine that highest degree of merit to which the imagination of the Hindu can ascend, that of the Sanyassi, or professor of austere devotion, we shall find it to consist in an absolute renunciation of all moral duties, and moral affections. "Exemption from attachments, and affection for children, wife, and home;" ‡ nay, "the abandonment of all earthly attachments," § form a necessary part of that perfection after which he aspires.

Harsh austerities and loose morality are naturally combined in the religion of a rude people.

It is by no means unnatural for the religion of a rude people to unite opposite qualities, to preach the most harsh austerities, and at the same time to encourage the loosest morality. It may be matter of controversy to what degree the indecent objects employed in the Hindu worship imply depravity of manners; but a religion which subjects to the eyes of its votaries the grossest images of sensual pleasure, and renders even the emblems of generation objects of worship; which ascribes to the supreme God an immense train of obscene acts; which has these engraved on the sacred cars, pourtrayed in the temples, and presented to the people as objects of adoration, which pays worship to the Yoni, and the Lingam, cannot be regarded as favourable to chastity.|| Nor can it be supposed,

* Institutes of Menu, ch. xii. 83.

† Ib. vi. 70, 71.

‡ Bhagvat-Geeta, p. 102.

§ Institutes of Menu, ch. vi. 81.

|| See a fanciful account of the origin of this worship by Mr. Paterson, Asiat. Res. viii. 54. His description of the moral effects of this superstition is more to our purpose: "It is probable," says he, "that the idea of obscenity was not originally attached to these symbols; and, it is likely, that the inventors themselves might not have foreseen the disorders which this worship would occasion amongst mankind. Profligacy eagerly embraces what flatters its propensities, and ignorance follows blindly wherever example excites: it is therefore no wonder that a general corruption of manners should ensue, increasing in proportion as the distance of time involved the original meaning of the symbol in darkness and oblivion. Obscene mirth became the principal feature of the popular superstition, and was, even in after times, extended to, and intermingled with, gloomy rites and bloody sacrifices. An heterogeneous mixture which appears totally irreconcileable, unless by tracing the steps which led to it. It will appear that the ingrafting of a new symbol, upon the old superstition, occasioned this strange medley. The sect of Vishnu was not wholly free from the propensity of the times to obscene rites; it had been united in interest with

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when to all these circumstances is added the institution of a number of girls, attached to the temples, whose business is dancing and prostitution, that this is a virtue encouraged by the religion of the Hindus.

Another contrast to the tortures and death which the religion of the Hindus exhorts them to inflict upon themselves, is the sacredness which it imprints upon the life of animals. Not only are the Hindus prohibited the use of animal food, except at certain peculiar sacrifices; even the offerings to the gods consist almost entirely of inanimate objects; and to deprive any sensitive creature of life, is a heinous transgression of religious duty. Many of the inferior creatures, both animals and plants, are the objects of religious veneration; such, in particular,

that of Siva, in their league against the sect of Brahma, as was expressed by an image, called Har-Heri, half Siva, and half Vishnu. This union seems to have continued till the time when an emblem of an abstract idea, having been erected into an object of worship, introduced a revolution in religion, which had a violent and extended effect upon the manners and opinions of mankind. It was then that a gloomy superstition arose, which spread its baneful influence with rapidity amongst mankind; which degraded the Deity into an implacable tyrant; which filled its votaries with imaginary terrors; which prescribed dreadful rites; and exacted penances, mortifications, and expiatory sacrifices." (Ibid. p. 55.) See also a picture of these religious immoralities by Bernier, (Lettre sur les Gentils, pp. 129, 130). But the writer who, above all others, has furnished superabundant evidence of the immoral influence of the Hindu religion, and the deep depravity which it is calculated to produce, is Mr. Ward, in his "View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos." From the facts which he records in great detail, the following are the results. "The characters of the gods, and the licentiousness which prevails at their festivals, and abounds in their popular works, with the enervating nature of the climate, have made the Hindoos the most effeminate and corrupt people on earth. I have, in the course of this work, exhibited so many proofs of this fact, that I will not again disgust the reader by going into the subject. Suffice it to say, that fidelity to marriage vows is almost unknown among the Hindoos; the intercourse of the sexes approaches very near to that of the irrational animals . . . . But to know the Hindoo idolatry, as it is, a person must wade through the filth of the thirty-six pooranŭs, and other popular books—he must read and hear the modern popular poems and songs—he must follow the Bramhŭn through his midnight orgies, before the image of Kalēē, and other goddesses; or he must accompany him to the nightly revels, the jatras, and listen to the filthy dialogues which are rehearsed respecting Krishnŭ and the daughters of the milkmen; or he must watch him, at midnight, choking with the mud and waters of the Ganges a wealthy relation, while in the delirium of a fever; or, at the same hour, while murdering an unfaithful wife, or a supposed domestic enemy; or he must look at the Bramhŭn hurrying the trembling half-dead widow round the funeral pile, and throwing her like a log of wood by the side of the dead body of her husband, tying her and then holding her down with bamboo levers, till the fire has deprived her of the power of rising and running away. . . . . . . This system of heathenism communicates no purifying knowledge of the divine perfections, supplies no one motive to holiness while living, no comfort to the afflicted, no hope to the dying; but, on the contrary, excites to every vice, and hardens its followers in the most flagrant crimes." (Introductory Remarks, pp. 94, 95.)

are the cow, the lotos, and cusa grass. Nor, in this enumeration, must the dung and urine of the cow be forgotten; things so holy as to be of peculiar efficacy in the ceremonies of purification. To whatever origin we may ascribe this strange application of the religious principle, it has at least been very widely diffused. It is known that many negro tribes worship animals and reptiles; and that they carry the solicitude for their preservation to a still more extravagant pitch than even the Hindus; punishing with death those who hurt them even casually.* The sacred character in Egypt of the ox, and of many other animals, is too familiarly known to require any proof. The cow was oracular, and sacred among the Amonians.† Not only cows, but horses, eagles, lions, bears, were divine animals among the Syrians.‡ The Egyptian priests respected as sacred the life of all animals, and animal food seems to have been interdicted not less in Egypt than in Hindustan.§ At an early period, the Greeks, and even the Romans, punished with death, the killing of an ox.|| The worship of this species of quadrupeds appears indeed to have been common to all the idolatrous nations from Japan to Scandinavia.** That, in India, it was a worship directed to no moral end, is evident upon the slightest inspection. To renounce the benefits which the inferior animals are fitted by nature to render to man, is not humanity, any more than swinging before an idol, by an iron hook, forced through the muscles of the back, is the virtue of self-command. And that this superstition took not its rise from a sensibility to the feelings of animated creatures, is evident from the barbarous character of several of the nations where it prevails; from the proverbial cruelty suffered by the labouring animals of Hindustan; and from the apathy with which human beings are left to expire by hunger and disease, while reptiles are zealously tended and fed.††

* Edward's Hist. of the West Indies, ii. 77. 4to. Ed.

† Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology, i. 323.

‡ Lucian, De Syria Dea.

§ The priests of Egypt, says Herodotus, account it unholy to kill any thing which has life, saving what they use in sacrifice; Herod. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 140: and Porphyry informs us that it was not till a late period of their history that animal sacrifices were introduced. De Abstin. lib. ii. et iv.

|| Ab hoc antiqui manus ita abstinere voluerunt, ut capite sanxerint, si quis occidisset. Varro. De Re Rustica, lib. ii. cap. 5.

** See the satisfactory proofs adduced in the very learned and instructive, though erroneous work of Dupuis, Origine de tous les Cultes, liv. iii. ch. viii.

†† "Although the killing an animal of this" (the ox) "kind is by all Hindus considered as a kind of murder, I know no creature whose sufferings equal those of the labouring cattle of Hindustan." (Buchanan, Journey, &c. i. 167.) See also Ward on the Hindus, Introd. p. xliii. An hospital for the sick poor, says Dr. Tennant, was never known in India, before the establishment

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Religion consists of two great doctrines, that concerning the nature and service of God; and that concerning the nature and destination of the human soul. The

of the British; though there were for dogs, cats, &c. (Indian Recreations, i. 73.) The authors of the Universal History inform us gravely, on the authority of Ovington, that the Hindus have a care for the preservation of fleas, bugs, and other vermin, which suck the blood of man: for in a hospital near Surat, built for their reception, a poor man is hired now and then to rest all night upon the *kot* or bed where the vermin are put; and lest their stinging should force him to take his flight before morning, he is tied down to the place, and there lies for them to glut themselves with human gore." (Modern Univ. Hist. vi. 262.) Anquetil Duperron, who describes a temple near Surat, full of those sacred animals, adds: " La vue de l'hopital des animaux, entretenu par des etres raisonables avec tout l'ordre, le soin, le zele meme que l'on pourroit exiger d'eux, s'il etoit question de leur semblable, et cela meme dans un pays, ou il n'y a d'etablissemens publics, ni pour les malades, ni pour les vieillards ; la vu d'un pareil hopital auroit de quoi etonner, si l'on ne sçavoit pas que la nature se plait aux disparates en Asie comme en Europe. (Voyages aux Indes Orient. Disc. Prelim. Zendavesta, i. ccclxii.) " The Gentoos, though they will not kill their neat, make no conscience to work them to death, allowing them hardly food to keep them alive. Neither are they less inhuman towards their sick, a woman being brought to die among the tombs in my sight." Fryer's Travels, ch. v. sect. 3. See to the same purpose, the Abbé Dubois, p. 132 ; Ward on the Hindoos, Introd. p. lv. It is worth observing that Milton, the universality of whose knowledge is not the least remarkable particular of his wonderful mind, was acquainted with the disgusting superstition of letting the vermin devour the man: " Like the vermin," says he, " of an Indian Catharist, which his fond religion forbids him to molest." Tetrachordon, Milton's Prose Works, ii. 122, 8vo. Edit. Tenderness to animals was a part of the religion of Zoroaster. We are informed in the Sadda, that he obtained from God a view of the regions of infernal torment, where he saw a number of kings, and among the rest one without a foot. He begged to know the reason, and God said to him ; " that wicked king never performed but one good action in his life. He saw, as he was going to the chase a dromedary tied at too great a distance from its provender, endeavouring to eat, but unable to reach it: he pushed the provender towards it with his foot. I have placed that foot in heaven; all the rest of him is here. Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit de Nations, ch. v. The following, Porphyry tells us, (De Abstin. lib. iv. p. 431) were laws of Triptolemus, 1. To honour our parents ; 2. To offer nothing to the gods but the fruits of the earth ; 3. Never to hurt animals. " The inhabitants of Miniana," (a place not far from Sego, in the heart of Africa) " eat their enemies, and strangers, if they die in the country. They eat the flesh of horses. But such is their veneration for the cow, that she is never killed." Park's last Mission to Africa, p. 166.

Mr. Richardson (see his Dissertation on Eastern Manners, p. 16) denies the authenticity of the fragments of the Zendavesta collected by Anquetil Duperron, on account of " the uncommon stupidity," as he is pleased to express it, " of the work itself." Yet it is in a strain remarkably resembling that of the Vedas; the same sublime praises bestowed upon the Divinity, superstitions equally gross, discourses equally childish. We must not however on this account question the authenticity of the Vedas and the Puranas, though we must renounce the vulgar belief of the great wisdom of the Brahmens. In truth, the stupidity, as Mr. Richardson calls it, of the Zendavesta, and its remarkable similarity to the sacred books of the

first of these, in the complicated superstition of the Hindus, presented many questions which it needed a considerable accumulation of evidence to solve. Of the latter, fortunately, a just idea may be conveyed, without many words.

Nature and destination of the human soul.

It is well known that the metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul into various orders of being, reviving in one form when it ceases to exist in another, is the tenet adopted by the Hindus. This is a theory well calculated to present itself to the mind of the rude inquirer, when first excited to stretch his views beyond the present term of sensation and action. The vegetable life, which expires in autumn in the plant, revives in the seed in spring. The sluggish worm, which undergoes a species of death, and buries itself in a tomb of its own formation, springs to life a gay and active creature, as different in appearance as in appetites and powers. Every thing on earth is changed, nothing annihilated; and the soul of the man who expires to day, revives in something else, to which at that instant life is imparted.

Some very obvious, and very impressive appearances, must have suggested the notion of the metempsychosis, since it is one of the most ancient, and one of the most general of all religious opinions. "No doctrine," says Dupuis, "was ever

Hindus, is the most striking proof of its authenticity. There is the strongest reason to conclude that the ancient Magi, and the ancient Brahmens, were people very much upon a level; and that the fame of Zoroaster for wisdom is no better founded than that of the Indian sages. There is a radical difference, he says, between the language of the Zendavesta, and the modern Persian (Ibid.) But the same is the case with the Sanscrit, which Sir William Jones thinks, from this circumstance, can never have been vernacular in Hindustan. (See Disc. on the Hindus, Asiat. Researches, i. 422.) The language, he says, of the Zendavesta has many words, which a modern Persian could not pronounce. But there are many words in the German language, which an Englishman or Frenchman cannot pronounce, though the German is the basis of the languages of both. The Zendavesta, he says, contains Arabic words; but it contains Arabic only as the Greek contains Sanscrit. In fact, the identities which can be traced in all languages is one of the most remarkable circumstances in the history of speech. Of the Vedas, a man who had unrivalled opportunities of information informs us, "They contain nothing important or rational. In fact, they have nothing but their antiquity to recommend them. As to any thing further, they include all the absurdities of Hindu paganism, not only such as it has originally been, but also the pitiful details of fables which are at present current in the country, relating to the fantastical austerities of the Hindu hermits, to the metamorphoses of Vishnu, or the abominations of the lingam. The fourth of them, called Atharvana-veda, is the most dangerous of all for a people so entirely sunk in superstition, because it teaches the art of magic, or the method of injuring men by the use of witchcraft and incantation." (Description, &c. of the People of India, by the Abbé Dubois, p. 102.) Even the *gayatri*, the most holy of all holy things, is an assemblage, says the Abbé, of unmeaning terms, "unintelligible to the Brahmens themselves. I have never met with any one who could give me a tolerable explication of it." Ib. p. 79.

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more universally diffused; none claims an origin so ancient. It reigned in the East, and in the West, among rude nations, and polished nations; and it ascends to antiquity so high, that Burnet ingeniously declares, one would believe it to be descended from heaven; so much it appears without father, without mother, and without descent." * The Brahmens grafted upon it, in their usual way, a number of fantastic refinements, and gave to their ideas on this subject, a more systematic form than is usual with those eccentric theologians. They describe the mind as characterized by three qualities, goodness, passion, darkness. According as any soul is distinguished by one or another of those qualities in its present life, is the species of being into which it migrates in the life to come. Souls endued with goodness attain the condition of deities; those filled with passion receive that of men; those immersed in darkness are condemned to that of beasts. Each of these conditions, again, is divided into three degrees, a lower, a middle, and a higher. Of the souls distinguished by darkness, the lowest are thrust into mineral and vegetable substances, into worms, reptiles, fishes, snakes, tortoises, cattle, shakals; the middle pass into elephants, horses, Sudras, Mlec'has, (a word of very opprobrious import, denoting men of all other races not Hindu,) lions, tigers, and boars; the highest animate the forms of dancers, singers, birds, deceitful men, giants, and blood-thirsty savages. Of the souls who receive their future condition from the quality of passion, the lowest pass into cudgel players, boxers, wrestlers, actors, those who teach the use of weapons, and those who are addicted to gaming and drinking; the middle enter the bodies of kings, men of the fighting class, domestic priests of kings, and men skilled in the war of controversy; the highest become gandharvas, (a species of supposed aërial spirits, whose business is music,) genii, attending superior gods, together with various companies of apsarases, or nymphs. Of the souls who are exalted by the quality of goodness, the lowest migrate into hermits, religious mendicants, other Brahmens, such orders of demigods as are wafted in airy cars, genii of the signs and lunar mansions, and Daityas, another of their many orders of superior spirits; the middle attain the condition of sacrificers, of holy sages, deities of the lower heaven, genii of the Vedas, regents of stars, divinities of years, Pitris, and Sadhyas, two other species of exalted intelligences; the highest ascend to the condition of Brahma with four faces, of creators of worlds, of the genius of virtue, and

* Dupuis, Origine de tous les Cultes, tom. ii. par. 2, p. 181; where the reader will find authorities to prove the antiquity and diffusion of this peculiar doctrine. See too the learned Beausobre, Hist. de Manich. tom. ii. liv. vii. ch. 5, sect. 4. For its existence among the Mexicans, see Clavigero, book vi. sect. 1.

the divinities presiding over the two principles of nature.* Besides this general description of the future allotment of different souls, a variety of particular dooms are specified, of which a few may be taken as an example. "Sinners in the first degree," says the ordinance of Menu, "having passed through terrible regions of torture, for a great number of years, are condemned to the following births at the close of that period. The slayer of a Brahmen must enter the body of a dog, a boar, an ass, a camel, a bull, a goat, a sheep, a stag, a bird, a Chandala, or a Puccasa. He, who steals the gold of a priest, shall pass a thousand times into the bodies of spiders, of snakes, and camelions, of crocodiles, and other aquatic monsters, or of mischievous blood-sucking demons. He who violates the bed of his natural or spiritual father, migrates a hundred times into the forms of grasses, of shrubs, with crowded stems, or of creeping and twining plants, carnivorous animals, beasts with sharp teeth, or cruel brutes." † After a variety of other cases, a general rule is declared, for those of the four castes who neglect the duties of their order: "Should a Brahmen omit his peculiar duty, he shall be changed into a demon, with a mouth like a firebrand, who devours what has been vomited; a Cshatriya, into a demon who feeds on ordure and carrion; a Vaisya, into an evil being who eats purulent carcases; and a Sudra, who neglects his occupations, into a foul embodied spirit, who feeds on lice." ‡ The reward of the most exalted piety, of the most profound meditation, of that exquisite abstemiousness which dries up the mortal frame, is peculiar. Such a perfect soul becomes absorbed in the Divine essence, and is for ever exempt from transmigration. §

The doctrine of future rewards and punishments of no service to morality.

We might very easily conclude, from the known laws of human nature, that notwithstanding the language held by the Hindus on the connection between future happiness and the virtue of the present life, rewards and punishments, very distant and very obscure, would be wholly impotent against temptations to crime; though, at the instigation of the priests, they might engage the people in a ceaseless train of wretched ceremonies. The fact corresponds most exactly with the anticipation. An admirable witness has said, "The doctrine of a state of future rewards and punishments, as some persons may plead, has always been supposed to have a strong influence on public morals: the Hindoos not only have this doctrine in their writings, but are taught to consider every disease and misfortune of life as an undoubted symptom of moral disease, and the terrific appearance of its close-pursuing punishment. Can this fail to produce a dread

* Institutes of Menu, ch. xii. 24, 40 to 51. † Ib. 54 to 58. ‡ Ib. 71, 72. § Ib. 125.

BOOK II. of vice, and a desire to merit the favour of the Deity? I will still farther," he adds, "assist the objector; and inform him, that the Hindoo writings declare, that till every immoral taint is removed, every sin atoned for, and the mind has obtained perfect abstraction from material objects, it is impossible to be re-united to the great spirit; and that, to obtain this perfection, the sinner must linger in many hells, and transmigrate through almost every form of matter." Our informant then declares; "Great as these terrors are, there is nothing more palpable than that, with most of the Hindoos, they do not weigh the weight of a feather, compared with the loss of a roopee. The reason is obvious: every Hindoo considers all his actions as the effect of his destiny; he laments, perhaps, his miserable fate, but he resigns himself to it without a struggle, like the malefactor in a condemned cell." This experienced observer adds, what is still more comprehensive, that the doctrine of future rewards and punishments has, in no situation, and among no people, a power to make men virtuous.*

* "To this," he says, "may be added, what must have forced itself on the observation of every thoughtful observer, that, in the absence of the religious principle, no outward terrors, especially those which are invisible and future, not even bodily sufferings, are sufficient to make men virtuous. Painful experience proves, that even in a Christian country, if the religious principle does not exist, the excellence and the rewards of virtue, and the dishonour and misery attending vice, may be held up to men for ever, without making a single convert." Ward, "View, &c. of the Hindoos," Introd. p. lxxxiv. Here, however, Mr. Ward ought to have explained what he meant by the "religious principle," by which different persons mean very different things. This was the more necessary, that, having taken away all efficacy from the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, he strips religion of all power over the lives and actions of men, except in as far as good effects may be expected from the "religious principle," which, whatever else it may not be, is at any rate, in his estimation, not the expectation of future rewards and punishments.

CHAP. VII.

Manners.

CHAP. VII.

Definition of manners.

By the manners of a nation are understood the peculiar modes in which the ordinary business of human life is performed. The business itself is every where essentially the same. In all nations men eat and drink; they meet, converse, transact, and sport together. But the manner in which these and other things are performed is as different as the nations are numerous into which the human race is divided.

Religious ceremonies, and the peculiarities of caste, two great branches of Hindu manners.

So much of the entire business of life, among the Hindus, consists in religious services, that the delineation of their religion, which we have now finished, affords an illustration of the principal branch of their national manners.

The singular distinctions, attached to the different classes, which we have also previously described, is another remarkable feature in the manners of this people. The lower orders, in other countries, are often lamentably debased; in Hindustan they are degraded infinitely below the brutes. With the single exception of the Vaisya caste, to whom is appropriated the business of agriculture and of barter, the whole of the productive classes of the community are accounted vile and odious, unworthy to eat, to drink, or to sit with a member of the classes above them.

The four periods of life.

There are four remarkable divisions into which, with respect to the three honourable classes, human life is distributed. Of these periods; or orders, as they are denominated by the Hindus; the first is that of the student; the second, that of the householder; the third, that of the man who performs penance or other religious acts, residing continually in a forest; the fourth, that of the Sannyasi, or the ascetic absorbed in divine contemplation.*

Period of the student.

The period of the student commences at the era of investiture.† Prior to this age, the situation of children is remarkable; even those of a Brahmen are not held superior in rank to a Sudra.‡ The condition of the student much more closely resembles that of an European apprentice than that of a pupil in litera-

* See Laws of Menu, ch. ii., iii., and vi.

† See the account of this era, p. 257 of this volume.

‡ Institutes of Menu, ch. ii. 173.

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The gift of sacred instruction is not bestowed indiscriminately; but the text, which regulates the choice of pupils, is so vague as to leave the selection nearly at the discretion of the master. "Ten persons," it is declared, "may legally be instructed in the Veda; the son of a spiritual teacher; a boy who is assiduous; one who can impart other knowledge; one who is just; one who is pure; one who is friendly; one who is powerful; one who can bestow wealth; one who is honest; and one who is related by blood. Where virtue and wealth are not found, or diligent attention proportioned, in that soil divine instruction must not be sown: it would perish like fine seed in barren land."§

The instruction which is bestowed may soon be described. "The venerable preceptor, having girt his pupil with the thread, must first instruct him in purification, in good customs, in the management of the consecrated fire, and in the holy rites of morning, noon, and evening."|| The grand object of attention and solicitude is the reading of the Veda.** This it is, which constitutes the education of the Hindu. We learn that to form and distinguish the letters of the Alphabet, by drawing them with a stick in the sand, and by consequence some knowledge of reading and writing, is pretty generally taught the children of the Hindus; some classes of the Brahmens have united with their religious doctrines certain speculations concerning the intellectual and material worlds; and these speculations have been dignified with the name of philosophy; but the holy rites, and the Veda, form the great, and on most occasions the exclusive object of that higher instruction which is bestowed on the pupil of the Brahmen.

* Institutes of Menu, ch. ii. 191.

† "Let him carry water-pots, flowers, cow-dung, fresh earth, and cusa grass, as much as may be useful to his preceptor." Ibid. 182.

‡ Ibid. 218. There are numerous precepts respecting the niceties of begging. Ibid. 48 to 50, and 183 to 190.

§ Institutes of Menu, ch. ii. 109, 112.

|| Ibid. 69.

** Ibid. 70.

CHAP. VII.

Frivolous ceremonies, not objects of utility, the main business of the student.

On this important occasion, as on other occasions, the attention of the Hindu is much more engaged by frivolous observances, than by objects of utility. While the directions laid down respecting the instruction of the pupil are exceedingly few and insignificant, the forms, according to which he must pay his duty to the master, are numerous, minute, and emphatically enjoined. When the student is going to read the Veda, he must perform an ablution, as the law ordains, with his face to the north; and at the beginning and end of each lesson, he must clasp both the feet of his preceptor, and read with both his hands closed. "In the presence of his preceptor let him always eat less; and wear a coarser mantle, with worse appendages: let him rise before, and go to rest after, his tutor. Let him not answer his teacher's orders, or converse with him, reclining on a bed; nor sitting, nor eating, nor standing, nor with an averted face: But let him both *answer and converse*, if his preceptor sit, standing up; if he stand, advancing toward him; if he advance, meeting him; if he run, hastening after him; if his face be averted, going round to front him, *from left to right;* if he be at a little distance, approaching him; if reclined, bending to him; and, if he stand ever so far off, running toward him. When his teacher is nigh, let his couch or his bench be always placed low: when his preceptor's eye can observe him, let him not sit carelessly at his ease. Let him never pronounce the mere name of his tutor, even in his absence: by censuring his preceptor, though justly, he will be born an ass. He must not serve his tutor by the intervention of another, while himself stands aloof; nor must he attend him in a passion, nor when a woman is near: from a carriage or raised seat he must descend to salute his heavenly director. Let him not sit with his preceptor to the leeward, or to the windward of him; nor let him say any thing which the venerable man cannot hear."* For his general conduct "these following rules," says Menu, "must a Brahmachari, *or student in theology*, observe, while he dwells with his preceptor; keeping all his members under control, for the sake of increasing his habitual devotion. Day by day, having bathed and being purified, let him offer fresh water to the gods, the sages, and the manes; let him show respect to the images of the deities, and bring wood for the oblation to fire. Let him abstain from honey, from flesh-meat, from perfumes, from chaplets of flowers, from sweet vegetable juices, from women, from all sweet substances turned acid, and from injury to animated beings; from unguents for

* Institutes of Menu, ch. ii. 70, 71, and 194 to 199, and 201 to 203. Even to the sons and wives of the preceptor must numerous tokens of profound respect be shown, Ibid. 207 to 218.

his limbs, and from black powder for his eyes, from wearing sandals and carrying an umbrella, from sensual desire, from wrath, from covetousness, from dancing, and from vocal and instrumental music; from gaming, from disputes, from detraction, and from falsehood, from embracing or wantonly looking at women, and from disservice to other men. Let him sleep constantly alone." Next are forbidden several acts of sensual impurity which are too gross to be described; and the holy text thus again proceeds; "Let him carry water-pots, flowers, cow-dung, fresh earth and cusa grass, as much as may be useful to his preceptor. Having brought logs of wood from a distance, let him place them in the open air; and with them let him make an oblation to fire, without remissness, both evening and morning. Let the scholar, when commanded by his preceptor, and even when he has received no command, always exert himself in reading. Let not the sun ever rise or set while he lies asleep in the village."*

The duration of the period of study is very indefinite. "The discipline of a student in the three Vedas may be continued for thirty-six years, in the house of his preceptor; or for half that time, or for a quarter of it, or until he perfectly comprehend them: A student, whose rules have not been violated, may assume the order of a married man, after he has read in succession a sac'ha, or branch, from each of the three Vedas, or from two or from any one of them." † It is even permitted to pass the whole period of life in the state of a pupil; and to this merit so exalted is ascribed, that the very highest rewards of religion are bestowed upon it. "If a student anxiously desire to pass his whole life in the house of a sacerdotal teacher, he must serve him with assiduous care, till he be released from his mortal frame. That Brahmen who has dutifully attended his preceptor till the dissolution of his body, passes directly to the eternal mansion of God." ‡ Should the teacher die, the student must attend upon his widow, his son, or one of his paternal kinsmen, with the same respect as to the deceased preceptor. Should none of these be living he occupies the seat of the preceptor himself. §

* Institutes of Menu, ch. ii. 175 to 183, 186, 191, 219.

† Ibid. iii. 1.

‡ Ibid. ii. 243, 244.

§ Ib. 247, 248. The following modes of living are pointed out to the Brahmen; 1. lawful gleaning and gathering; 2. what is given unasked; 3. what is asked as alms; 4. tillage; 5. traffic and money lending: even by these two last, when distressed, he may live; but service for hire is named dog-living, which he must always avoid, iv. 4, 5. 6. His hair, nails, and beard being clipped; his passions subdued; his mantle white; his body pure; let him diligently occupy himself in reading the Veda. Let him carry a staff of Venu, an ewer with water in it, an handful of cusa grass, or a copy of the Veda; with a pair of bright golden rings in his ears. He must

Chap. VII.

Period of the House-keeper, or state of marriage.

To the state of the student succeeds that of the married man, or the house-keeper. It is at this epoch that the Hindu begins to sustain a part as the member of society.

Marriage is a religious duty; and a duty of the highest order. Except for some grand plan of devotion, as that of remaining a student, or of becoming a fakeer, no man neglects at an early age to fulfil this sacred obligation. As the sacrament of obsequies to the manes of ancestors can be performed only by a male descendant, and as any failure in these obsequies deeply affects the spirits of the dead, to die without a son is regarded as one of the greatest of all calamities.*

not gaze on the sun, whether rising or setting, or eclipsed, or reflected in water, or advanced to the middle of the sky. Over a string to which a calf is tied, let him not step; nor let him run while it rains; nor let him look on his own image in water: this is a settled rule. By a mound of earth, by a cow, by an idol, by a Brahmen, by a pot of clarified butter or of honey, by a place where four ways meet, and by large trees well known in the district, let him pass with his right hand toward them, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39.

Let him neither eat with his wife, nor look at her eating, nor sneezing, or yawning, or sitting carelessly at her ease, 43.

Some precepts are ludicrous. "Let him not eat his food, wearing only a single cloth, nor let him bathe quite naked; nor let him eject urine or feces in the highway, nor on ashes, nor where kine are grazing, nor on tilled ground, nor in water, nor on wood raised for burning, nor, *unless he be in great need*, on a mountain, nor on the ruins of a temple, nor at any time on a nest of white ants, nor in ditches with living creatures in them, nor walking, nor standing, nor on the bank of a river, nor on the summit of a mountain: nor let him ever eject them, looking at *things moved by* the wind, or at fire, or at a priest, or at the sun, or at water, or at cattle: But let him void his excrements, having covered the earth with wood, pot-herbs, *dry* leaves and grass, or the like, carefully suppressing his utterance, wrapping up his breast and his head: By day let him void them with his face to the north; by night, with his face to the south; at sunrise and sunset, in the same manner as by day; In the shade or darkness, whether by day or by night, let a Brahmen ease nature with his face turned as he pleases; and in places where he fears injury to life *from wild beasts or from reptiles*," 45 to 51.

"Let not a man, desirous to enjoy long life, stand upon hair, nor upon ashes, bones, or pot-sherds, nor upon seeds of cotton, nor upon husks of grain," 78.

An infinite number of things relative to food are to be attended to, 207 to 225.

* A man is nevertheless forbidden to marry before his elder brother. Ibid. 172. But if among several brothers of the whole blood, one have a son born, Menu pronounces them all fathers of a male child, by means of that son. Ibid. 182. There is a singular importance attached to the having of a son: "By a son a man obtains victory over all people; by a son's son he enjoys immortality; and afterwards by the son of that grandson he reaches the solar abode." Ibid. 137. Kinsmen, as among the Jews, were allowed to raise up seed to one another. Not only was a widow, left without children, permitted to conceive by a kinsman of her husband; but even before his death, if he was supposed to be attacked by an incurable disease. Ibid. ix. 59, 162, 164. A

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The ceremonies of marriage, entirely religious, have been already described. Marriages are distinguished into eight kinds; of which one half are honourable, and differ from one another only in some minute circumstances; in the fifth the bridegroom bestows gifts upon the bride, her father, and paternal kinsmen; the last three are rather species of unlawful connexion, than forms of nuptial contract; one being voluntary and by mutual consent; the other forcible, when a woman is seized, "while she weeps, and calls for assistance, after her kinsmen and friends have been slain in battle;" the last, the fruit of brutal artifice, "when the damsel is sleeping, or flushed with strong liquor, or disordered in her intellect." * With the grand rule to prevent the intermixture of the castes, the reader is already acquainted. "For the first marriage of the twice-born classes," says the law of Menu, "a woman of the same class is recommended; but for such as are impelled by inclination to marry again, women in the direct order of the classes are to be preferred: a Sudra woman only must be the wife of a Sudra; she and a Vaisya of a Vaisya; they two and a Cshatriya, of a Cshatriya; those two and a Brahmani, of a Brahmen." † The Hindu law-givers, who commonly mistake minuteness for precision, and are apt to be most particular where it is least required, give rules for the choice of a wife. "In connecting a man's self with a wife, let him," says Menu, "studiously avoid the ten following families, be they ever so great, or ever so rich in kine, goats, sheep, gold, and grain: The family which has omitted prescribed acts of religion; that which has produced no male children; that in which the Veda has not been read; that which has thick hair on the body; and those which have been subject to hemorrhoids, to phthisis, to dyspepsia, to epilepsy, to leprosy, and to elephantiasis. Let him not marry a girl with reddish hair, nor with any deformed limb; nor one troubled with habitual sickness; nor one either with no hair, or too much; nor one immoderately talkative; nor one with inflamed eyes; nor one with the name of a constellation, of a tree, or of a river, of a barbarous nation or of a mountain, of a winged creature, a snake, or a slave; nor with any name raising an image of terror. Let him choose for his wife a girl, whose

daughter, too, when a man had no sons, might be appointed for the same purpose. Ibid. 127. In Egypt, in the same manner, a widow left without children cohabited with the brother of the deceased. Recherches Philosoph. sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, i. 70.

* Institutes of Menu, ch. iii. 27 to 34. The detestable crimes implied in the last two cases must have been very frequent to make them be distinguished formally in books of sacred law as two species of marriage.

† Ibid. 12, 13.

form has no defect; who has an agreeable name; who walks gracefully like a phenicopteros, or like a young elephant; whose hair and teeth are moderate respectively in quantity and in size; whose body has exquisite softness."*

Condition of the women.

The condition of the women is one of the most remarkable circumstances in the manners of nations, and one of the most decisive criterions of the stage of society at which they have arrived. Among rude people, the women are generally degraded; among civilized people, they are exalted.† In the barbarian, the passion of sex is a brutal impulse, which infuses no tenderness; and his undisciplined nature leads him to abuse his power over every creature that is weaker than himself. The history of uncultivated nations uniformly represents the women as in a state of abject slavery, from which they slowly emerge, as civilization advances. Among some of the negro tribes on the coast of Africa, the wife is never permitted to receive any thing from the hands of her husband, or even to appear in his presence, except on her knees.‡ In the empire of Congo, where the people are sufficiently advanced to be united in a large community; and in most of the nations which inhabit the southern regions of Africa, the women are reckoned unworthy to eat with the men.§ In such a state of society property is an advantage which it may naturally be supposed that the degraded sex are by no means permitted to enjoy. Not only among the African and other savage tribes, and the Tartars of the present day, but among the ancient inhabitants of Chaldea and Arabia, and all the nations of Europe in their former uncivilized stage, the women were excluded from the inheritance of the family.|| Being condemned to severe and perpetual labour, they are themselves regarded as useful property. Hence, a father parts not with his daughter but for a valuable consideration; hence the general custom, among barbarous nations, of purchasing the bride by a dower; as in Pegu, in Siberia, among the Tartars, among the negroes on the coast of Guinea, among the Arabs, and even among the Chinese.** It is only in that improved state of property and security,

* Institutes of Menu, ch. iii. 6 to 10.

† This important subject is amply and philosophically illustrated by Professor Millar, in his Inquiry into the Distinction of Ranks, ch. i.

‡ Histoire Generale des Voyages, tom. v. liv. x. ch. iii.

§ Ibid. tom. vi. liv. xiii. ch. iii. sect. 2, and tom. iv. liv. vii. ch. xiii. sect. 1.

|| See Inquiry into the Distinction of Ranks, ch. i. sect. 1. They were admitted to inheritance among the Jews plainly as a novelty, and an institution unknown to their neighbours. Numbers, ch. xxvii.

** See the authorities quoted by Millar, Distinction of Ranks, ch. i. sect. 1; and Goguet, Origin of Laws, i. 25, 26.

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when the necessities of life have ceased to create perpetual solicitude, and when a large share of attention may be given to its pleasures; that the women, from their influence on those pleasures, begin to be an object of regard. In proportion as society refines upon its enjoyments, and in proportion as it advances into that state of civilization, in which various corporeal qualities become equal or superior in value to corporeal strength, and in which the qualities of the mind are ranked above the qualities of the body, the condition of the weaker sex is gradually improved, till they associate at last on equal terms with the men, and fill the place of voluntary and useful copartners.

A state of dependance more strict and humiliating than that which is ordained for the weaker sex among the Hindus cannot easily be conceived. "Day and night," says Menu, "must women be held by their protectors in a state of dependance.* Who are meant by their protectors is immediately explained: "Their fathers protect them in childhood; their husbands protect them in youth, their sons protect them in age: a woman," it is added, "is never fit for independence. Let husbands consider this as the supreme law, ordained for all classes; and let them, how weak soever, diligently keep their wives under lawful restrictions."† "By a girl, or by a young woman, or by a woman advanced in years, nothing," says the same code, "must be done, even in her own dwelling-place, according to her mere pleasure. In childhood must a female be dependant on her father; in youth, on her husband; her lord being dead, on her sons: a woman must never seek independance."‡ The deference which is exacted towards her husband is without limits. "Though inobservant of approved usages, or enamoured of another woman, or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must constantly be revered as a god by a virtuous wife. No sacrifice is allowed to women apart from their husbands, no religious rite, no fasting: as far only as a wife honours her lord, so far she is exalted in heaven."§ "She who neglects her lord, though addicted to gaming, fond of spirituous liquors, or diseased, must be deserted for three months, and deprived of her ornaments and household furniture."|| To every species of ill usage, she is bound to submit; "neither by sale nor desertion," says the ordinance of Menu, "can a wife be released from her husband: thus we fully acknowledge the law enacted of old by the lord of creatures."** This is a remarkable law; for it indicates the power of the husband to sell his wife for a slave, and by consequence proves, that her condition, while in his house, was not regarded as very different from slavery. A law is even made to

* Institutes of Menu, ch. ix. 2.
† Ibid. 3, 6.
‡ Ibid. v. 147, 148.
§ Ibid. 154, 155.
|| Ibid. ix. 78.
** Ibid. 46.

direct the mode in which she is to be beaten; "A wife, a son, a servant, a pupil, and a younger whole brother, may be corrected, when they commit faults, with a rope, or the small shoot of a cane; but on the back part only of their bodies, and not on a noble part by any means."*

Nothing can exceed the habitual contempt which the Hindus entertain for their women. Hardly are they ever mentioned in their laws, or other books, but as wretches of the most base and vicious inclinations, on whose nature no virtuous or useful qualities can be engrafted. "Their husbands," says the sacred code, "should be diligently careful in guarding them; though they well know the disposition with which the lord of creation formed them: Menu allotted to such women a love of their bed, of their seat, and of ornament, impure appetites, wrath, weak flexibility, desire of mischief, and bad conduct." † "Be there no place, be there no time, be there no one to tempt them," says the Hetopadesa, "then, O Narada, doth women's chastity appear. Women at all times have been inconstant, even among the celestials, we are told. In infancy the father should guard her, in youth her husband should guard her, and in old age her children should guard her; for at no time is a woman proper to be trusted with liberty." ‡ The same author declares again; "Unto woman no man is to be found disagreeable, no man agreeable. They may be compared to a heifer on the plain, that still longeth for fresh grass. Infidelity, violence, deceit, envy, extreme avariciousness, a total want of good qualities, with impurity, are the innate faults of womankind." §

* Institutes of Menu, ch. viii. 299, 300. Beating their wives is a common discipline. See Buchanan's Journey, i. 247, 249.

† Ib. ix. 16, 17. ‡ Wilkins' Hetopadesa, p. 54.

§ Ibid. p. 78. In Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws, the character of women is depicted in terms which, were they not strong evidence to an important point, delicacy would forbid to be transcribed: "A woman," says the law, "is never no more than fire is satisfied with burning fuel, or the main ocean with receiving the rivers, or the empire of death with the dying of men and animals: in these cases therefore a woman is not to be relied on." (Gentoo Code, ch. xx.) "Women have six qualities; the first an inordinate desire for jewels and fine furniture, handsome clothes, and nice victuals; the second, immoderate lust; the third, violent anger; the fourth, deep resentment; the fifth, another person's good appears evil in their eyes; the sixth, they commit bad actions." (Ibid.) Six faults are likewise ascribed to women, in the Institutes of Menu, but they are differently stated; "Drinking spiritous liquors, associating with evil persons, absence from her husband, rambling abroad, unseasonable sleep, and dwelling in the house of another, are six faults which bring infamy on a married woman. Such women examine not beauty, nor pay attention to age; whether their lover be handsome or ugly, they think it enough that he is a man, and pursue their pleasures. Through their passion

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They are held, accordingly, in extreme degradation. They are not accounted worthy to partake of religious rites but in conjunction with their husbands.* They are entirely excluded from the sacred books; "Women have no business with the texts of the Veda; thus is the law fully settled: having, therefore, no evidence of law, and no knowledge of expiatory texts, sinful women must be as foul as falsehood itself. To this effect many texts, which may show their true disposition, are chanted in the Vedas."† Their incapacity of evidence in law, asserted in this text, is illustrated by a passage in the Gentoo code, where their incompetence to bear witness is expressly declared." "A minor," says the law, "one single person, a woman, a man of bad principles, &c. may not be witnesses."‡ We have already seen, as in the most barbarous nations, that the women among the Hindus are excluded from sharing in the paternal property. § They are, by system, deprived of education. || That remarkable proof of barbarity which we found among some of the rudest tribes, where the wife is unworthy to eat with her husband, prevails in Hindustan.**

for men, their mutable temper, their want of settled affection, and their perverse nature (let them be guarded in this world ever so well,) they soon become alienated from their husbands." Institutes of Menu, ch. ix. 13, 14, 15.

* See Institutes of Menu, quoted in note §, p. 294.

† Institutes of Menu, ch. ix. 18, 19.

‡ Halhed's Gentoo code, ch. iii. sect. 8.

§ See ch. iv. p. 148; Menu, ch. iv. 43.

|| The Hindu women, says Mr. Forster, (Travels, i. 59) are debarred the use of letters. The Hindus hold the invariable language, that acquired accomplishments are not necessary to the domestic classes of the female sex.

** "The husband and wife never eat together; for the Indians consider it as indecent, and contrary to that respect which is due to the former." Bartolomeo's Travels, book i. ch. 7. Sonnerat says, "The women are ugly, slovenly, and disgusting. The husband does not permit them to eat with him. They are honourable slaves, for whom some regard is entertained." Voy. liv. iii. ch. i. "So indelicate are the men with respect to the women," says Mr. Motte, speaking of the province of Sumbhulpoor, "that I have been introduced and obliged to show respect to a man of consequence in the morning, whose wife has in the afternoon brought a load of wood of her own cutting, as much as she could stagger under, and sold it me for a penny." Motte's Journey to Orissa, Asiatic Annual Register, i. 76. In another part of the same Journey, p. 67, Mr. Motte says, "I was first struck with the sight of women ploughing, while their female children drove the oxen; but this is the practice through the whole mountainous country, while the men, strolling through the forests with a spear and hatchet, plunder every thing they can master. This abuse of the fair sex is characteristic of a barbarous people."

The Hindus are quite accustomed to beat their wives. Buchanan, Travels in Mysore, &c. i. 247, 249. Women in Karnata carry out the dung to the fields, in baskets on their heads. Ibid. 135, 42. The Abbé Dubois describes the following, as the common, the standard condition of

An almost unlimited power of rejection or divorce appears to be reserved to the husband. In the code of Gentoo laws, among various other ordinances to the same purpose, it is declared that, "a woman who dissipates or spoils her own property, or who procures abortion, or who has an intention to murder her husband, and is always quarrelling with every body, and who eats before her husband eats, such women shall be turned out of the house." * On grounds like these, a man can never be without a pretence for dismissing his wife. But on the other hand we have seen that no species of barbarous treatment, not even desertion and sale, ever absolve the woman from her obligations to her lord. †

conjugal life: "the young wife, beaten by her husband, and harassed by her mother-in-law, who treats her as a slave, finding no remedy for ill usage but in flying to her father's house—recalled by fair promises of kinder treatment—the word broken—recourse had to the same remedy—but at last the children which she brings into the world, and other circumstances, compelling her to do her best, by remaining in her husband's house, with the show of being contented with her lot. . . . The object for which a Hindu marries is not to gain a companion to aid him in enduring the evils of life, but a slave to bear children, and be subservient to his rule." Description, &c. of the People of India, p. 145.

* Halhed's Gentoo code, ch. xx.

† See above, p. 294. Even after the death of her husband, if she did not sacrifice herself to his manes, she was held inviolably bound to his memory; and, besides other penances and mortifications of the severest kind, was expressly forbidden to accept of a second husband. Institutes of Menu, ch. v. 157, 158, 162, 163. The same mark of bondage and inferiority was imposed on the Athenian women during the barbarous times of Greece. Goguet, Origin of Laws, ii. 59. Mr. Richardson, who is one of the most nervous in assertion, and the most feeble in proof, of all oriental enthusiasts, maintains that the women enjoyed high consideration among the Arabians and Persians, nay among the very Tartars; so generally was civilization diffused in Asia. In proof, he tells us that the Arabian women "had a right by the laws to the enjoyment of independent property, by inheritance, by gift, by marriage settlement, or by any other mode of acquisition." The evidence he adduces of these rights is three Arabian words; which signify *a marriage portion, paraphernalia in the disposal of the wife, a marriage settlement.* (See Richardson's Dissertations on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern nations, pp. 198, 331, 479.) But surely a language may possess three words, of the signification which he assigns, and yet the women of the people who use it be in a state of melancholy degradation. In the times of Homer, though a wife was actually purchased from her father, still the father gave with her a dower. Iliad. lib. ix. ver. 147, 148. If the Tartars carry their women with them in their wars, and even consult them, "the north American tribes," says Mr. Millar, "are often accustomed to admit their women into their public councils, and even to allow them the privilege of being first called to give their opinion upon every subject of deliberation. . . . Yet," as he adds immediately after, "there is no country in the world where the female sex are in general more neglected and despised." See Distinction of Ranks, ch. i. sect. 2. From insulated expressions, or facts, no general conclusion can safely be drawn.

That polygamy was an established custom of the Hindus, we learn from various documents, and among others from the following story, which at the same time conveys no flattering idea of their domestic gentleness:—" In the city of Devee-kotta, there was a Brahman, whose name was Deva-Sarma. One lucky evening he found a curious dish, which he took with him into a potter's warehouse full of earthen-ware, and throwing himself upon a bed which happened to be there, it being night, he began to express his thoughts upon the occasion in this manner:—If I dispose of this dish, I shall get ten kapardakas (cowries) for it; and with that sum I may purchase many pots and pans, the sale of which will increase my capital so much that I shall be able to lay in a large stock of cloth and the like; which having disposed of at a great advance, I shall have accumulated a fortune of a lack of money. With this I will marry four wives; and of these I will amuse myself with her who may prove the handsomest. This will create jealousy; so when the rival wives shall be quarrelling, then will I, overwhelmed with anger, hurl my stick at them thus! Saying which he flung his walking-stick out of his hand with such force, that he not only broke his curious dish, but destroyed many of the pots and pans in the shop."*

The Hindus were notwithstanding so far advanced in civilization, except in the mountainous and most barbarous tracts of the country, as to have improved in some degree upon the manners of savage tribes. They have some general precepts, recommending indulgence and humanity in favour of the weaker sex. " Married women," says the law of Menu, " must be honoured and adorned by their fathers and brethren, by their husbands, and by the brethren of their husbands, if they seek abundant prosperity. Where female relations are made miserable, the family of him, who makes them so, very soon wholly perishes."† When particulars indeed are explained, the indulgences recommended are not very extensive. It is added, " Let those women, therefore, be continually supplied with ornaments, apparel, and food, at festivals, and at jubilees, by men desirous of wealth."‡ When it is commanded by law, as an extraordinary extension of liberality, to give them ornaments, and even apparel and food, at festivals and jubilees; this is rather a proof of habitual degradation than of general respect and tenderness. The idea, however, of purchasing a wife, as a slave, from her relations, had become odious; and though it is stated as one of the eight species of nuptial contract, it is classed among the dishonourable

* Wilkins' Hetopadesa, p. 248. † Institutes of Menu, ch. iii. 55, 57. ‡ Ib. 59.

species, and forbidden.* Yet the necessity of such a law indicates a state of society but one remove exalted above that in which the unhappy bride is purchased and sold. It is a state which various other documents clearly imply. The customary, and original purchasing gift, the bull and the cow, still remained; but it had acquired a religious character, and was at last commanded to pass by another name. "Some say," observes the law of Menu, "that the bull and cow given in the nuptial ceremony of the Rishis, are a bribe to the father; but this is untrue: a bribe indeed, whether large or small, is an actual sale of the daughter."† There are texts, however, which directly recognize the transaction as a purchase: "He who takes to wife," it is said, "a damsel of full age, shall not give a nuptial present to her father; since the father lost his dominion over her, by detaining her at a time when she might have been a parent."‡ The obligation of the marriage contract is stated in the Institutes of Menu, under the head of purchase and sale; and it is expressly said, "If, after one damsel has been shown, another be offered to the bridegroom, who had purchased leave to marry her from her next kinsman, he may become the husband of both for the same price: this law Menu ordained."§ The same undoubtedly is the purport of the following sacred text: "The recitation of holy texts, and the sacrifice ordained by the lord of creatures, are used in marriages for the sake of procuring good fortune to brides; but the first gift by the husband is the primary cause of marital dominion."‖ It is to be observed, besides, that

* "Let no father who knows the law receive a gratuity, however small, for giving his daughter in marriage; since the man who through avarice takes a gratuity for that purpose, is a seller of his offspring." Ibid. 51.

† Institutes of Menu, ch. iii. 53.

‡ Ibid. ch. ix. 93.

§ Institutes of Menu, ch. viii. 204. Our travellers find direct and avowed purchase still in practice in many parts of India. See Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, &c. i. 247, 249. "To marry, or to buy a wife, are synonymous terms in this country. Almost every parent makes his daughter an article of traffic. This practice of purchasing the young women whom they are to marry, is the inexhaustible source of disputes and litigation, particularly amongst the poorer people. These, after the marriage is solemnized, not finding it convenient to pay the stipulated sum, the father-in-law commences an action," &c. Description, &c. of the Hindus, by the Abbé Dubois, p. 137. "Apud plerasque tamen gentes dotem maritus uxori, non uxor marito offerebat. Ista sane consuetudo viguit inter Germanos, teste Tacito (*de Mor. Germ.* cap. 18)—Assyrios, teste Æliano, (*Hist. Var.* iv. 1)—Babylonios, teste Herodot. (i. 196)—et Armenios, ceu patet ex *Nou.* xxi. Heineccii Antiquit. Roman. lib. ii. tit. viii. sect. 2.

‖ Ibid. ch. v. 152. The commentator Culluca, after the words *first gift*, by his usual plan, of trying to graft the ideas of a recent period, improved a little by external intercourse, upon the original text, has foisted in the words, *or troth plighted*, as if that was a gift, or, as if, had that

BOOK II. the women have no choice in their own destiny; but are absolutely at the disposal of their fathers, till three years after the nuptial age. If, previous to that period, the father have not performed what is reckoned one of his most sacred duties, which is to place his daughter in a situation to become a parent, he forfeits, through his sin, the dominion over her, and she may choose a husband for herself.*

It has been doubted whether immuring the women was an original part of Hindu manners, or adopted in consequence of the intercourse and dominion of the Mahomedans. But they have been found in a state of seclusion and confinement where Mahomedan influence never reached.† The practice moreover is fully recognized in the ancient writings. We are told in the Bhagavat, that, on the day of the yug of Judishter, "the women who, buried in harams, were seldom permitted to see the sun, came out, on that day, to view rajah Judishter."‡ The monarch who forms the hero in the drama entitled Sacontala had many wives, and they are represented as residing in the *secret* apartments of the palace.§ The whole spirit of the Hindu maxims lead to confinement: there are numerous precepts which respect the guarding of women: and the punishment for vitiating those who are not guarded is always less than the punishment for vitiating those that are.|| Among these proofs of confinement are also appearances of freedom. The law of seclusion is made only for the few. Among the jealous Ottomans themselves, the great body of the community must leave their women at large, because an indigent man can neither dispense with the

been meant, the legislator would not have rather said *troth plighted*, than *first gift*." See what I have observed on the interpolating practices of Culluca, p. 205.

* Institutes of Menu, ch. ix. 88, 90, 93.

† Mr. Forster declares himself to have been at one time of opinion, that the Hindoos had secluded their women from the public view that they might not be exposed to the intemperance of the Mahometan conquerors; but after perceiving, says he, the usage adopted among the sequestered mountaineers, and also amongst the various independent Mahrattah states, I am induced to think that the exclusion of women from society prevailed in India before the period of the Afgan, or Tartar invasions. Forster's Travels, i. 310.

‡ See a translation of part of the Bhagavat by Mr. Halhed, in Maurice's Hist. of Hindostan, ii. 438.

§ See Sacontala in Sir William Jones's Works, vi. The rajah of Beejanuggur's harem was kept so close, that not even the nearest relations of the women received in it were ever again permitted to see them. Ferishta's Deccan, by Scott, i. 83. Nor is this mentioned as any thing unusual.

|| Institutes of Menu, ch. viii. 374 to 385.

useful services of his wife, nor afford the cost of retaining her in confinement. In the earlier and ruder states of society, when men are in general poor, very few are able to afford the expense of confinement; but among the Hindus, as in general among the nations of Asia, since their emerging from the rudest barbarism, it seems to have been the practice for every man, who possessed sufficient means, to keep his women guarded, in a state of seclusion.

On the coast of Malabar, where the manners differ considerably from those of the rest of the Hindus, and where the people have not reached a state of society altogether so perfect as that in some other parts of Hindustan, it would appear that the institution of marriage has never been regularly introduced. The peculiar mode in which the intercourse of the sexes is here carried on has not yet been satisfactorily explained to us, and from the differences which appear in the accounts of different authors it probably exhibits considerable variety; but in its general character it is pretty evidently a relict of the period in which there is no law for the association of the sexes, in which their intercourse is casual and the father of the offspring by consequence uncertain, when the children of necessity belong to the mother. The nearest male relations of the female, her father being in this case unknown, are her brothers; who, never having children whom they can recognize as their own, naturally contract an affection for those of their sister whom they support, and with whom they live; by consequence regard them as in some measure their own; and vest them with the property which they leave at their death. In the family of a Nair there is no wife; all the brothers and sisters live under the same roof; their mother, the only known parent, during her life, and after her death the eldest sister, manage the domestic affairs; the sisters associate with whatever men they choose, subject only to the sacred restriction of associating with none of a class inferior to themselves; the children are by the brothers regarded as their own, and inherit the property of the family.* This is the exact description of a people among whom the institution of marriage is unknown, and the order into which things must fall, wherever the intercourse of the sexes is entirely casual. The Nairs, however, are said to have added a kind of refinement to this established

* Such is the account which Dr. Buchanan received from a number of the most respectable Nairs themselves, whom he assembled for the purpose of inquiring into their manners. See his Journey through Mysore, &c. ii. 411, 412. It was a practice, the continuance of which was highly convenient for the Brahmens, whose power among the inhabitants of that coast was peculiarly great. Ibid. 425. See also Mr. Thackeray's Report, Fifth Report of the Committee on India Affairs, 1810, p. 802.

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custom. They contract a marriage with a particular woman. But this is entirely nominal. The woman never leaves her mother's house; she cohabits with whom she chooses; her children belong to her brothers; and the arrangement of society is the same as if no such marriage existed. If it really takes place, and the absurdity of the thing may support a suspicion of some mistake in our informants, it must be the effect of imitation, and of the reproaches which this people have sustained from other nations. These circumstances moved them to contrive a semblance of a marriage, though not in the least degree to alter the established system of manners, to which it adheres as a useless excrescence. The Nairs are only one of the castes; and there appears to be some diversity in the mode of intercourse between the sexes in the several castes. The fashion among the Nairs is the standard to which they all approach. Our information, however, of these diversities, even if they merited a fuller elucidation, is too imperfect for minute description.*

Grossness of language.

It is not surprising, that grossness in ideas and language, respecting the intercourse of the sexes, is a uniform concomitant of the degraded state of the women. Superficial contemplators have, in general, contented themselves with remarking, that it was a diversity of manners; or was the effect of a diversity of climate; and that what in one place was gross bore a different interpretation in another. Inquiry discovers, that grossness in this respect is a regular ingredient in the manners of a rude age; and that society, as it refines, deposits this among its other impurities. The ancient inhabitants of our own country were

* The reader will find some observations, but evidently incorrect, taken from an Arabian author, by Mr. Duncan, Asiat. Research. v. 12, 13, 14. Dr. Buchanan too makes some remarks, on the modes of the Brahmens, Journey, ut supra, ii. 425; and mentions certain diversities between the manners of the Nairs themselves in the south, and in the north of Malabar, Ibid. 513. See too Bartolomeo's Travels, book ii. ch. ii. and Anquetil Duperron, Zendavesta, Discours Preliminaire, p. cxcvi. Vestiges of the same order of affairs are very widely diffused. Cecrops first instituted marriage among the Greeks; Menes among the Egyptians. Among the Lycians, and even among the ancient inhabitants of Attica, children took their names from their mother, and not from their father. The domestic community of women among the Celtic inhabitants of Britain was a diversity, to which something very similar is said to exist among some of the castes on the coast of Malabar. "There is in the province of Madura," says the Abbé Dubois, p. 3, "a cast called the Totiyars, in which, brothers, uncles, and nephews, and other kindred, when married, enjoy the wives in common." Indications of the same state are preserved by the Roman lawyers. In the island of Formosa, where the women contract a marriage for any stipulated period, the husband, during the time of the contract, passes into the family of the wife; a custom, likewise, found among the people called Moxos in Peru. In the Ladrone islands the wife is mistress of the family, turns off the husband when she chooses, and retains the children

as indelicate as those of the hottest regions of Asia.* All European witnesses have been struck with the indelicacy of the Hindus. The gross emblems and practices of their religion are already known.† To the indecent passages in the books of law, and the practices which they describe, both exceedingly numerous, and exceedingly gross, we can here only allude.‡ Both the writings and conversation of the Hindus abound with passages, which are shocking to European ears. Even in the popular and moral work, entitled Hetopadesa, there are parts which Mr. Wilkins could not translate; and he thus expresses himself on this characteristic of the state of society among the Hindus: "The translator has carefully refined a great many indelicate expressions, which a Hindu lady, from grosser habits, might hear without a blush; and even omitted whole passages when that could not be effected but by a total change of the author's meaning."§ Chap. VII.

and property. In the ancient Median empire we are told that the women had several husbands; and the same is the case in some cantons of the Iroquois in North America. See the authorities quoted by Millar, Distinction of Ranks, ch. i. sect. 2. where this part of the subject is illustrated with the usual sagacity of that eminent author. See too Goguet's Origin of Laws, book i. ch. i. art. 1. We are told by Herodotus, that the Massagetæ had their women in common; and a man, when he desired to be private, hung up his quiver at the door of the waggon or travelling tent. Herodot. i. 216. A people in Africa, whom he calls Nasamones, were in like manner without the rite of marriage, and a staff stuck in the ground before the tent was the signal of retirement. Ibid. iv. 172. The reader will probably not be surprised to hear, that the tradition of the casual intercourse of the sexes was preserved among the Indians of Peru. "In short," (says Garcilasso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, book i. ch. vii.) "they were altogether savage," (meaning the inhabitants in their ancient state) "making use of their women as they accidentally met, understanding no property or single enjoyment of them."—A woman, not married to an individual, but common to all the brothers of a family, is described as the custom of Tibet. See Turner's Embassy.

* Dr. Henry, in his chapter on the manners of the Anglo-saxons, says, "It would be easy to produce many examples of rudeness and indelicacy, that were established by law, and practised, even in courts of justice, (if they were not unbecoming the purity that ought to be observed in history) which would hardly be believed in the present age." Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, iv. 344. He then quotes the following specimen in a note, Si mulier stuprata lege cum viro agere velit, et si vir factum pernegaverit, mulier, membro virili sinistrâ prehenso, et dextrâ reliquiis sanctorum impositâ, juret super illas, quod is, per vim, se isto membro vitiaverit. Leges Wallicæ, p. 85.

† The naked fakeers, who travel in pilgrimage about the country, and swarm around the principal temples, are very indecent. It is customary for the women to kiss, and as it were to adore, their secret, or rather, public parts.

‡ See the whole Section in Halhed's Gentoo Code, De digito in pudendum muliebre inserendo, or the various passages de concubitu virili, vel etiam concubitu bestiali.

§ Wilkins' Hetopadesa, note 82.

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Another Oriental scholar, as well as eye-witness of the manners he describes, affords us a passage which at once pourtrays this part of the Hindu character, and traces one of those remarkable resemblances, which run through the principal nations of Asia. "The Persian women," says Mr. Scott Waring, "like the Indian, are totally devoid of delicacy; their language is often gross and disgusting, nor do they feel more hesitation in expressing themselves before men, than they would before their female associates. Their terms of abuse or reproach are indelicate to the utmost degree. I will not disgust the reader by noticing any of them; but I may safely aver that it is not possible for language to express, or the imagination to conceive, more indecent or grosser images."*

Gentleness of the Hindus.

Much attention has been attracted to the gentleness of Hindu manners. This people possess a feminine softness both in their persons and in their address. As the inhabitants of Europe were rough and impetuous in their rude and early state, and grew mild only as they grew civilized, the gentleness of Hindu manners has usually impressed their European visitors, particularly the English, with high ideas of their progress in civilization. It is, perhaps, a natural ground of presumption; but fallacious if taken as a conclusive proof. One of the circumstances which distinguish the state of commencing civilization is, that it is compatible with great ferocity, as well as great gentleness of manners. Nothing is more common than examples of both. Mildness of address is not always separated even from the rudest condition of human life, as the Otaheitans, and some other of the South-Sea islanders, abundantly testify.† "The savages of North America are affectionate in their carriage, and in their conversations pay a mutual attention and regard, says Charlevoix, more tender and more engaging, than what we profess in the ceremonial of polished societies."‡

* A Tour to Sheeraz, by Edward Scott Waring, Esq. p. 62. He further says; "The same may be observed of all the inhabitants of India, nor will the plea, that the false delicacy of refinement, which disqualifies us from judging of the language of nature, exempt them from censure. If the nakedness of a prostitute be more disgusting than that of an Indian, it must be allowed that their language is infinitely chaster and more refined. There are certain images which must always create disgust and aversion; and although they are familiar in the East, it is by no means evident that they are the images of nature. There may be a refinement on grossness of vice as well as an excess of delicacy, and it does not follow that the one is natural, and the other unnatural." Ibid. See the Missionaries, Ward and Dubois, passim.

† Dr. Forster, in a note to Father Paulini's (Bartolomeo) Travels, remarks a great similarity, in many respects, between the manners of the Hindus and those of the Otaheitans.

‡ Ferguson's Essay on Civil Society, part ii. sect. 2. "The Russians" (says Mr. Forster, Travels, ii. 296) "observe to their superiors an extreme submission, and their deportment is blended with a

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The causes which seem to account for these effects are partly physical, and partly moral. Where the commodities of life, by a happy union of climate and soil, are abundant, gentleness of manners, as appears by the traditions respecting the golden or pastoral age, is by no means unnatural to men in the earliest period of improvement: The savage involved in a continual struggle with want, who sees himself and his children every day exposed to perish with hunger, is, by a sort of necessity, rapacious, harsh, unfeeling, and cruel. The species of polity under which the national character is formed is perhaps to a still greater degree the cause of the diversity which we now contemplate. Where the mind is free, and may vent its passions with little fear, the nation, while ignorant and rude, is also fierce and impetuous: Where slavery prevails, and any departure from the most perfect obsequiousness is sure to be followed with the most direful consequences, an insinuating and fawning behaviour is the interest, and thence becomes the habit, of the people.

Proneness to adulation.

With the same causes are connected other leading features in the character of the Hindus. They are remarkably prone, for example, to flattery; the most prevailing mode of address from the weak to the strong, while they are still ignorant and unreflecting.* The Hindus are full of dissimulation and falsehood,

suavity of address and language, which is not warranted by their appearance, or the opinions generally formed of them." The common people in Russia, says Lord Macartney (Account of Russia by Lord Macartney, in Barrow's Life of that Lord, ii. 30) "are handsome in their persons, easy and unaffected in their behaviour; and though free and manly in their carriage, are obedient and submissive to their superiors, and of a civility and politeness to their equals, which is scarcely to be paralleled." The following passage is from a work entitled "Travels into the Crimea, [and] a History of the Embassy from St. Petersburgh to Constantinople in 1793, by a Secretary of the Russian Embassy." "In the course of my rambles I have had frequent occasions of experiencing the politeness of the Turks, which proves to me that this nation is extremely well-disposed and inclined to oblige, and that the climate alone is the cause of the idleness and indifference with which they are reproached. The Turk, when offended, or provoked to jealousy, becomes terrible, and nothing but the blood of his adversary can calm the passion which transports him. During my excursions in the environs of Constantinople I was frequently a witness of the obliging and hospitable propensities of this people. The first Turk I applied to when I wanted directions in regard to the road I was to take, always offered himself as a guide, and with the same readiness presented to me a part of his food or refreshment." "The more the Turks are known, the more they are beloved for their cordiality, their frankness, and their excessive kindness to strangers. I am not afraid to assert, that, in many respects, they may serve as models to my countrymen." Pp. 201, 237.

* It would be easy to produce many testimonies to the universal propensity to adulation. Bernier, who speaks of it in the strongest terms, gives us the following amusing instance: "Un

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Falsehood and perjury.

the universal concomitants of oppression.* The vices of falsehood, indeed, they carry to a height almost unexampled, if we except their neighbours the Chinese, among the other races of men. Judicial perjury is more than common; it is almost universal. "Perjury," said Sir William Jones, to the Grand Jury at Calcutta, "seems to be committed by the meanest, and encouraged by some of the better sort among the Hindus and Mussulmans, with as little remorse, as if it were a proof of ingenuity, or even a merit."†—"I have many reasons to believe, and none to doubt, that affidavits of every imaginable fact may as easily be procured in the streets and markets of Calcutta, especially from the natives, as any other article of traffic."‡ Speaking of the forms of an oath among the Hindus, he says, "But such is the corrupt state even of their erroneous religion, that, if the most binding form on the consciences of men could be known and established, there would be few consciences to be bound by it."§

Pendet Brahmen que j'avois fait mettre au service de mon Agah, se voulut meler, en entrant, de faire son panegyrique; et, apres l'avoir comparé aux plus grands conquerans qui furent jamais, et lui avoir dit cent grossieres et impertinentes flatteries, concluoit enfin serieusement par celle-cy: Lorsque vous mettez le pied dans l'estrier, Seigneur, et que vous marchez à cheval avec votre cavalerie, la terre tremble sous vos pas, les huit elephans qui la supportent sur leurs tetes ne pouvant soutenir ce grand effort. Je ne pus me tenir de rire la dessus, et je tachois de dire serieusement à mon Agah, qui ne pouvoit aussi s'en tenir, qu'il seroit donc fort a-propos qu'il ne montat a cheval que fort rarement pour empescher les tremblemens de terre qui causent souvent de si grands malheurs; Aussi est-ce pour cela meme, me repondit-il sans hesiter, que je m'en fais ordinairement porter en paleky." Bernier, Suite des Memoires sur l'Empire de Grand Mogol, i. 12.

* For a strong testimony to the extent to which dissimulation pervades the Hindu character, see Orme, on the Government and People of Hindustan, p. 428. "L'Indien qui vit sous ce gouvernment en suit les impressions. Obligé de ramper il devient fourbe." Anquetil Duperron, Voy. aux Indes Orien. Zendav. i. ccclxii.

† Sir Wm. Jones's Charge to the Grand Jury at Calcutta, June 10, 1787.

‡ Id. June 10, 1785.

§ Id. 1787.—"La facilité que le peuple de l'Orient ónt à mentir," is given by P. Paulini, as the cause of the trial by ordeal, so common in Hindustan. Voyage aux Indes Orient. par le P. Paulini, (the French edition of Bartolomeo) ii. 103. Mr. Orme says, "The Gentoos are infamous for the want of generosity and gratitude in all the commerces of friendship; they are a tricking, deceitful people, in all their dealings." (On the Government and People of Hindustan, p. 434.)

Dr. Buchanan ridicules the expression of Sir William Jones, when he talks of the *simple* Pandits; a race whose chief characteristic is deceit and cunning. (As. Res. vi. 185.)

"'What is a Brahman,' I was one day asked, in a jocular way, by one of that cast with whom I was intimately acquainted: 'He is an ant's nest of lies and impostures.' It is not possible to describe them better in so few words. All Hindus are expert in disguising the truth; but there is nothing in which the cast of Brahmans so much surpasses them all as in the art of lying. It has taken

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Insensibility to the feelings of others.

I have not enumerated the religion of the Hindus as one among the causes of that gentleness, which has been remarked in their deportment. This religion has produced a practice, which has strongly engaged the curiosity of Europeans; a superstitious care of the life of the inferior animals. A Hindu lives in perpetual terror of killing even an insect; and hardly any crime can equal that of being unintentionally the cause of death to any of the more sacred animals. This feeble circumstance, however, is counteracted by so many gloomy and malignant principles, that their religion, instead of humanizing the character, must have had no inconsiderable effect in fostering that disposition to revenge, that insensibility to the sufferings of others, and often that active cruelty, which lurks under the smiling exterior of the Hindu. "Although the killing of an animal of the ox kind," says Buchanan, "is by all Hindus considered as a kind of murder, I know no creature whose sufferings equal those of the labouring cattle of Hindustan." * No other race of men are perhaps so little friendly, and beneficent to one another as the Hindus. "Dysenteries," says Dr. Tennant, speaking of the salt manufacturers, "are, at one season, peculiarly fatal. The unhappy victims of this disorder are avoided as infectious by their companions, and suffered to pine without receiving either that aid or consolation, which compassion usually pays to the wretched." † "The Bengalese," says another traveller, "will seldom assist each other, unless they happen to be friends or relations, and then the service that they render only consists in carrying the sufferer to the water of the Ganges, to let him die there, or be carried away by the stream." ‡ Le Couteur remarks, that

so deep a root among them, that so far from blushing when detected in it, many of them make it their boast." Dubois, p. 177. On their propensity to adulation, see the same author, p. 178. On the fraud and perjury of the Hindus, consult Ward, ut supra, Introd. lix and xciii.

* Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, &c. i. 167.

† Indian Recreations, ii. 329.

‡ Stavorinus' Voyage, 1768 to 1771; Wilcock's Translation, London, 1798, p. 153. Dr. Tennant explains more fully, that only species of assistance which, according to Stavorinus, a Hindu receives even from his relations. "When a sick person's life is despaired of, he is carried by his relations to the bank of the river; and there, exposed to the storm, or the intense heat of the sun, he is permitted, or rather forced, to resign his breath. His mouth, nose, and ears, are closely stopped with the mud of the river; large vessels of water are kept pouring upon him; and it is amidst the agonies of disease, and the convulsive struggles of suffocation, that the miserable Hindoo bids adieu to his relations, and to his present existence." (Indian Recreations, i. 108.) Describing the apathy with which, during a famine, the Hindus beheld one another perishing of hunger, Stavorinus says, "In the town of Chinsurah itself, a poor sick Bengalese, who had laid himself down in the street, without any assistance being offered to him by any body, was attacked in the night by the jackals, and though he had strength enough to cry out for help, no one would leave his own

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"men accustomed from their infancy to abstain from every kind of cruelty towards brutes, ought naturally to be humane and benevolent towards their own species: And this would infallibly be the case, if the same religion had not hardened the hearts of the superior casts; for they hold those that are born their inferiors, as beings below even the most worthless animals: they take away the life of a man with less scruple than we kill a fowl. To strike a cow would be sacrilege; but a Bramin may put a man to death when he lists." *

Inhospitality.

It commonly happens that in a rude period of society, the virtue of hospitality, generously and cordially displayed, helps to cast into the shade the viler passions which adhere to man in his uncultivated state. The unhappy circumstances, religious and political, of the Hindu, have eradicated even this, the virtue of a rude age, from his breast. The Hindus are notorious for the want of hospitality. After noticing, in various parts of his journey, the striking instances of this which he witnessed, Dr. Buchanan says in one passage, "I mention these difficulties, which are very frequently met with by travellers in all parts of India where Europeans have not long resided, to show the inhospitable nature of its inhabitants." For one of his sepoys, who was seized with an acute disease, and left in agony by the side of the road, he could not, except by force, in a large village, obtain a cot, though he was assured there was one in every house.†

Cruelty and ferocity.

The ancient literature of the Hindus affords many proofs that no inconsiderable degree of ferocity has at all times been mingled with the other ingredients of

abode to deliver the poor wretch, who was found in the morning half-devoured and dead." Stavorinus, ut supra, p. 153. It is highly worthy of attention, that the same inhumanity, hard-heartedness, and the greatest insensibility to the feelings of others, is described, as the character of the Chinese. (See Barrow's China, p. 164.)

* Le Couteur's Letters from India, London, 1790, p. 320. When the exactions of government press hard, Dr. Tennant says, "the ryuts, (husbandmen) driven to despair, are forced to take up robbery for a subsistence; and when once accustomed to this wandering and irregular life, it becomes ever after impossible to reclaim them to industry, or to any sense of moral duty. We had yesterday a melancholy example of the daring profligacy of which they are capable: An officer who rode out only a mile beyond the piquets, was attacked by a party of five horsemen; in the midst of a friendly conversation, one stabbed him in the breast with a spear, which brought him to the ground; then the others robbed him of his watch, his horse, and every article of his cloathing. In this naked state he arrived at the piquet, covered with blood; and had he not been able to walk thus far, he must have fared worse than the man who, 'between Jerusalem and Jericho fell among thieves,' since here there is no one 'good Samaritan' to pity the unfortunate." (Indian Recreations, ii. 375.)

† Buchanan, ut supra, i. 53; ii. 201, 202; iii. 300. Destitute persons, or persons in a famine, become the property of those who feed them. (Tennant's Ind. Recr. i. 131.)

their character. The Yadavas, a sacred race, the kindred of Crishna, in a drunken fray, took arms, and butchered one another, to the utter extinction of the race.* One of the most remarkable stories in the celebrated book, called *Hetopadesa*, is that of a man who cut off his wife's nose, because she would not speak to him.† The performance of that great religious ceremony, called a Jug, is so prevailing as to extort from the divinity whatever boon the true performer demands. The following law makes provision against the most cool, intense, and persevering malignity of which human nature appears to be susceptible. "If a man performs a jugg to procure the death of any innocent person, the magistrate shall fine him 200 puns of cowries."‡ If the gentleness, too, of the punishment, about ten shillings, § be a sign, the indignation, which so atrocious a purpose excites, is far from remarkable. That murder, by the most odious means, by poison, is looked upon in the same venial light, the following law bears equal testimony: "If a man, to procure the death of any innocent person, by any contrivance, causes him to drink a potion, or otherwise meditates his death, the magistrate shall fine him 200 puns of cowries." || The cool reflection which attends the villainy of the Hindu, has often surprised the European. Mr. Holwell informs us, that, when he sat as a judge at Calcutta, he had often heard the most atrocious murders avowed and defended by the criminals, on the ground of its being now the Cali age, when men are destined to be wicked.**

CHAP. VII.

Timidity.

Notwithstanding the degree to which the furious passions enter into the character of the Hindu, all witnesses agree in representing him as a timid being.

* See a celebrated passage of the Mahabarat, translated by Mr. Halhed, in Maurice's Indian Hist. ii. 468.

† Wilkins' Hetopadesa, p. 131.

‡ Gentoo Code, ch. xxi. sect. 10.

§ Grant on the Hindus, p. 54. Printed by order of the House of Commons, 1812.

|| Gentoo Code, ch. xxi. sect. 10. A very intelligent servant of the East India Company, speaking of the Hindus in a situation where they had hardly ever been exposed to the influence of strangers, Sumbhulpoor, says, "The men are low in stature, but well-made, lazy, treacherous, and cruel. But to these ill qualities of the tiger, the Almighty has also, in his mercy, added the cowardice of that animal; for had they an insensibility of danger, equal to their inclination for mischief, the rest of mankind would unite to hunt them down." (Motte's Journey to Orissa, Asiat. An. Reg. i. 76.) "Pestilence or beasts of prey," says Dr. Buchanan, "are gentle in comparison with Hindu robbers, who, in order to discover concealed property, put to the torture all those who fall into their hands." (Travels through Mysore, &c. iii. 206.)

** Remarquez que les tems les plus superstitieux ont toujours été ceux des plus horribles crimes. (Voltaire, Diction. Philos. Article Superstition.)

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With more apparent capacity of supporting pain than any other race of men; and, on many occasions, a superiority to the fear of death which cannot be surpassed, this people run from danger with more trepidation and eagerness than has been almost ever witnessed in any other part of the globe. *

Litigiousness.

It is the mixture of this fearfulness, with their antisocial passions, which has given existence to that litigiousness of character which almost all witnesses have ascribed to this ancient race. As often as courage fails them in seeking a more daring gratification to their hatred or revenge, their malignity finds a vent in the channel of litigation. "That pusillanimity and sensibility of spirit," says Mr. Orme, "which renders the Gentoos incapable of supporting the contentions of danger, disposes them as much to prosecute litigious contests. No people are of more inveterate and steady resentments in civil disputes. The only instance in which they seem to have a contempt for money, is their profusion of it in procuring the redress and revenge of injuries at the bar of justice. Although they can, with great resignation, see themselves plundered to the utmost by their superiors, they become mad with impatience, when they think themselves defrauded of any part of their property by their equals. Nothing can be more adapted to the feminine spirit of a Gentoo, than the animosities of a lawsuit." †

Proneness to foul language.

A modification of the same passions gives rise to another, and seemingly a strong ingredient in the Hindu character, a propensity to the war of contentious tongues. The following picture, if not finely, is at least clearly drawn. "The timidity of the Hindoo may, in general, prevent his fighting, boxing, or shedding

* La lacheté accompagne ordinairement la mollesse. Aussi l'Indien est-il foible et timide. (Anquetil Duperron, Voyage aux Indes Orien. Zendav. p. cxvii.) This timidity admits of degrees. It is in its greatest perfection in Bengal. In the upper provinces, both the corporeal and the mental frame are more hardy. Those of the race who are habituated to the dangers of war acquire, of course, more or less of insensibility to them. Still the feature is not only real, but prominent.

† Orme, on the Government and People of Indostan, p. 443.—In the committee of the House of Commons, 1781, on the petition of John Touchet, &c., Charles W. Boughton Rouse, Esq. testified that "there cannot be a race of men upon earth more litigious and clamorous than the inhabitants of Dacca." Mr. Park takes notice of the passion of the negroes in Africa, for lawsuits, and adds: "If I may judge from their harangues, which I frequently attended, I believe that in the forensic qualifications of procrastination and cavil, and the arts of confounding and perplexing a cause, they are not always surpassed by the ablest pleaders in Europe." Park's Travels in Africa, p. 20. Dr. Robertson was sadly mistaken, when he considered the litigious subtlety of the Hindus as a sign of high civilization. See Robertson's Historic. Disq. concerning India, p. 217. Travellers have remarked that no where is this subtlety carried higher than among the wildest of the Irish.

of blood; but it by no means restrains him from scolding and upbraiding his neighbours. In this respect they are the most litigious and quarrelsome of all men. Have two persons a misunderstanding? Let them meet in the street; and they will upbraid each other for an hour together, with every foul epithet of abuse which their imagination can suggest, or their language supply. A few natives engaged in one of these bickerings display a furious gesticulation; a volubility of words, and coarseness of expression, which leave the eloquence of Billingsgate far behind."*

Physical form.

The physical temperament of the Hindus, while the effect of some of the circumstances which have operated to the formation of their minds, has reflected a strong influence on their character. Their make is slender and delicate. Their shapes are, in general, fine. The female form, in particular, is represented as often attaining in India its most exquisite proportions; and "their skins," says Mr. Orme, speaking of the Hindu women, "are of a polish and softness beyond that of all their rivals on the globe." The muscular strength, however, of the Hindus, is small; even less, according to the same accurate observer, than the appearance of their bodies, though expressive of weakness, would lead the spectator to infer. Their stature is in general considerably below the European standard; though such inferiority is more remarkable in the south, and diminishes as you advance toward the north.†

* Tennant's Indian Recreations, i. 123. The following character drawn by a missionary, a man who knew them well, unites most of the particulars which I have hitherto described of the character of this remarkable people. Les Indous sont agiles, adroits, d'un caractere doux, d'un esprit penetrant; ils aiment les phrases et les locutions pittoresques; ils parlent avec elegance, font de longs discours, se decident, dans leurs affaires, avec une lenteur extrême, examinent attentivement, et conçoivent avec facilité; ils sont modestes dans leurs discours, inconstans dans leurs paroles, faciles a promettre et difficiles à tenir leurs promesses, importuns dans leurs demandes, et ingrats après qu'ils les ont obtenu; humble et soumis quand ils craignent, orgueilleux et hautains quand ils sont les plus forts; paisibles et dissimulés quand ils ne peuvent se venger, implacables et vindicatifs des que l'occasion s'en presente. J'ai vu beaucoup de familles se ruiner par des procés devant les tribunaux, seulement par esprit de vengeance." (Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par le P. Paulini, i. 293.) "Their utmost feuds," says Fryer, "are determined by the dint of the tongue; to scold lustily, and to pull one another's puckeries or turbats off, being proverbially termed a banyan fight. Nevertheless they are implacable till a secret and sure revenge fall upon their adversary, either by maliciously plotting against their life, by clancular dealings; or estate, by unlawful and unjust extortions." (Fryer's Travels, let. iii. ch. iii.)

† Orme, on the Effeminacy of the Inhabitants of Indostan, p. 461 to 465. Stavorinus' Voyages, p. 407. There is however considerable variety, as in the stature, so in the strength of the Hindus; and the one, as might be expected, follows the other. The following is a striking and important

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The extreme simplicity and lightness of the aliments used by the Hindu, and the smallness of his consumption, must, undoubtedly, have been among the causes of the lightness and feebleness observable in his frame. His food consists almost wholly of rice; and his drink is nothing but water: while his demands are satisfied with a pittance which appears extreme to the people of almost every other part of the world. The prohibition, by the Hindu religion, of the use of the flesh of animals for food, has been sufficiently remarked. It is not such as to have produced by any means a total abstinence, but the quantity consumed is, no doubt, small. The great luxury of the Hindu is butter, prepared in a manner peculiar to himself, and called by him, ghee.*

But though the body of the Hindu is feeble, it is agile in an extraordinary degree. Not only in those surprising contortions and feats, which constitute the art of the tumbler, do they excel almost all the nations in the world; but even in running and marching they equal if not surpass people of the most robust constitutions. "Their messengers will go fifty miles a day, for twenty or thirty days without intermission." Their infantry, if totally unincumbered with burthens, which they could by no means support, will march faster, and with less weariness, than European.†

Acuteness in the organs of sense.

The delicacy of their texture is accompanied with great acuteness and sensibility in all their organs of sense. This not only gives them great advantages in some of the finest of the manual arts, as weaving, for example, where the pliant fingers and exquisite touch of the Hindu are so peculiarly adapted to the handling of the finest threads; but it communicates a remarkable susceptibility

fact: "In Indostan, the common people of all sorts are a diminutive race, in comparison with those of higher casts and better fortunes; and yield still more to them in all the advantages of physiognomy. There is not a handsomer race in the universe, than the Banians of Guzerat: the Haramcores, whose business is to remove all kinds of filth; and the buryers and burners of dead bodies are as remarkably ugly." Orme, ut supra, p. 463. There cannot be a more convincing proof, that a state of extreme oppression, even of stunted subsistence, has at all times been the wretched lot of the labouring classes in Hindustan.

* Orme, on the Government and People of Indostan, p. 470. Forster's Travels, i. 40. The demand of the American tribes for food was very like that of the Hindus, in point of quantity. Robertson's Hist. of America, ii. 63. The contrivances of the American Indians for food were far more ingenious, and productive of more variety, than those of the Hindus. Ibid. p. 118. It would appear from Sacontala, that anciently much scruple was not used in eating flesh. Madhavya, complaining of the hardships he sustained in the hunting party of the king, says, "Are we hungry? We must greedily devour lean venison, and that commonly roasted to a stick."

† Orme, on the Effem. of the Inhab. of Indostan, ubi supra.

to the mental organs. The Hindu is a sort of a sensitive plant. His imagination and passions are all ready to take the start upon the slightest excitement; and he has a sharpness and quickness of intellect which seems strongly connected with the sensibility of his outward frame.

Love of repose.

Another remarkable circumstance in the character of the Hindus; in part, too, no doubt, the effect of corporeal weakness, though an effect in some sort opposite to that excitability which we have just remarked, is the inertness of disposition, with which all men have been so forcibly struck in observing the conduct of this peculiar race. The love of repose reigns in India with more powerful sway, than in any other region probably of the globe. "It is more happy to be seated than to walk; it is more happy to sleep than to be awake; but the happiest of all is death." Such is one of the favourite sayings most frequently in the mouths of this listless tribe; and most descriptive of their habitual propensities. Phlegmatic indolence pervades the nation. Few pains, to the mind of a Hindu, are equal to that of bodily exertion; the pleasure must be intense which he prefers to that of its total cessation.*

Its cause.

This listless apathy and corporeal weakness which so remarkably distinguish the natives of Hindustan, have been ascribed to the climate under which they live. But other nations, subject to the influence of as warm a sun, are neither indolent nor weak; the Malays for example, the Arabians, the Chinese.† The savage is listless and indolent under every climate. In general, this disposition must every where have arisen from the absence of the motives to work; because the pain of moderate labour is so very gentle, that even feeble pleasures suffice to overcome it; and the pleasures which spring from the fruits of labour are so many and great, that the prospect of them, where allowed to operate, can seldom

* Tennant's Indian Recreations, i. 15, 55, 102, 215. Forster's Travels, i. 193. "L'Indien est naturellement doux, mais d'une douceur de nonchalance et de paresse." Anq. Duperron, Zendavesta, Disc. Prelim. p. cxvii.

† The Birmans, robust and active, form a striking contrast with the feeble indolence of the Hindus. Vide Syme's Embassy to Ava. "Having witnessed," says Mr. Forster, "the robust activity of the people of this country (Northern Persia) and Afghanistan, I am induced to think, that the human body may sustain the most laborious services, without the aid of animal food. The Afghan, whose sole aliment is bread, curdled milk and water, inhabiting a climate which often produces in one day, extreme heat and cold, shall undergo as much fatigue, and exert as much strength, as the porter of London, who copiously feeds on flesh-meat, and ale; nor is he subject to the like acute and obstinate disorders. It is a well known fact, that the Arabs of the shore of the Red Sea, who live, with little exception, on dates and lemons, carry burthens of such an extraordinary weight, that its specific mention to an European ear would seem romance." Forster's Travels, ii. 142, 143.

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fail to produce the exertions which they require. There is a state of barbarity and rudeness which implies, perhaps, a weakness of mind too great to be capable of perceiving, with a clearness sufficient to operate upon the will, the benefits of labour. This, however, is a state beyond which the Hindus have long since passed; and there is but one cause to which among the Hindus the absence of the motives for labour can be ascribed; their subjection to a wretched government, under which the fruits of labour were never secure.*

Amusements.

The languid and slothful habits of the Hindu appear to have prescribed even his amusements and diversions. They are almost all of the sedentary and inactive kind. The game of paucheess, which bears a resemblance to chess and draughts, and is played by two natives, reclining on their sides, with a small chequered carpet placed between them, is the favourite amusement of this indolent race. Wonderful is the patience and interest with which, we are told, they watch and plan the evolutions of this languid game.† The mind in vacuity droops and pines; even where the body is the most gratified by repose: and in the rude state of society, when interesting objects seldom occur, the passion for play is a general resource. The Hindus, accordingly, appear to have been at all times deeply infected with the vices of gaming. In that celebrated poem, the Mahabarat, Judishter, though celebrated as a model of kingly wisdom, and his four brothers, all eminent men, are represented as losing their fortunes, and their

* There is a curious passage, quoted by Volney, (Travels in Syria, ch. xl.) from Hippocrates, in his Treatise de Aere, Locis, et Aquis. "As to the effeminacy and indolence of the Asiatics, says the ancient, if they are less warlike and more gentle in their manners than the Europeans, no doubt the nature of their climate, more temperate than ours, contributes greatly to this difference. But we must not forget their governments, which are all despotic, and subject every thing to the arbitrary will of their kings. Men who are not permitted the enjoyment of their natural rights, but whose passions are perpetually under the guidance of their masters, will never be found courageous in battle. To them the risks and advantages of war are by no means equal. But let them combat in their own cause, and reap the reward of their victory, or feel the shame of their defeat, they will no longer be deficient in courage." Volney remarks that the sluggishness and apathy visible among the Hindus, negroes, &c. is approached, if not equalled, by what is witnessed in Russia, Poland, Hungary, &c. Ibid. "The lower classes of people in India, says Dr. Buchanan, are like children; and except in the more considerable places, where they meet with uncommon encouragement to industry from Europeans, are generally in such a state of apathy, that, without the orders of government, they will hardly do any thing." Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, &c. i. 270. "If we contemplate a savage nation in any part of the globe, a supine indolence and a carelessness of futurity, will be found to constitute their general character." Gibbon, i. 356.

† Tennant's Indian Recreations, i. 367.

very kingdoms, at dice. The laws, as usual, are ambiguous and contradictory. All gaming is pronounced unlawful; yet, according to the Gentoo Code, parties may game before an agent of the magistrate, to whom in that case a half of the winnings belongs.*

A fondness for those surprising feats of bodily agility and dexterity which form the arts of the tumbler and the juggler, is a marked feature in the character of the Hindu. It is a passive enjoyment which corresponds with the passiveness of his temper; and it seems in general to be adapted to the taste of all men in a state of society resembling his own. Our Saxon ancestors were much addicted to this species of amusement; and their tumblers and jugglers had arrived at great proficiency.† The passion of the Chinese for these diversions is known to be excessive, and the powers of their performers, almost incredible.‡ This was one of the favourite entertainments of the ancient Mexicans; and their surprising dexterity and skill seem hardly to have yielded to that of the Hindus and Chinese themselves. Clavigero concludes a minute and interesting account of the astonishing feats of the Mexican performers, by remarking, that "the first Spaniards, who were witnesses of these and other exhibitions of the Mexicans, were so much astonished at their agility, that they suspected some supernatural power assisted them, forgetting to make a due allowance for the progress of the human genius when assisted by application and labour."§

A taste for buffoonery is very generally a part of the character of a rude people; as appears by the buffoons, who, under the name of fools, were entertained by our Gothic ancestors in the courts of princes and the palaces of the great. Among the Hindus, this source of amusement was an object of so much importance, as to become the subject of legislative enactment. "The magistrate," says the Gentoo code, "shall retain in his service a great number of buffoons or parasites, jesters, and dancers, and athletics."||

Story-telling, which entirely harmonizes with the Hindu tone of mind, is said

* Gentoo code, chap. i. sect. 1. "So relaxed are the principles even of the richer natives, that actions have been brought by an opulent Hindu for money advanced solely to support a common gaming-house, in the profits of which he had a considerable share; and the transaction was avowed by him with as much confidence, as if it had been perfectly justifiable by our laws and his own." Charge to the Grand Jury of Calcutta, Dec. 4, 1788. Gaming is remarked as a strong characteristic of the Chinese. See Barrow's Life of Lord Macartney, ii. 415. Travels in China, p. 157. It is a remarkable passion among the Malays. See Marsden's Sumatra.

† Turner's Hist. of the Anglo Saxons, book viii. ch. vii.

‡ See Barrow, and other travellers. Bell's Travels, ii. 30.

§ Clavigero, Hist. of Mexico, book vii. sect. 46.

|| Gentoo Code, p. 118.

to be a favourite diversion.* The recitations of the bards, with which the people of Europe were formerly so much delighted, afforded an entertainment of the same description. The stories of the Hindus consist of the wildest fictions; and as almost all their written narratives are in verse, their spoken stories, it is probable, like the effusions of the bards, contained occasionally more or less of the measure and elevation of verse.† Music and dancing form a part of their entertainments; the latter, however, they enjoy as spectators chiefly, not performers.

Notwithstanding the indolence and inactivity of the Hindus, hunting, which is in general so favourite a sport of man in his uncivilized state, is capable of calling forth their most strenuous exertions. The different classes seem not only to forget their habitual languor and timidity, but their still more inveterate prejudices of caste, and join together in pursuing the tenants of the woods and mountains with an ardour, enterprise, and patience which no other people can surpass.‡

Avarice.

It is curious that avarice, which seems but little consistent with sloth, or that insecurity with regard to property which so bad a government as theirs implies, forms a more remarkable ingredient in the national character of the Hindus, than in that of any other people. It is a passion congenial to a weak and timid mind, unwarmed by the social affections. They are almost universally penurious;§ and where placed in situations in which their insatiable desire of gain can meet with its gratification, it is not easy to surpass their keenness and assiduity in the arts of accumulation.|| "Slavery," says Mr. Orme, "has sharp-

* Tennant's Indian Recreations, i. 367.

† Story-telling is a common amusement among the negroes of Africa. "These stories," says Mr. Park, bear some resemblance to those in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments; but, in general, are of a more ludicrous cast." Park's Travels in Africa, p. 31.

‡ Tennant's Indian Recreations, i. 367, and other travellers. Hunting, which delights other men chiefly in their ignorant and uncivilized state, seems to delight kings in all states.

§ Dr. Buchanan, who bears strong testimony to the prevalence of this disposition among the Hindus, says, the Nairs are a sort of an exception. He ascribes this peculiarity to the peculiar form given among them to the association of the sexes. Journey through Mysore, &c. ii. 411.

|| The following acute observation of Helvetius goes far to account for it. "Ce que j'observe, c'est qu'il est des pays ou le desir d'immenses richesses devient raisonnable. Ce sont ceux ou les taxes sont arbitraires, et par consequent les possessions incertaines, ou les renversemens de fortune sont frequens; ou, comme en Orient, le prince peut impunément s'emparer des proprietés de ses sujets.—Dans ce pays, si l'on desire les tresors de Ambouleasant, c'est que toujours exposé à les perdre, on espere au moins tirer des debris d'une grande fortune de quoi subsister soi et sa famille. Par tout ou la loi sans force ne peut proteger le foible contre le puissant, on peut regarder l'opulence comme un moyen de se soustraire aux injustices, aux vexations du fort, au mepris enfin,

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ened the natural fineness of all the spirits of Asia. From the difficulty of obtaining, and the greater difficulty of preserving, the Gentoos are indefatigable in business, and masters of the most exquisite dissimulation in all affairs of interest. They are the acutest buyers and sellers in the world, and preserve through all their bargains a degree of calmness, which baffles all the arts that can be opposed against it."* The avaricious disposition of the Hindus is deeply stamped in their maxims of prudence and morality. Thus, they say; "From poverty a man cometh to shame. Alas! the want of riches is the foundation of every misfortune.—It is better to dwell in a forest haunted by tigers and lions, than to live amongst relations after the loss of wealth."†

Mode of transacting bargains.

The mode of transacting bargains among the Hindus is sufficiently peculiar to deserve description. By a refinement of the cunning and deceitful temper of a rude people, the business is performed secretly, and by signs. The buyer and seller seat themselves opposite to one another, and, covering their hands with a cloth, perform all the most subtle artifices of chaffering, without uttering a word, by means of certain touches and signals of the fingers which they mutually understand.‡

Simplicity and scantiness in the furniture of their houses.

The simplicity of the houses, dress, and furniture of the Hindus corresponds with that of their diet. "The Indian houses," says Sonnerat, "display nothing of oriental magnificence."§ Those of the poor, even in towns, are built of mud,

compagnon de la foiblesse. On desire donc une grande fortune comme une protectrice et un bouclier contre les oppresseurs." De l'Homme, sect. viii. chap. v.

* Orme, on the Government and People of Indostan, p. 431.—"L'Indien qui vit sous ce gouvernement en suit les impressions. Obligé de ramper, il devient fourbe. * * Il se permet l'usure et la fraude dans le commerce." Anquet. Duperron, Zendavesta, Disc. Prelim. p. cxvii.—"The chief pleasure of the Gentiles or Banyans is to cheat one another, conceiving therein the highest felicity." Fryer's Travels, let. iii. chap. iii.

† Wilkins' Hetopadesa, p. 63. The last of these maxims is not less expressive of that want of generosity, which is so strong a feature of the Hindu character. In the ethics, however, of the Hindus, as well as their jurisprudence and theology, contradiction is endless. In the same page with the foregoing is the following maxim; "He who, in opposition to his own happiness, delighteth in the accumulation of riches, carrieth burthens for others, and is the vehicle of trouble." Ibid.

‡ Tennant's Indian Recreations, ii. 232. Lord's Banyan Religion, chap. xii. The same or a similar mode of transacting bargains is followed in Persia. Chardin, Voyage en Perse, iii. 122. "The merchants, besides being frequently very dexterous in the addition and subtraction of large sums by memory, have a singular method of numeration, by putting their hands into each other's sleeve, and there, touching one another with this or that finger, or with such a particular joint of it, will transact affairs of the greatest value, without speaking to one another, or letting the standers by into the secret." Shaw's Travels in Barbary, p. 267.

§ Sonnerat, Voyages, liv. iii. chap. i.

BOOK II. sometimes of brick, and thatched. "Brahmens and religious people plaster the pavement, and sometimes the walls, with cow-dung; and although this act proceeds from a spirit of religion, yet it is of use in keeping out insects."* The furniture, which is almost nothing in the houses of the poor, is in the highest degree scanty and simple even in those of the rich. Mats or carpets for the floor, on which they are accustomed both to sit and to lie, with a few earthen and other vessels for the preparation of their victuals and for their religious ceremonies, form the inventory in general of their household goods.†

Physical nastiness.

From the frequency and care with which the Hindus perform religious ablutions, the Europeans, prone from partial appearances to draw flattering conclusions, painted them at first, as in the colours of so many other virtues, so likewise in those of cleanliness. Few nations are surpassed by the Hindus, in the total want of cleanliness, in their streets, houses, and persons. Mr. Forster, whose long residence in India, and knowledge of the country, render him an excellent witness, says, of the narrow streets of Benares; "In addition to the pernicious effect which must proceed from a confined atmosphere, there is, in the hot season, an intolerable stench arising from the many pieces of stagnated water dispersed in different quarters of the town. The filth also which is indiscriminately thrown into the streets, and there left exposed, (for the Hindus possess but a small portion of general cleanliness) add to the compound of ill smells so offensive to the European inhabitants of this city."‡ Dr. Buchanan informs us, that "the earthen pots in which the Hindus boil their milk, are in general so nasty, that after this operation no part of the produce of the dairy is tolerable to Europeans, and whatever they use their own servants must prepare."§ "The Hindoo,"

* Sonnerat, Ibid.; Fryer's Travels, let. iv. chap. 6.

† P. Paulini, Voy. Indes Orient. liv. i. ch. 7. Fryer, who represents the houses of the Moors, or Mussulmen, at Surat, as not deficient even in a sort of magnificence, says, humorously, that "the Banyans" (Hindu merchants, often extremely rich) "for the most part live in humble cells or sheds, crowding three or four families together into an hovel, with goats, cows, and calves, all chamber fellows, that they are almost poisoned with vermin and nastiness; so stupid, that, notwithstanding chints, fleas, and musketoes, torment them every minute, dare not presume to scratch when it itches, lest some relation should be untenanted from its miserable abode." Fryer's Travels, let. iii. chap. i.

‡ Forster's Travels, i. 32. Of Lucknow too, he remarks, the streets are narrow, uneven, and almost choaked up with every species of filth. Ibid. p. 82. Speaking of Serinagur, he says, "The streets are choaked with the filth of the inhabitants, who are proverbially unclean." Ibid. See to the same purpose, Rennel's Description of an Indian Town, Memoir, p. 58.

§ Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, &c. ii. 14. He remarks, too, iii. 341, that the unwholesomeness of the water in many places is, "in part, to be attributed to the common nastiness of the

says Mr. Scott Waring, "who bathes constantly in the Ganges, and whose heart equals in purity the whiteness of his vest, will allow this same white robe to drop nearly off with filth before he thinks of changing it. Histories, composed in the closet, of the manners of extensive nations may possess every beauty; for as *facts* do not restrain the imagination, nor impose rules on poetic license, the fancy of the historian enjoys an uninterrupted range in the regions of fiction."*

Great importance attached to the forms and ceremonies of behaviour.

To a superficial view, it appears surprising that overstrained sentiments in regard to the ceremonial of behaviour are a mark of the uncivilized state of the human mind. The period when men have but just emerged from barbarism, and have made the first feeble steps in improvement, is the period at which formalities in the intercourse of social life are the most remarkably multiplied, at which the importance attached to them is the greatest, and at which the nice observance of them is the most rigidly exacted. In modern Europe, as manners have refined, and knowledge improved, we have thrown off the punctilious ceremonies which constituted the fine breeding of our ancestors; and adopted more and more of simplicity in the forms of intercourse. Among the inhabitants of Hindustan, the formalities of behaviour are multiplied to excess; and the most important bonds of society are hardly objects of greater reverence.† Some of

Hindus, who wash their clothes, bodies, and cattle, in the very tanks or wells from which they take their own drink; and, wherever the water is scanty, it becomes from this cause extremely disgusting to a European."

* Tour to Sheeraz, by Ed. Scott Waring, p. 59, note.—"Their nastiness," says Dr. Buchanan, "is disgusting; very few of the inhabitants above the Ghats being free from the itch; and their linen, being almost always dyed, is seldom washed." Travels through Mysore, &c. i. 135.—See, too, Capt. Hardwicke, Asiat. Res. vi. 330. The authors of the Universal History describe with pure and picturesque simplicity one pretty remarkable custom of the Hindus. "The women scruple no more than the men to do their occasions in the public streets or highways: for which purpose at sun-rise and sun-set, they go out in droves to some dead wall, if in the city; and in case any pass by in the interim, they turn their bare backsides on them, but hide their faces. When they have done their business, they wash their parts with the left hand, because they eat with the right. The men, who exonerate apart from the women, squat like them when they make water. Although their food is nothing but vegetables concocted with fair water, yet they leave such a stink behind them, that it is but ill taking the air, either in the streets, or without the towns, near the rivers and ditches." vi. 265. Yet these authors, with the same breath, assure us that the Hindus are a cleanly people, because, and this is their sole reason, they wash before and after meals, and leave no hair on their bodies. Ibid. See to the same purpose, Fryer's Travels, let. iv. chap. vi.

† See a curious description of the excess to which the minute frivolities of behaviour are carried both among the Moors and Hindus, by Mr. Orme, on the Government and People of Indostan, pp. 425 and 431. See, also, Laws of Menu, ch. ii. 120 to 139.

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their rules breathe that spirit of benevolence, and of respect for the weak, which begins to show itself partially at an early period of society, and still wants much of its proper strength at a late one. The distinctions of giving way on the road are thus marked in the Gentoo code; a man with sight, to a man blind; a man with hearing to a man deaf; a man to a woman; a man empty-handed to a man with a burthen; an inferior person to a superior; a man in health to a sick person; and all persons to a Brahmen.* Not a few of their rules bear curious testimony to the unpolished state of society at the time when they received their birth. "If a man," says one of their laws, "having accepted another's invitation, doth not eat at his house, then he shall be obliged to make good all the expense that was incurred in consequence of the invitation."† When a Hindu gives an entertainment, he seats himself in the place of greatest distinction; and all the most delicate and costly of the viands are placed before him. The company sit according to their quality, the inferior sort at the greatest distance from the master; each eating of those dishes only which are placed before him, and they continually decreasing in fineness, as they approach the place of the lowest of the guests.‡

Astrology.

The attachment which the Hindus, in common with all ignorant nations, bear to astrology, is a part of their manners exerting a strong influence upon the train of their actions. "The Hindus of the present age," says a partial observer, "do not undertake any affair of consequence without consulting their astrologers, who are always Brahmens."§ The belief of witchcraft and sorcery continues universally prevalent; and is every day the cause of the greatest enormities. It not unfrequently happens that Brahmens, tried for murder before the English judges, assign as their motive to the crime, that the murdered individual had

* Gentoo Code, ch. xxi. sect. 10. † Ibid. ‡ Tennant's Indian Recreations, i. 254.

§ Wilkins' Hetopadesa, note, p. 269. The unceremonious Fryer says, the principal science of the Brahmen is magic and astrology. Travels, let. iv. chap. vi. Of the astonishing degree to which the Indians of all descriptions are devoted to astrology, see a lively description by Bernier, Suite des Memoires sur l'Empire de Grand Mogol, i. 12 à 14. "Les rois, et les seigneurs," says he, "qui n'entreprendroient la moindre chose qu'ils n'eussent consultez les astrologues, leur donnent de grands appointments pour lire ce qui est ecrit dans le ciel." Ibid. "The savages," says Mallet, (Introd. to the Hist. of Denmark, i. ch. i.) "whom the Danes have found on the coast of Greenland, live with great union and tranquillity. They are neither quarrelsome, nor mischievous, nor warlike; being greatly afraid of those that are. Theft, blows, and murder, are almost unknown to them. They are chaste before marriage, and love their children tenderly. Their simplicity hath not been able to preserve them from having priests, who pass among them for enchanters; and are in truth very great and dexterous cheats."

enchanted them. No fewer than five unhappy persons in one district were tried and executed for witchcraft, so late as the year 1792. The villagers themselves assume the right of sitting in judgment on this imaginary offence; and their sole instruments of proof are the most wretched of all incantations. Branches of the Saul tree, for example, one for each of the suspected individuals, inscribed with her name, are planted in water. If any of them withers within a certain time, the devoted female, whose name it bears, suffers death as a witch.*

Appendix to the preceding Chapter.

Moral character of the Hindus.

In regard to the moral character of the Hindus, sources of information have recently been opened, to which more than usual attention is due.

In the year 1801, the Governor General in Council of Bengal addressed a number of interrogatories, to the judges of circuit, and the judges of districts, with a view to ascertain some of the more important circumstances in the situation of the people placed under the British authority. Of these interrogatories one related expressly to the moral character of the people. The answers returned by the judges to this interrogatory were printed by order of the House of Commons, in the year 1813; and compose a curious and authentic document.

Charles Grant, Esq., who, after passing a great part of his life in India, has ascended to the highest rank among those intrusted with the management of the Company's affairs, addressed to the Court of Directors in 1797, a treatise amounting to the size of a considerable volume, entitled "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals; and on the means of improving it." This treatise was also printed by order of the House of Commons in 1813; and though written for a particular purpose, namely, to prove the expediency of propagating Christianity in India, conveys very decisive information from a very authentic source.

In the year 1815 was published a work in two volumes, entitled "Considerations on the present Political State of India; embracing observations on the character of the natives, on the civil and criminal courts, the administration of justice, the state of the land-tenure, the condition of the peasantry, and the internal police of our eastern dominions; intended chiefly as a manual of instruction in their duties, for the younger servants of the company: By Alexander

* See an account of this shocking part of the manners of the Hindus in the Asiat. An. Regist. for 1801, Miscellaneous Tracts, p. 91.

Fraser Tytler, late assistant-judge in the twenty-four pergunnahs, Bengal establishment." From no one individual, perhaps, have the British people, as yet, received a mass of information, respecting their interests in India, equal in value to that which has been communicated to them by this young and public-spirited judge, in whom, if an opinion may be formed from this specimen, not only his country, but human kind have sustained a loss. In this work, a striking picture is exhibited of Indian morals.

Of the answers returned by the judges to the interrogatory of government, two or three, on the excuse of ignorance, give no opinion; and one describes the morals of the people, in the district to which it alludes, as far better than the morals of those in some other districts. In all the rest, without one exception, the report presented is exceedingly unfavourable. The judges of the Calcutta court of appeal and circuit declare, "From the frequent instances that come before us, of duplicity, fraud, ingratitude and falsehood, we consider the moral character of the natives depraved to a degree." The magistrates of the twenty-four pergunnahs say, "We are sorry that we cannot make any favourable report respecting the moral character of the inhabitants of the districts subject to our jurisdiction. The lower classes are in general profligate and depraved: The moral duties are little attended to by the higher ones. All are litigious in the extreme; and the crime of perjury was never, we believe, more frequently practised amongst all ranks than at present." The magistrate of the city of Dacca replies, "The inhabitants of Bengal, in general, have that excessive feebleness of mind, which, far from resisting, appears to foster the baser passions, and in the criminal indulgence of which every moral principle seems to be forgotten." The magistrate of Backergunge declares, "The general moral character of the inhabitants of this district is at the lowest pitch of infamy; and very few exceptions, indeed, to this character are to be found. There is no species of fraud or villany the higher classes will not be guilty of; and to these crimes, in the lower classes, may be added murder, robbery, theft, wounding, &c., on the slightest occasion." The judges of the Moorshedabad court of appeal and circuit affirm, "The general moral character of the inhabitants of our division seems, in our opinion, much the same as we have always known the moral character of the natives in general. Ignorance; and its concomitant, gross superstition; an implicit faith in the efficacy of prayers, charms, and magic; selfishness, low cunning, litigiousness, avarice, revenge, disregard to truth, and indolence, are the principal features to be traced." The magistrate of Juanpore says, "I have observed, among the inhabitants of this country, some possessed of abilities qualified to

rise to eminence in other countries; but a moral, virtuous man, I have never met with among them."

The following are a few of the expressions in which Mr. Grant delivers his opinion of the moral character of the Hindus. "The writer of this paper, after spending many years in India, and a considerable portion of them in the interior of our provinces, inhabited almost entirely by natives, towards whom, whilst acknowledging his views of their general character, he always lived in habits of good will, is obliged to avow that they exhibit human nature in a very degraded, humiliating state; and are, at once, objects of disesteem, and of commiseration." Mr. Grant acknowledges that his observations relate chiefly to the Bengalese, who "rank low" even as compared with the other natives. But "*they* want truth, honesty, and good faith, in an extreme, of which European society furnishes no example." "The practice of cheating, pilfering, tricking, and imposing, in the ordinary transactions of life, are so common, that the Hindus seem to regard them as they do natural evils." "Menial servants, who have been long in place, and have even evinced a real attachment to their masters, are nevertheless in the habitual practice of pilfering from them." "Selfishness, in a word, unrestrained by principle, operates universally; and money, the grand instrument of selfish gratifications, may be called the supreme idol of the Hindus." "The tendency of that abandoned selfishness is to set every man's hand against every man. From violence, however, fear interposes to restrain them. The people, of the lower provinces in particular, with an exception of the military caste, are as dastardly as they are unprincipled. They seek their end by mean artifices, low cunning, intrigue, falsehood, servility, and hypocritical obsequiousness. To superiors they appear full of reverence, of humble and willing submission, and readiness to do every thing that may be required of them; and as long as they discern something either to expect or to fear, they are wonderfully patient of slights, neglects, and injuries. But, under all this apparent passiveness, and meanness of temper, they are immoveably persisting in their secret views. With inferiors, they indemnify themselves by an indulgence of the feelings which were controuled before. In the inferior class, the native character appears with less disguise. Discord, hatred, abuse, slanders, injuries, complaints, and litigations, prevail to a surprising degree. No stranger can sit down among them without being struck with the temper of malevolent contention and animosity, as a prominent feature in the character of the society. It is seen in every village. The inhabitants live among each other in a sort of repulsive state. Nay, it enters into almost every family. Seldom is there a household

Book II. without its internal divisions, and lasting enmities, most commonly too on the score of interest. The women partake of this spirit of discord. Held in slavish subjection by the men, they rise in furious passions against each other; which vent themselves in such loud, virulent, and indecent railings, as are hardly to be heard in any other part of the world. Though the Bengalese have not sufficient resolution to vent their resentments against each other in open combat; yet robberies, thefts, burglaries, river piracies, and all sorts of depredations where darkness, secrecy, or surprise, can give advantage, are exceedingly common, and have been so in every past period of which any account is extant." "Benevolence has been represented as a leading principle in the minds of the Hindus; but those who make this assertion know little of their character." "Though a Hindu would shrink with horror from the idea of directly slaying a cow, which is a sacred animal among them; yet he who drives one in his cart, galled and excoriated as she often is by the yoke, beats her unmercifully from hour to hour, without any care or consideration of the consequence." After mentioning the cruelty of their punishments, and their savage treatment of vanquished enemies, he adds, "In general, a want of sensibility for others is a very eminent characteristic of this people." He describes them as eminently devoid of the domestic attachments. "Filial and parental affection appear equally deficient among them; and in the conjugal relation the characteristic indifference of the people is also discernible among those who come most within the sphere of European observation, namely, the lower orders." Mr. Grant enumerates the motives which may have led different classes of writers to represent the moral character of the Hindus as far better than it is: 1. Some draw their conclusions from what they know of human nature elsewhere: 2. Some modern philosophers have endeavoured to exalt the character of Hindus and other pagans, in hostility to the Christian religion: 3. Some, from a notion that Europeans have oppressed the Hindus, look upon them as an innocent, suffering race: 4. "Others speak from an admiration inspired by the *supposed* past state of the Hindus:" 5. "And there may," says he, "be others still, who have not had much personal experience of the evils resulting from the state of society among the Hindus, but, *being pleased with their obsequiousness,* and easily acquiescing in the licentiousness prevalent among them, have been willing to treat of their character with indulgence." These are important and sound observations; to which the writer adds: "Whilst an European, deriving a superiority from his race, or from the station he is appointed to fill, regards, only in a distant speculative way, the effeminate exterior, adulatory address, and submissive demeanour of the Hindus, he natu-

rally enough conceives them to be a people in whom the mild and gentle qualities predominate. He is apt to consider them with a mixture of complacency and contempt. And even the bad dispositions, towards each other, which he soon discovers to exist in them, he may view with feelings analogous to those which the petty malignity of children, or of beings of a diminutive species, might excite. But let him enter into dealings with them; let him trust them; or become in concerns of importance dependant on them: let him, in short, by these or any other means, come more upon a level with them,—and he will then learn better to appreciate their real character." Mr. Grant then appeals to the records of the Company. He, after that, recites a variety of declarations, from Bernier, Scrafton, Governor Holwell, Governor Verelst, Lord Clive, Mr. Hastings, Lord Teignmouth, Sir John Macpherson, Sir Robert Barker, Lord Cornwallis, all affirming the moral degradation of the people. And, lastly, he appeals to Nepaul, a country in which the Hindu institutions have been affected by no foreign influence; and in which human nature is exhibited in one of its most mischievous and detestable forms. Among the causes of this moral depravity, he enumerates the despotism of the government; the badness of the laws; and the hateful institution of castes. "Nothing," he says, "is better known, than that the Brahminical tribe are pre-eminent in those atrocities which disturb the peace of society."

Next, let us for a few moments listen to Mr. Tytler. "There exists a general depravity of manners among the Brahmins, and among the lower orders a total want of religious and moral principle." "We have so long been accustomed to hear of the *mild*, the *innocent*, and the *injured* Hindoo, and particularly of late so much pains have been taken to make us respect the character of this nation, that the above position will by many be esteemed untenable. I hope, however to be able to prove that those are grossly deceived who have ascribed so exalted a character to the natives of India." "All ranks of the natives, but more especially the Brahmins and the lower casts, show a complete want of a proper moral and religious principle. Although the middling ranks will not steal and rob openly, or commit other bad actions which might lower them in the public eye; yet, when it can be concealed, they will receive bribes, will defraud their masters by false accounts; and, by making use of their power in office, will extort sums in the most paltry and mean way from all who have any transactions with them. They never receive power but to abuse it; and no salary, however liberal, will put a stop to their corruption and venality. As they have no regard to justice, so they have no feelings of mercy or pity for

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BOOK II. even the most miserable of the poor whose causes they have before them." "In nothing is the general want of principle more evident, than in the total disregard to truth which the Bengalee shows. And here no order or rank among them is to be excepted. Their religious teachers set the example, and it is most scrupulously followed by all ranks." "The day of a Brahmin is passed in eating and sleeping, with short intervals, or rather farces of prayer and religious worship. This is the life of a religious Brahmin. When he interferes with the concerns of this world, he becomes more active, and joins with heart and soul, in all the chicanery and knavery that goes forward. And, as his power is superior, so he becomes the leading character among the corrupt." "The laziness of the lowest classes is particularly remarkable. It is impossible to rouse them, or even to excite in them a wish to look farther than the day before them." "Among the natives of Bengal, nothing like a free and independent spirit is to be found. They are fawning and slavish to superiors, to a degree of meanness and servility which is disgusting; yet these men are of all others most arrogant, when they have it in their power." "Venality and corruption are here universal; and I sincerely believe there is not in Bengal a native to be found who will resist the power of money." "The Bengalees of all ranks are remarkable for their ingratitude." "The climate of the country, and the impurities to which they are daily witnesses, even in their religious ceremonies, have conspired to make the Bengalees lascivious in the highest degree." "They are severe and tyrannical to their women." "The passion of love scarcely can be said to exist." "Instead of gentleness and modesty in the women; fidelity to their husbands, affection to their children, and care of their education, with love of domestic comfort and peace; we find them ill-tempered, quarrelsome, regardless of their reputation, showing their want of affection for their children, by their carelessness about their education; ever living amidst domestic quarrels and broils; and jealous of their husbands, though devoid of affection for them." He says there is a species of honour which makes domestic servants honest with regard to the domestic property entrusted to them; though they will at the same time defraud their masters in a thousand ways; and are remarkable for ingratitude.

The following remarkable testimony is extracted from an important paper, presented by Mr. Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, to the Governor General and Council of Bengal, and printed in the minutes of Evidence on the trial of Mr. Hastings, p. 1276.

"Bengal is inhabited by various sects, amongst which that of the Hindoos

may be esteemed to make up eight tenths of the population. They are the Aborigines of the country, and by nature and religion are peaceable and inoffensive.

" Their national character is the compound of their characters as individuals: An obstinate attachment to all their customs and prejudices, whether superstitious, ceremonious, or traditional, may be deemed a general characteristic of the Hindoos.

" Their manners partake of the nature of the government under which they have ever lived: And as this has been arbitrary or despotic; the natives are timid and servile. As individuals, they are insolent to their inferiors; to their superiors, generally speaking, submissive; though they are to them also guilty of insolence, where they can be so with impunity.

" Speculation they seldom indulge in any transactions; the present hour is what they alone look to the advantage of, which they will not forego for greater certain prospects, if remote. They are as little moved by curiosity.

" Individuals have little sense of honour; and the nation is wholly void of public virtue. They make not the least scruple of lying, where falsehood is attended with advantage; yet both Hindoos and Mahomedans continually speak of their credit and reputation, by which they mean little more than the appearance they make to the world. Of the two the latter are more tenacious of this; the same man that will submit to the greatest indignities exercised upon him in private, will be clamorous at an affront put upon him before his servants or the publick.

" Cunning and artifice is wisdom with them; to deceive and overreach is to acquire the character of a wise man.

" The greatest disgrace they can suffer is to lose their cast, or, as we say, to be excommunicated. This punishment is inflicted for the breach of the injunctions of their religion; or, what is the same, of the ordinances of their priests. To lie, steal, plunder, ravish, or murder, are not deemed sufficient crimes to merit expulsion from society.

" With a Hindoo, all is centered in himself; his own interest is his guide: Ambition is a secondary quality with him; and the love of money is the source of this passion.

" The advantage they derive over Europeans, is by practising those arts of meanness which an European detests. A man must be long acquainted with them, before he can believe them capable of that barefaced falsehood, servile adulation, and deliberate deception, which they daily practise.

"To our government they have little attachment; yet it is certain that, in general, property has been more secure, and individuals less oppressed, than under the despotism of their nabobs. I assert this with all the confidence conviction inspires. I believe them to be as much attached to the English government as they would be to any other; but if another dominion could establish itself, they would embrace it with indifference. The reason of this must be sought for in the consequences of a despotic authority; and by tracing them the characters of the natives will be easily developed and understood; in them will be seen the source of timidity, adulation, and deceit which prevail."

The report from the judge of circuit in the Bareilly division in the year 1805, printed in the Appendix, p. 565, of the fifth report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on India affairs in 1810, says, Murders are exceedingly frequent, especially of children, for their gold and silver ornaments. "A want of tenderness, and regard for life, is very general, I think, throughout the country."

The testimonies which have last been quoted relate to the inhabitants of Bengal. Testimonies in abundance might be adduced to the same character in other parts of India. Mr. Forbes, for example, the author of Oriental Memoirs, speaks of the people on the western coast, chiefly those in Guzerat. As a specimen of a great variety of passages in which he affirms the moral depravity of the people, the following may be selected from the 76th page of his second volume. "The Mogul history is replete with blood, nor is the Hindu character free from cruelty and revenge. It has been remarked that the sway of a despotic government has taught the Hindus patience, and the coldness of their imaginations enables them to practise it better than any people in the world. They conceive a contemptible opinion of any man's capacity, who betrays any impetuosity in his temper. They are the acutest buyers and sellers in the world, and preserve through all their bargains a degree of calmness which baffles all the arts that can be opposed against it. This will be allowed by those most conversant with their general character. But they also know that the patient Hindu, who shudders at the death of an insect, and preserves the tranquillity of temper just mentioned, can as calmly meditate on the most cruel tortures prepared for an enemy, or one he deems to be so. The love of money is in general his ruling passion. Throughout Hindustan, cruelty and oppression are the servants of avarice."

The Abbé Dubois spent, almost twenty years, in a more intimate intercourse than was ever done by any other European, with the natives of the

Deccan. In his chapter on the manners of the Brahmens, after remarking that his facts under this head apply not less to the other classes, he says, "Amongst the vices peculiar to them we may place their extreme suspicion and duplicity." From this, he passes to another feature, and says, "The reverence we feel for those from whom we derive our existence is almost wholly wanting among them. They fear their father, while they are young, out of dread of being beaten; but from their tenderest years they use bad language to the mother, and strike her even without any apprehension:" They do not, he says, abandon them when old and infirm. The parental affection shows itself in "the most absolute indulgence." "No care is taken to curb the passions" of the child. What they daily see, and hear, and are taught, tends to produce the vices of the sexual appetite to a degree surpassing the example of all other races of men. Artificial abortion, and infanticide are common. "The Brahman lives but for himself; and in every circumstance of his life conducts himself with the most absolute selfishness. The feelings of commiseration and pity, as far as respects the sufferings of others, never enter into his heart." Among the Hindus there are no domestic affections: "During the long period of my observation of them and their habits, I am not sure that I have ever seen two Hindu marriages that closely united the hearts." "The Brahmans, in general, add to their other numerous vices that of gluttony. When an opportunity occurs of satiating their appetite, they exceed all bounds of temperance. Such occasions are frequent, on account of the perpetual recurrence of their rites and ceremonies." * The Brahman is distinguished by a brutal self-conceit. "A Brahman will always refuse to own that any European can be as wise as he is. He holds in sovereign contempt all the sciences, arts, and new discoveries which such a teacher could communicate." †

The missionary Mr. Ward, who has profited so greatly by the peculiar advantages which a missionary enjoys, has the following passage, corroborated by a variety of details. ‡

"The Rev. Mr. Maurice seems astonished that a people, so mild, so benevolent, so benignant as the Hindoos, 'who (quoting Mr. Orme) *shudder at the very sight of blood*,' should have adopted so many bloody rites. But are these Hindoos indeed so humane?—these men, and women too, who drag their dying relations to the banks of the river at all seasons, day and night, and expose

* See an additional testimony to this gluttony, in letters from a Mahratta camp, by T. D. Broughton, Esq. p. 47.

† Description, &c. of the People of India, by the Abbé Dubois, pp. 190, 196, 145, 161, 186.

‡ Ward, Introd. p. lv.

Book II. them to the heat and cold in the last agonies of death, without remorse;—who assist men to commit self-murder, encouraging them to swing with hooks in their backs, to pierce their tongues and sides, to cast themselves on naked knives, to bury themselves alive, throw themselves into rivers, from precipices, and under the cars of their idols;—who murder their own children, by burying them alive, throwing them to the alligators, or hanging them up alive in trees for the ants and crows before their own doors, or by sacrificing them to the Ganges;—who burn alive, amidst savage shouts, the heart-broken widow, by the hands of her own son, and with the corpse of a deceased father;—who every year butcher thousands of animals, at the call of superstition, covering themselves with their blood, consigning their carcases to the dogs, and carrying their heads in triumph through the streets?—Are these 'the benignant Hindoos?'—a people who have never erected a charity school, an alms'-house, nor an hospital; who suffer their fellow creatures to perish for want before their very doors, refusing to administer to their wants while living, or to inter their bodies, to prevent their being devoured by vultures and jackals, when dead; who, when the power of the sword was in their hands, impaled alive, cut off the noses, the legs, and arms of culprits; and inflicted punishments exceeded only by those of the followers of the mild, amiable, and benevolent Boodhu, in the Burman empire! and who very often, in their acts of pillage, murder the plundered, cutting off their limbs with the most cold-blooded apathy, turning the house of the murdered into a disgusting shambles!—Some of these cruelties, no doubt, arise out of the religion of the Hindoos, and are the poisoned fruits of superstition, rather than the effects of natural disposition: but this is equally true respecting the virtues which have been so lavishly bestowed on this people. At the call of the shastru, the Hindoo gives water to the weary traveller during the month Voishakhu; but he may perish at his door without pity or relief from the first of the following month, no reward being attached to such an act after these thirty days have expired. He will make roads, pools of water, and build lodging-houses for pilgrims and travellers; but he considers himself as making a good bargain with the gods in all these transactions. It is a fact, that there is not a road in the country made by Hindoos except a few which lead to holy places; and had there been no future rewards held out for such acts of merit, even these would not have existed. Before the kulee-yoogu it was lawful to sacrifice cows; but the man who does it now, is guilty of a crime as heinous as that of killing a bramhun: he may kill a buffalo, however, and Doorga will reward him with heaven for it. A Hindoo, by any direct act, should not destroy an insect, for he is taught that God inhabits

even a fly: but it is no great crime if he should permit even his cow to perish with hunger; and he beats it without mercy, though it be an incarnation of Bhuguvutee—it is enough, that he does not really deprive it of life; for the indwelling Brumhu feels no stroke but that of death. The Hindoo will utter falsehoods that would knock down an ox, and will commit perjuries so atrocious and disgusting, as to fill with horror those who visit the courts of justice; but he will not violate his shastru by swearing on the waters of the Ganges. CHAP. VII.

"Idolatry is often also the exciting cause of the most abominable frauds. Several instances are given in this work: one will be found in vol. i. p. 122, and another respecting an image found under ground by the raja of Nudeeya, in vol. i. p. 203."

Speaking of the Mahrattas, Mr. Broughton says, "I have never been able to discover any quality or propensity they possess, which might be construed into a fitness for the enjoyment of social life. They are deceitful, treacherous, narrow-minded, rapacious, and notorious liars." *

* Letters from a Mahratta Camp, p. 104. "The Uzbeks make brave soldiers, and are astonishingly patient of hunger, thirst, and fatigue. The opinion commonly entertained of the ferocity and barbarism of the Uzbeks appears to be unjust, and is probably owing partly to our confounding them with the Calmuks and other rude Tartar tribes between them and Russia, and partly to the channels through which we have received our information regarding them. .... By all that I can learn, both from Afghan travellers, and from Taujiks of Bulkh and Bokhaura, I have reason to think the Uzbeks as good a people as any in Asia. They are said to be comparatively sincere and honest. They have few quarrels among individuals, and scarcely any murders; and there are few countries in the East, where a stranger would be more at ease. Those who imagine the Uzbeks to be savage Tartars, wandering over wild and desolate regions, will be surprised to hear that the city of Bokhaura is equal in population to Peshawer, and consequently superior to any in England, except London; that it contains numerous colleges, which might accommodate from 60 to 600 students each, and which have professors paid by the king, or by private foundations; that it abounds in caravanserais, where merchants of all nations meet with great encouragement; and that all religions are fully tolerated by a prince and people above all others attached to their own belief." Elphinstone's Caubul, 471, 472.

CHAP. VIII.

The Arts.

BOOK II.

WE come now to the arts, necessary or ornamental, practised by the Hindus. As the pleasures to which the arts are subservient form one of the grounds of preference between the rude and civilized state of human nature, the improvement of the arts may be taken as one of the surest indications of the progress of society.

One thing, first of all, may be observed of the Hindus, that they little courted the pleasures derived from the arts, whatever skill they attained in them. The houses, even of the great, were mean, and almost destitute of furniture; * their food was simple and common; and their dress had no distinction (which concerns the present purpose) beyond certain degrees of fineness in the texture.

The wants of man are the guide in tracing the order of invention in the arts.

If we desire to ascertain the arts which man would first practise, in his progress upwards from the lowest barbarism, we must inquire what are the most urgent of his wants. Unless the spontaneous productions of the soil supplied him with food, the means of ensnaring, or killing the animals fit for his use, by clubs or stones, and afterwards by his bow and arrows, would first engage his attention. How to shelter himself from the inclemency of the weather would be his second consideration; and where cavities of the earth or hollow trees supplied not his wants, the rude construction of a hut would be one of his earliest operations. A covering for his person is the next of the accommodations which his feelings prompt him to provide. At first he contents himself with the skin of an animal; but it is surprising at how early a period he becomes acquainted with the means of fabricating cloth. † Weaving, therefore, and archi-

* "The buildings are all base of mud, one story high, except in Surat, where there are some of stone. The Emperor's own houses are of stone, handsome and uniform. The great men build not, for want of inheritance; but, as far as I have yet seen, live in tents, or houses worse than our cottages." Sir T. Roe's Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Churchill, i. 803.

† It is curious to observe how Plato traces this progress. He is endeavouring to account for the origin of society. Ιθι δη (ην δ' εγω) τῳ λογῳ εξ αρχης ποιωμεν πολιν. ποιησει δ' αυτην, ὡς εοικεν, ἡ ἡμετερα χρεια. Πως δ' ου; Αλλα μεν πρωτη γε και μεγιστη των χρειων, ἡ της τροφης παρασκευη, δευτερα δη οικησεως,

tecture, are among the first of the complicated arts which are practised among barbarians; and experience proves that they may be carried, at a very early period of society, to a high state of perfection. It has been remarked, too, that one of the earliest propensities which springs up in the breast of a savage is a love of ornaments, of glittering trinkets, of bits of shining metals, or coloured stones, with which to decorate his person. The art, accordingly, of fetching out the brilliancy of the precious stones and metals, and fashioning them into ornaments for the person; the art, in fine, of jewellery; is one which early appears in the progress of a rude people.

The arts of barbarians the only arts much cultivated among the Hindus.

These three, architecture, weaving, and jewellery, are the only arts for which the Hindus have been celebrated; and even these, with the exception of weaving, remained at a low state of perfection.

Architecture.

In a few places in Hindustan are found the remains of certain ancient buildings, which have greatly attracted the attention of Europeans; and, where they met with a predisposition to wonder and admire, have been regarded as proofs of a high civilization. "The entry," says Dr. Robertson, "to the Pagoda of Chillambrum, is by a stately gate under a pyramid 122 feet in height, built with large stones above forty feet long, and more than five feet square, and all covered with plates of copper, adorned with an immense variety of figures neatly executed. The whole structure extends 1332 feet in one direction, and 936 in another. Some of the ornamental parts are finished with an elegance entitled to the admiration of the most ingenious artists." * The only article of precise information which we obtain from this passage is the great size of the building. As for the vague terms of general eulogy bestowed upon the ornaments, they are almost entirely without significance—the loose and exaggerated expressions, at second hand, of the surprise of the early travellers at meeting with an object which they were not prepared to expect. Another structure still more remarkable than that of Chillambrum, the Pagoda of Seringham, situated in an island of the river Cavery, is thus described by Mr. Orme. "It is composed of seven square inclosures, one within the other, the walls of which are twenty five feet high, and four thick. These inclosures are 350 feet distant from one another, and each has four large gates with a high tower; which are placed, one in the middle of each side of the inclosure, and opposite to the four cardinal points. The outward wall is near four miles in circumference, and its gateway to the

τριτη εσθητος και των τοιϛτων. Εϛι ταυτα. φερε δη (ην δ'εγω) πως ἡ πολις αρκεσει επι τοσαυτην παρασκευην; αλλοτι, γεωργος μεν, εις. ὁ δε οικοδομος· αλλος δε τις ὑφαντης. Plat. de Repub. lib. ii. p. 599.

* Robertson's Histor. Disquis. concerning India, p. 225.

BOOK II. south is ornamented with pillars, several of which are single stones thirty-three feet long, and nearly five in diameter; and those which form the roof are still larger; in the inmost inclosures are the chapels." * In this nothing is described as worthy of regard except the magnitude of the dimensions.

The cave of Elephanta, not far from Bombay, is another work which, from its magnitude, has given birth to the supposition of high civilization among the Hindus. It is a cavity in the side of a mountain, about half way between its base and summit, of the space of nearly 120 feet square. Pieces of the rock, as is usual in mining, have been left at certain distances supporting the superincumbent matter; and the sight of the whole, upon the entrance, is grand and striking. It had been applied at an early period to religious purposes, when the pillars were probably fashioned into the sort of regular form they now present, and the figures, with which great part of the inside is covered, were sculptured on the stone. †

* Orme's Hist. of Milit. Transact. of Indostan, i. 178.

† The cave of Elephanta is not the only subterranean temple of the Hindus, exhibiting on a large scale the effects of human labour. In the isle of Salsette, in the vicinity too of Bombay, is a pagoda of a similar kind, and but little inferior to it in any remarkable circumstance. The pagodas of Ellore, about eighteen miles from Aurungabad, are not of the size of these of Elephanta and Salsette, but they surprise by their number, and by the idea of the labour which they cost. See a minute description of them by Anquetil Duperron, Zendavesta, Disc. Prelim. p. ccxxxiii. The seven pagodas, as they are called at Mavalepuram, near Sadras, on the Coromandel coast, is another work of the same description; and several others might be mentioned. Dr. Tennant, who has risen higher above travellers' prejudices in regard to the Hindus, than most of his countrymen, says, "Their caves in Elephanta and Salsette, are standing monuments of the original gloomy state of their superstition, and the imperfection of their arts, particularly that of architecture." Indian Recreations, i. 6. The extraordinary cavern, the temple of Pusa, near Chas-chou-fou, in China, which was visited by lord Macartney, and full of living priests, vies in wonderful circumstances with the cave of Elephanta. See Barrow's Life of Lord Macartney, Journal, ii. 374. "However these gigantic statues, and others of similar form, in the caves of Elora and Salsette may astonish a common observer, the man of taste looks in vain for proportion of form, and expression of countenance." Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, i. 423. "I must not omit the striking resemblance between these excavations (Elephanta, &c.) and the sculptured grottos in Egypt," &c. "I have often been struck with the idea that there may be some affinity between the *written mountains* in Arabia, and the excavated mountains in Hindustan." Ibid. i. 448, 449. It is difficult to say how much of the wonderful in these excavations may be the mere work of nature: "Left Sullo, and travelled through a country beautiful beyond imagination, with all possible diversities of rock; sometimes towering up like ruined castles, spires, pyramids, &c. We passed one place so like a ruined Gothic abbey, that we halted a little, before we could satisfy ourselves, that the niches, windows, ruined staircase, &c. were all natural rock. A

Antecedently to the dawn of taste, it is by magnitude alone that, in building, nations can exhibit magnificence, and it is almost uniformly in honour of the gods, that this species of grandeur is first attempted. Experience alone could have made us comprehend, at how low a stage of progress in the arts surprising structures can be erected. The Mexicans were even ignorant of iron. They were unacquainted with the use of scaffolds and cranes. They had no beasts of burden. They were without sledges and carts. They were under the necessity of breaking their stones with flints, and polished them by rubbing one against another. Yet they accomplished works which in magnitude and symmetry vie with any thing of which Hindustan has to boast. "The great temple," says Clavigero, "occupied the centre of the city. Within the enclosure of the wall, which encompassed it in a square form, the conqueror Cortez affirms that a town of 500 houses might have stood. The wall, built of stone and lime, was very thick, eight feet high, crowned with battlements, in the form of niches, and ornamented with many stone figures in the shape of serpents. It had four gates to the four cardinal points. Over each of the four gates was an arsenal, filled with a vast quantity of offensive and defensive weapons, where the troops went, when it was necessary, to be supplied with arms. The space within the walls was curiously paved with such smooth and polished stones that the horses of the

faithful description of this place would certainly be deemed a fiction." Mungo Park's Last Mission to Africa, p. 75. Mr. Bryant offers strong reasons to prove that the pyramids in Egypt were, in a great measure, the work of nature, not of art. Anc. Mythol. v. 200. "Between the city of Canton, and first pagoda, on the bank of the river, is a series," says Mr. Barrow, "of stone quarries, which appear not to have been worked for many years. The regular and formal manner in which the stones have been cut away; exhibiting lengthened streets of houses with quadrangular chambers, in the sides of which are square holes at equal distances, as if intended for the reception of beams; the smoothness and perfect perpendicularity of the sides, and the number of detached pillars that are scattered over the plain, would justify a similar mistake to that of Mr. Addison's doctor of one of the German universities, whom he found at Chateau d'Un in France, carefully measuring the free-stone quarries at that place, which he conceived to be the venerable remains of vast subterranean palaces of great antiquity." Barrow's Travels in China, p. 599. The conclusions of many of our countrymen in Hindustan will bear comparison with that of the German doctor in France. It is not a bad idea of Forster, the German commentator upon the travels of P. Paulini, that the forming caverns into temples must naturally have been the practise when men as yet had their principal abodes in caverns. Voyage aux Indes Orien. par le P. Paulini, iii. 115. Volney says, "Those labyrinths, temples, and pyramids, by their huge and heavy structure, attest much less the genius of a nation, opulent and friendly to the arts, than the servitude of a people, who were slaves to the caprice of their monarch." Travels in Egypt, &c. i. 282.

Spaniards could not move upon them without slipping and tumbling down. In the middle was raised an immense solid building of greater length than breadth, covered with square equal pieces of pavement. The building consisted of five bodies, nearly equal in height, but differing in length and breadth; the highest being narrowest. The first body, or basis of the building, was more than fifty perches long from east to west, and about forty-three in breadth from north to south. The second body was about a perch less in length and breadth than the first; and the rest in proportion. The stairs, which were upon the south side, were made of large well-formed stones, and consisted of 114 steps, each a foot high. Upon the fifth body (the top) was a plain, which we shall call the upper area, which was about forty-three perches long, and thirty four broad, and was as well paved as the great area below. At the eastern extremity of this plain were raised two towers to the height of fifty-six feet. These were properly the sanctuaries, where, upon an altar of stone five feet high, were placed the tutelary idols." * The Tlascalans, as a rampart against the Mexican troops, erected a wall, "six miles in length, between two mountains; eight feet in height, besides the breast-work; and eighteen feet in thickness." †

Garcilasso de la Vega informs us, that "the Incas, who were kings of Peru, erected many wonderful and stately edifices; their castles, temples, and royal palaces," says he, "their gardens, store-houses, and other fabrics, were buildings of great magnificence, as is apparent by the ruins of them. The work of greatest ostentation, and which evidences most the power and majesty of the Incas, was the fortress of Cozco, whose greatness is incredible to any who have not seen it, and such as have viewed it with great attention cannot but admire it, and believe that such a work was raised by enchantment, or the help of spirits, being that which surpasses the art and power of man. For the stones are so many and so great which were laid in the three first rounds, being rather rocks than stones, as passes all understanding, how, and in what manner they were hewn from the quarry, or brought from thence, for they had no instruments of iron or steel, wherewith to cut or fashion them: nor less wonderful is it to think, how they could be carried to the building; for they had neither carts nor oxen to draw them with; and if they had, the weight was so vast as no cart could bear, or oxen draw; then to think that they drew them with great ropes over hills and dales, and difficult ways, by the mere force of men's arms, is alike incredible; for many of them were brought ten, twelve, and fifteen leagues

* Clavigero, Hist. of Mexico, book vi. sect. 10.

† Ibid. book vii. sect. 26.

off.—But to proceed further in our imagination of this matter, and consider how it was possible for the people to fit and join such vast machines of stones together, and cement them so close, that the point of a knife can scarce pass between them, is a thing above all admiration, and some of them are so artificially joined, that the crevices are scarce discernible between them: Then to consider that to square and fit these stones one to the other, they were to be raised and lifted up and removed often, until they were brought to their just size and proportion; but how this was done by men who had no use of the rule and square, nor knew how to make cranes or pulleys, and cramps, and other engines, to raise and lower them as they had occasion, is beyond imagination." *

Whatever allowance any preconceptions of the reader may lead him to make for exaggeration, which we may believe to be considerable, in the above descriptions, enough undoubtedly appears to prove that no high attainments in civilization and the arts are implied in the accomplishment of very arduous and surprising works in architecture; and it will be allowed, we trust, that such comparisons between the attainments of different nations, are the only means of forming a precise judgment of the indications of civilization which they present. The Gothic cathedrals, reared in modern Europe, which remain among the most stupendous monuments of architecture in that quarter of the globe, were constructed, many of them at least, at comparatively a very low stage of civilization and science. To allude to Nineveh and Babylon, is to bring to the recollection of the historical reader, the celebrated works of architecture, in temples, walls, palaces, bridges, which distinguished those ancient cities. Yet it is demonstrated, that no high degree of improvement was attained by the people that

* Royal Commentaries of Peru, by the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, book vii. ch. xxviii. Acosta likewise says, (see his Natural and Moral History of the Indies, book vi. ch. xiv.) that of these stones he measured one, at Tiagunaco, which was thirty-eight feet long, eighteen broad, and six in thickness; and that the stones in that building were not so large as those in the fortress at Cuzco. He adds, "And that which is most strange, these stones, being not cut, nor squared to join, but contrariwise, very unequal one with another in form and greatness, yet did they join them together without cement, after an incredible manner." Acosta tells us, however, (Ibid.) that they were entirely unacquainted with the construction of arches. Humboldt, who could have no national partialities on the subject, is almost as lofty in his praises of the remains of the ancient architecture of the Mexicans and Peruvians. "Au Mexique et au Perou," says he, Tableaux de la Nature, i. 168, on trouve partout dans les plaines elevées des montagnes, des traces d'une grande civilization. Nous avons vu, à une hauteur de seize à dix-huit cent toises des ruines de palais et de bains." The ruins which he saw of a palace of immense size, are mentioned at p. 158.

erected them. The pyramids of Egypt, vast as their dimensions, and surprising their durability, afford intrinsic evidence of the rudeness of the period at which they were reared.* According to Strabo, the sepulchre of Belus at Babylon was a pyramid of one stadium in height. It appears to have been built of different bodies, or stages, one rising above another, exactly in the manner of the great temple at Mexico. A tower, says Herodotus, a stadium both in length and breadth, is reared at the base; and upon this is erected another tower, and again another upon that, to the number of eight towers in all. †

Sonnerat informs us, "that the architecture of the Hindus is very rude; and their structures in honour of their deities are venerable only from their magnitude." ‡ "Mail-cotay," says Dr. Buchanan, "is one of the most celebrated places of Hindu worship, both as having been honoured with the actual presence of an avatara, or incarnation of Vishnu, who founded one of the temples; and also as being one of the principal seats of the Sri Vaishnavam Brahmans, and having possessed very large revenues. The large temple is a square building of great dimensions, and entirely surrounded by a colonnade; but it is a mean piece of architecture, at least outwardly. The columns are very rude, and only about six feet high. Above the entablature, in place of a balustrade, is a clumsy mass of brick and plaster, much higher than the columns, and excavated with numerous niches, in which are huddled together many thousand images, composed of

* "Let us now speak," says the President Goguet, Origin of Laws, part iii. book ii. ch. i. "of the bridge of Babylon, which the ancients have placed in the number of the most marvellous works of the East. It was near 100 fathoms in length, and almost four in breadth, &c. . . . . While we do justice to the skill of the Babylonians, in conducting these works, we cannot help remarking the bad taste, which, at all times, reigned in the works of the eastern nations. The bridge of Babylon furnishes a striking instance of it. This edifice was absolutely without grace, or any air of majesty. . . . . . Finally, this bridge was not arched." The first chiefs in Iceland built no inconsiderable houses. Ingulph's palace was 135 feet in length. Mallet, Introd. Hist. Denmark, vol. i. ch. xiii.

† Herodot. Clio, 181. Major Rennel, who was obliged to trust to Mr. Beloe's Translation, was puzzled with the expression, "a tower of the solid depth and height of one stadium;" justly pronounces it incredible, and says, "Surely Herodotus wrote *breadth* and *length*, and not breadth and height," Geog. of Herodot. p. 359, 360, which is precisely the fact, the words of Herodotus being και το μηκος και το ευρος. The word στερεος, too, here translated *solid*, as if the tower was a mere mass of brick work, without any internal vacuity, by no means implies a fact so very improbable. Στερεος means *strong*, *firmly built*, &c. This resemblance has been noticed by Humboldt (Essai Polit. sur la Nouv. Espagne,) p. 170, also that between the pyramids of Egypt, and the vast pyramids of which the remains are to be found in Mexico, p. 187. The palace of Montezuma bore a striking resemblance to that of the Emperor of China, p. 190.

‡ Voyag. de Sonnerat, liv. iii. ch. viii.

the same materials, and most rudely formed. The temple itself is alleged to be of wonderful antiquity, and to have been not only built by a god, but to be dedicated to Krishna on the very spot where that avatara performed some of his great works." * Of the celebrated pagodas at Congeveram, the same author remarks, that "they are great stone buildings, very clumsily executed, both in their joinings and carvings, and totally devoid of elegance or grandeur, although they are wonderfully crowded with what are meant as ornaments." †

Wonderful monuments of the architecture of rude nations are almost every where to be found. Mr. Bryant, speaking of the first rude inhabitants of Sicily, the *Cyclopes*, who were also called Lestrygons and Lamii, says, "They erected many temples, and likewise high towers upon the sea-coast; and founded many cities. The ruins of some of them are still extant; and have been taken notice of by Fazellus, who speaks of them as exhibiting a most magnificent appearance. They consist of stones which are of great size. Fazellus, speaking of the bay, near Segesta, and of an hill which overlooked the bay, mentions wonderful ruins upon its summit, and gives an ample description of their extent and appearance." ‡ The old traveller, Knox, after describing the passion of the Ceylonese,

* Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, &c. ii. 70.

† Id. Ib. i. 13. Sir James Mackintosh ingeniously remarks, that among the innumerable figures of men and monsters of all sorts exhibited at Ellora, you perceive about one in ten thousand that has some faint rudiments of grace, those lucky hits, the offspring of chance, rather than design, which afford copies to a rude people, and enable them to make gradual improvements. "Rude nations" (says Dr. Ferguson, Hist. of the Roman Republic, i. 18. ed. 8vo.) "sometimes execute works of great magnificence, for the purposes of superstition or war; but seldom works of mere convenience or cleanliness." Yet the common sewers of Rome, the most magnificent that ever were constructed, are assigned to the age of the elder Tarquin. Polybius tells us that the city of Ecbatana, in Media, which contained one of the palaces of the Persian kings, far excelled all other cities in the world, πλουτῳ και τῃ της κατασκευης πολυτελειᾳ μεγα τι παρα τας αλλας δοκει διενηνοχεναι πολεις. With regard to the palace itself, he was afraid, he said, to describe its magnitude and magnificence, lest he should not be believed. It was seven stadia in circumference; and though all the wood employed in it was cedar or cypress, every part of it, pillars, cornices, beams, every thing, was covered with plates of silver or gold, so that no where was a bit of wood visible; and it was roofed with silver tiles. Polyb. Hist. lib. x. 24.

‡ Bryant's Ancient Mythology, book v. p. 211. From p. 187 to 213, an ample and instructive collection will be found of instances to prove the passion of rude nations for erecting great buildings; and the degree of perfection in art which their works display. Priam's palace, according to Homer, was a magnificent building. That remarkable structure, the labyrinth of Crete, was produced in a very early age. Mr. Ward assures us, that "of the Hindu temples none appear to be distinguished for the elegance of their architecture: they are not the work of a people sunk in barbarism; neither will they bear any comparison with the temples of the Greeks and

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for constructing temples and monuments, of enormous magnitude, in honour of their gods, drily adds; "As if they had been born solely to hew rocks and great stones, and lay them up in heaps:"* the unsophisticated decision of a sound understanding, on operations which the affectation of taste and antiquarian credulity have magnified into proofs of the highest civilization.

Of one very necessary and important part of architecture, the Hindus were entirely ignorant. They knew not the construction of arches, till they first learned it from their Moslem conquerors. In the description of the superb temple at Seringham, we have already seen † that no better expedient was known than great flat stones for the roof. "On the south branch of the river" Cavery, at Seringapatam, says Dr. Buchanan, "a bridge has been erected, which serves also as an aqueduct, to convey from the upper part of the river a large canal of water into the town and island. The rudeness of this bridge will show the small progress that the arts have made in Mysore. Square pillars of granite are cut from the rock, of a sufficient height to rise above the water at the highest floods. These are placed upright in rows, as long as the intended width of the bridge, and distant about ten feet from each other. They are secured at the bottom by being let into the solid rock, and their tops being cut to a level, a long stone is laid upon each row. Above these longitudinal stones, others are placed contiguous to each other, and stretching from row to row, in the direction of the length of the bridge." ‡ The celebrated bridge over the Euphrates, at Babylon, was constructed on similar principles, and the president Goguet remarks, "that the Babylonians were not the only people who were ignorant of the art of turning an arch. This secret," he adds, "as far as I can find, was unknown to all the people of remote antiquity." § Though the ancient inhabitants, however, of

Romans." He adds, "We learn from the Ain Akbŭree, however, that the entire revenues of Orissa, for twelve years, were expended in erecting a temple to the sun." Introd. p. lx.

* Knox's Hist. of Ceylon, London, 1681.

† See above, p. 334. "Their knowledge of mechanical powers," says Mr. Orme, "is so very confined, that we are left to admire, without being able to account for, the manner in which they have erected their capital pagodas. It does not appear that they had ever made a bridge of arches over any of their rivers, before the Mahomedans came amongst them." Hist. of Mil. Trans. of Indostan, i. 7.

‡ Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, &c. i. 61.

§ Goguet, Origin of Laws, part iii. book ii. ch. i. He says, "it even appears to me demonstrated, that the Egyptians had not much more knowledge of architecture, of sculpture, and of the fine arts in general, than the Peruvians and Mexicans. For example, neither the one nor the other knew the secret of building vaults. What remains of foundery or sculpture, is equally

Persia, were ignorant of this useful and ingenious art, the modern Persians are admirably skilled in it: the roofs of the houses are almost all vaulted; and the builders are peculiarly dexterous in constructing them.* CHAP. VIII.

Of the exquisite degree of perfection to which the Hindus have carried the productions of the loom, it would be idle to offer any description; as there are few objects with which the inhabitants of Europe are better acquainted. Whatever may have been the attainments, in this art, of other nations of antiquity, the Egyptians, for example, whose fine linen was so eminently prized, the manufacture of no modern nation can, in delicacy and fineness, vie with the textures of Hindustan. It is observed at the same time, by intelligent travellers, that this is the only art which the original inhabitants of that country have carried to any considerable degree of perfection.† Weaving.

To the skill of the Hindus, in this art, several causes contributed. It is one of the arts to which the necessities of man first conduct him; ‡ it is one of those

clumsy and incorrect. I think this observation absolutely essential." Origin of Laws, part iii. dissert. iii. Clavigero, however, asserts that the Mexicans did know the art of constructing arches and vaults, as appears, he says, from their baths, from the remains of the royal palaces of Tezcuco, and other buildings, and also from several paintings. Hist. Mex. book vii. sect. 53.

* Chardin, Voy. en Perse, iii. 116. ed. 4to. Amsterd. 1735. On est frappé [à Ispahan] de l'elegante architecture des ponts; l'Europe n'offre rien qui leur soit comparable pour la commodité des gens de pied, pour la facilité de leur passage, pour les faire jouir sans trouble, le jour, de la vue de la riviere et de ses environs, et, le soir, de la fraicheur de l'air, Olivier, Voyage, &c. v. 180. La sculpture est nulle en Perse. . . . . Mais l'architecture, plus simple, plus elegante, mieux ordonnée que chez les Turcs, est tout-a-fait adaptée au climat. Les plafonds et les domes sont d'une recherche, d'un fini, d'un precieux, d'une richesse qui etonne. . . . . Les Persans ont poussé fort loin l'art de faire les voûtes. . . . . Les toits de leurs maisons sont voûtés, leur planchers le sont aussi. Ib. v. 298, 299. The skill in architecture of the Turks, a very rude people, is well known. "Perhaps I am in the wrong, but some Turkish mosques in Constantinople please me better than St. Sophia.—That of Validé Sultan is the largest of all, built entirely of marble; the most prodigious, and I think the most beautiful structure I ever saw. Between friends, St. Paul's Church would make a pitiful figure near it." Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, Works, ii. 249, 250.

† "No art in Hindustan is carried to the same degree of perfection as in Europe, except some articles in which the cheapness of labour gives them an advantage, as in the case of the fine muslins at Dacca." Tennant's Indian Recreations, i. 104. The people are in a state of gross rudeness, Buchanan informs us, "in every part of Bengal, where arts have not been introduced by foreigners; the only one that has been carried to tolerable perfection is that of weaving." Journey through Mysore, &c. ii. 285.

‡ Mr. Park tells us that the arts of spinning, weaving, and dyeing cotton, are familiar to the Africans. Travels, p. 17.

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which experience proves to arrive early at high perfection; and it is an art to which the circumstances of the Hindu were in a singular manner adapted. His climate and soil conspired to furnish him with the most exquisite material for his art, the finest cotton which the earth produces. It is a sedentary occupation, and thus in harmony with his predominant inclination. It requires patience, of which he has an inexhaustible fund; it requires little bodily exertion, of which he is always exceedingly sparing; and the finer the production, the more slender the force which he is called upon to apply. But this is not all. The weak and delicate frame of the Hindu is accompanied with an acuteness of external sense, particularly of touch, which is altogether unrivalled, and the flexibility of his fingers is equally remarkable. The hand of the Hindu, therefore, constitutes an organ, adapted to the finest operations of the loom in a degree which is almost, or altogether, peculiar to himself.*

Yet the Hindus possessed not this single art in so great a degree of perfection, compared with rude nations, as, even on that ground, to lay a solid foundation for very high pretensions. "In Mexico," says Clavigero, "manufactures of various kinds of cloth were common every where; it was one of those arts which almost every person learned. Of cotton they made large webs, and as delicate and fine as those of Holland, which were with much reason highly esteemed in Europe. A few years after the conquest, a sacerdotal habit of the Mexicans was brought to Rome, which, as Boturini affirms, was uncommonly admired on account of its fineness. They wove these cloths with different figures and colours, representing different animals and flowers." † When the Goths first broke into the

* "A people," says Mr. Orme, "born under a sun too sultry to admit the exercises and fatigues necessary to form a robust nation, will naturally, from the weakness of their bodies, (especially if they have few wants) endeavour to obtain their scanty livelihood by the easiest labours. It is from hence, perhaps, that the manufactures of cloth are so multiplied in Indostan. Spinning and weaving are the slightest tasks which a man can be set to, and the numbers that do nothing else in this country are exceeding." He adds; "The hand of an Indian cookwench shall be more delicate than that of an European beauty; the skin and features of a porter shall be softer than those of a professed *petit-maitre.* The women wind off the raw silk from the pod of the worm. A single pod of raw silk is divided into twenty different degrees of fineness; and so exquisite is the feeling of these women, that whilst the thread is running through their fingers so swiftly, that their eye can be of no assistance, they will break it off exactly as the assortments change, at once from the first to the twentieth, from the nineteenth to the second. The women likewise spin the thread designed for the cloths, and then deliver it to the men, who have fingers to model it as exquisitely as these have prepared it." Orme, on the Gov. and People of Indostan, p. 409 to 413.

† Clavigero, Hist. of Mexico, book vii. sect. 57.

Roman empire they possessed fringed carpets and linen garments of so fine a quality as greatly surprised the Greeks and Romans, and have been thought worthy of minute description by Eunapius and Zosimus.* "Pliny, speaking of a carpet for covering such beds as the ancients made use of at table, says, that this piece of furniture, which was produced from the looms of Babylon, amounted to eighty-one thousand sestertia."† This proves the fineness to which that species of manufacture was then wrought, and the superiority in the art which the Babylonians, who could not construct an arch, had yet attained. The Asiatic nations seem to have excelled, from the earliest ages, in the manufactures of the loom. It is by Pliny recorded, as the opinion of his age and nation, that

* See Gibbon (Hist. of the Decl. and Fall of the Rom. Emp. iv. 364), who says, "Yet it must be presumed, that they (the carpets and garments) were the manufactures of the provinces; which the barbarians had acquired as the spoils of war; or as the gifts or merchandise of peace." But had they been the manufactures of the provinces, the Romans must have known them familiarly for what they were; and could never have been so much surprised with their own manufactures, transferred by plunder, gift, or sale to the barbarians, (of none of which operations, had they existed, could they have been altogether ignorant) as to make their historians think it necessary to place a minute description of them in their works.

† Goguet, Origin of Laws, part iii. book vi. ch. i. art. 2. That diligent and judicious writer says, "Of all the arts of which we have to speak in this second part, there are none which appear to have been more or better cultivated than those which concern clothing. We see taste and magnificence shine equally in the description Moses gives of the habits of the high priest and the vails of the tabernacle. The tissue of all these works was of linen, goat's hair, wool, and byssus. The richest colours, gold, embroidery, and precious stones, united to embellish it." Ib. part ii. book ii. ch. ii. The following lofty description of the tissues of Babylon, by Dr. Gillies, (see the description of Babylon, in his History of the World) is not surpassed by the most strained panegyrics upon the weaving of the Hindus. "During the latter part of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, and the twenty-six years that intervened between his death and the conquest of his capital by Cyrus, Babylon appears not only to have been the seat of an imperial court, and station for a vast garrison, but the staple of the greatest commerce that perhaps was ever carried on by one city. Its precious manufactures under its hereditary sacerdotal government remounted, as we have seen, to immemorial antiquity. The Babylonians continued thenceforward to be cloathed with the produce of their own industry. Their bodies were covered with fine linen, descending to their feet: their mitras or turbans were also of linen, plaited with much art; they wore woollen tunicks, above which a short white cloak repelled the rays of the sun. Their houses were solid, lofty, and separated, from a regard to health and safety, at due distances from each other: within them the floors glowed with double and triple carpets of the brightest colours; and the walls were adorned with those beautiful tissues called Sindones, whose fine, yet firm texture was employed as the fittest cloathing for eastern kings. The looms of Babylon, and of the neighbouring Borsippa, a town owing its prosperity to manufactures wholly, supplied to all countries round, the finest veils or hangings, and every article of dress or furniture composed of cotton, of linen, or of wool."

of the art of weaving cotton Semiramis is to be revered as the inventress. The city Arachne, celebrated by the Greeks and Romans as the place where weaving was first invented, and where it was carried to the highest perfection, is represented by Mr. Bryant as the same with Erech or Barsippa, and situated on the Euphrates, in the territory of Babylon.* One of the accomplishments of the goddess of wisdom herself, (so early was the date) was her unrivalled excellence in the art of weaving; and Arachne, according to the poets, was a virgin, who, daring to vie with Minerva in her favourite art, was changed into a spider for her presumption.†

That ingenuity is in its infancy among the Hindus, is shown by the rudeness still observable in the instruments of this their favourite art. The Hindu loom, with all its appurtenances, is coarse and ill-fashioned, to a degree hardly less surprising than the fineness of the commodity which it is the instrument of producing. It consists of little else than a few sticks or pieces of wood, nearly in the state in which nature produced them, connected together by the rudest contrivances. There is not so much as an expedient for rolling up the warp. It is stretched out at the full length of the web; which makes the house of the weaver insufficient to contain him. He is therefore obliged to work continually in the open air; and every return of inclement weather interrupts him.‡

* Bryant's Ancient Mythology, iii. 425. It was from this city the spider (Arachne) for its curious web, was said to have derived its name. The poet Nonnus thus celebrates its manufactures:

Και πορε ποικιλα πεπλα, τα περ' παρα Τιγριδος υδωρ
Νηματι λεπταλεῳ τεχνησατο Περσις Αραχνη.

Again:

Νηρευς μεν ταδε δωρα πολυτροπα· δωκε δε κουρῃ
Περσικος Ευφρητης πολυδαιδαλου ἑιματ' Αραχνης.

Nonnus, lib. xviii. p. 326, Edit. 1569; et lib. xlii. p. 747. See the brilliant description which Chardin gives of the exquisite skill of the modern Persians in the art of weaving; of the extraordinary beauty and value of their gold velvets. They make not fine cottons, he says, only for this reason, that they can import them cheaper from India. Chardin, Voyages en Perse, iii. 119. Olivier says; "Ils excellent dans la fabrication des etoffes de soie pure, de soie et coton, de soie et or ou argent, de coton pur, de coton et laine. A Yesd, à Cachan, à Ispahan, on travaille avec autant de goût que de proprieté les brocards, les velours, les taffetas, les satins, et presque toutes les etoffes que nous connaissons. Olivier Voyage, &c. v. 304, 305, 306.

† Ovid. We learn from Plato, that, when any fine production of the loom among the Greeks was represented as of the most exquisite fineness and beauty, it was compared to those of the Persians; την ζωνην του χιτονισκου ειναι μεν οιαι αι Περσικαι των πολυτελων. Hippias Min. 255.

‡ Orme, on the Government and People of Indostan, p. 409, &c. Tennant's Indian Recreations, i. 301. "The apparatus of the weaver is very simple; two rollers placed in four pieces of

Dyeing.

Among the arts of the Hindus, that of printing and dyeing their cloths has been celebrated; and the beauty and brilliancy, as well as durability, of the colours they produce, is worthy of the highest praise. This has never been supposed to be one of the circumstances on which any certain inferences with regard to civilization could be founded. It has been generally allowed that a great, if not the greatest part of the excellence which appears in the colours of the Hindu cloths, is owing to the superior quality of the colouring matters with which their happy climate and soil supply them.* Add to this that dyeing is an early art. "It must have made," says Goguet, "a very rapid progress in the earliest times in some countries. Moses speaks of stuffs dyed sky-blue, purple, and double-scarlet; he also speaks of the skins of sheep dyed orange and violet."† The purple, so highly admired by the ancients, they represented as the invention of Hercules, thus tracing back its origin even to the fabulous times. In durability it appears not that any thing could surpass the colours of the ancients. "We never," says Goguet, "find them complain that the colour of their stuffs was subject to alter or change. Plutarch tells us, in the life of Alexander, that the conqueror found among the treasures of the kings of Persia, a prodigious quantity of purple stuffs, which, for one hundred and eighty years which they had been kept, preserved all their lustre, and all their primitive freshness. We find in Herodotus, that certain people, on the borders of the Caspian Sea, imprinted on their stuffs designs, either of animals or flowers, whose colour never changed, and lasted as long even as the wool of which their cloaths were made."‡

wood fixed in the earth; two sticks which traverse the warp, and are supported at each of the extremities, one by two strings tied to the tree under which the loom is placed, and the other by two other strings tied to the workman's feet, which gives him a facility of removing the threads of the warp to throw the woof." Sonnerat, Voyag. liv. iii. ch. viii.

* "Perhaps their painted cloths are more indebted to the brilliancy of the colours, and the goodness of the water, than any skill of the artist, for that admiration with which they have been viewed." Tennant's Indian Recreations, i. 299. Chardin, who tells us how admirable the Persians are in the art of dyeing, adds that their excellence in this respect is principally owing to the exquisiteness of their colouring matters. Voyages en Perse, iii. 116.

† Goguet, Origin of Laws, part ii. book ii. ch. ii. art. 1.

‡ Ibid. "The linen manufactured by the Colchians was in high repute. Some of it was curiously painted with figures of animals and flowers; and afterwards dyed like the linen of the Indians. And Herodotus tells us, that the whole was so deeply tinctured, that no washing could efface the colours. They accordingly exported it to various marts, as it was every where greatly sought after." Bryant's Anc. Mythol. v. 109. Herodotus, however, represents the people of whom he speaks, as in a state of great barbarity; μιξιν τε τουτων των ανθρωπων ειναι εμφανεα, κατατερ τοισι προβατοισι. Clio, cciii. The Chinese dye scarlet more exquisitely than any other nation. Lord Macartney

Book II.
Agriculture.

We shall next consider the progress of the Hindus in agriculture, which, though the most important of all the useful arts, is not the first invented, nor the first which arrives at perfection. It is allowed on all hands that the agriculture of Hindustan is rude; but the progress of agriculture depends so much upon the laws relating to landed property, that the state of this art may continue very low, in a country where other arts are carried to a high degree of perfection.

A Hindu field, in the highest state of cultivation, is described to be only so far changed by the plough, as to afford a scanty supply of mould for covering the seed; while the useless and hurtful vegetation is so far from being eradicated, that, where burning precedes not, which for a short time smooths the surface, the grasses and shrubs, which have bid defiance to the plough, cover a large proportion of the surface.

Nothing can exceed the rudeness and inefficiency of the Hindu implements of agriculture. The plough consists of a few pieces of wood, put together with less adaptation to the end in view, than has been elsewhere found among some of the rudest nations. It has no contrivance for turning over the mould; and the share, having neither width nor depth, is incapable of stirring the soil. The operation of ploughing is described by the expressive term *scratching*. Several ploughs follow one another, all to deepen the same furrow; a second ploughing of the same sort is performed across the first; and very often a third; and a fourth in different directions, before so much as an appearance of mould is obtained for the seed.*

says, it arises "from their indefatigable care and pains, in washing, purifying, and grinding their colouring matters." See Lord Macartney's Journal, Barrow's Life of Lord Macartney, ii. 516. The same expenditure of time and patience, commodities generally abounding in a rude state of society, are the true causes of both the fine dyeing and the fine weaving of the Hindus. Both Hindus and Chinese are indebted for all elegance of pattern to their European visitors.—Pour ce qui est des arts mechaniques, celui ou les Persans excellent le plus, et ou ils nous surpassent peut-être, c'est la teinture. Ils donnent à leurs étoffes des couleurs plus vives, plus solides qu'on ne fait en Europe. Ils impriment celles de coton et celles de soie avec une netteté et une tenacité surprenantes, soit qu'ils emploient des couleurs, soit qu'ils procèdent avec des fuilles d'or et d'argent. Olivier, Voyage, &c. v. 303. Mr. Park informs us, that the negroes of Africa have carried the art of dyeing to great perfection. Travels in Africa, p. 281: see also his Last Mission, p. 10. The arts in which the Hindus have any pretensions to skill are the very arts in which so rude a people as the Turks most excel. "Presque tous les arts sont dans l'enfance, ou sont ignorés chez eux, si nous en exceptons la teinture, la fabrication de diverses étoffes, celle des lames de sabre et de couteau. Voyages dans l'Empire Ottoman, &c. par G. A. Olivier, i. 26.

* "You frequently see a field, after one ploughing, appear as green as before; only a few scratches are perceptible, here and there, more resembling the digging of a mole, than the work of a plough." Tennant's Ind. Recr. ii. 78.

The instrument employed as a harrow is described as literally a branch of a tree; in some places as a log of wood, performing the office partly of a roller, partly of a harrow; and in others as a thing resembling a ladder of about eighteen feet in length, drawn by four bullocks, and guided by two men, who stand upon the instrument to increase its weight.* The hackery, which answers the purpose of cart or waggon, is a vehicle with two wheels, which are not three feet in diameter, and are not unfrequently solid pieces of wood, with only a hole in the middle for the axle tree. The body of the machine is composed of two bamboos, meeting together at an angle between the necks of the two bullocks, by which the vehicle is drawn, and united by a few crossing bars of the same useful material. It is supported at the angle by a bar which passes over the necks of the two animals; and cruelly galls them. To lessen the friction between the wheel and axis, and save either his wretched cattle, or his own ears, the simple expedient of greasing his wheels, never suggested itself to the mind of a ryot of Hindustan.† Even this wretched vehicle can seldom be employed for the purposes of husbandry, from the almost total want of roads. It is in back loads that the carriage of almost all the commodities of the country is performed; and in many places the manure is conveyed to the fields in baskets on the backs of the women.‡

Every thing which savours of ingenuity; even the most natural results of common observation and good sense, are foreign to the agriculture of the Hindus.

* Tennant's Ind. Recr. ii. 124, 275.

† Ibid. 75. "You cannot, by any argument, prevail upon the listless owner to save his ears, his cattle, or his cart, by lubricating it with oil. Neither his industry, his invention, nor his purse, would admit of this, even though you could remove what is generally insurmountable—his veneration for ancient usage. If his forefathers drove a screeching hackery, posterity will not dare to violate the sanctity of custom by departing from their example. This is one instance of a thousand in which the inveterate prejudices of the Asiatics stand in the way of their improvement, and bid defiance equally to the exertions of the active, and the hopes of the benevolent." Ibid. 76. This characteristic mark of a rude people, a blind opposition to innovation, is displayed by persons among ourselves, as if it was the highest mark of wisdom and virtue. When will the nation at large have wisdom to know it for what it is?—The waggon wheels are one piece of solid timber like a millstone. Tavernier, in Harris, i. 815.

‡ Into Oude are imported a variety of articles of commerce from the northern mountains, gold, copper, lead, musk, cow-tails, honey, pomegranate seeds, grapes, dried ginger, pepper, red-wood, tincar, civet, zedoary, wax, woollen cloths, wooden ware, and various species of hawks, amber, rock-salt, assafœtida, glass toys. What is carried back is earthen ware. All this commerce is carried upon the backs of men, or horses and goats. Ayeen Akberry, ii. 33. Buchanan's Journey, i. 205, 434. Capt. Hardwicke, Asiat. Res. vi. 330.

BOOK II. The advantages arising from the observation of the fittest season for sowing are almost entirely neglected. No attention was ever paid in Hindustan to the varieties of the grains; so as to select the best seed, or that fittest for particular situations. For restoring fruitfulness to a field that is exhausted, no other expedient is known, than suspending its cultivation; when the weeds, with which it is always plentifully stored, usurp undivided dominion. Any such refinement as a fallow, or a rotation of crops, is far beyond the reach of a Hindu. The most irrational practice that ever found existence in the agriculture of any nation is general in India, that of sowing various species of seeds, mustard, flax, barley, wheat, millet, maize, and many others, which ripen at different intervals, all indiscriminately on the same spot. As soon as the earliest of the crops is mature, the reapers are sent into the field, who pick out the stalks of the plant which is ripe, and tread down the rest with their feet. This operation is repeated as each part of the product arrives at maturity, till the whole is separated from the ground.

Though, during the dry season, there is an almost total failure of vegetables for the support of cattle; of which every year many are lost by famine, and the remainder reduced to the most deplorable state of emaciation and weakness; no means were ever imagined by the Hindu of saving part of the produce of the prolific season, to supply the wants of the barren one. Hay is a commodity which he never attempted to make. Various crops, as the different kinds of pulse and millet, might be produced at all seasons, and would afford the most important relief to the cattle when the pasture grounds are bare. Such crops, for such a purpose, it would be vain to look for in Hindustan. The horses themselves are preserved alive by the grooms picking up the roots of the grass with a knife from the ditches and tanks.*

* For this sketch of Hindu agriculture, the chief authorities are, a short treatise, entitled "Remarks on the Agriculture, &c. of Bengal;" Tennant's Indian Recreations, particularly the second volume; and Dr. Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar. After describing the wretched state of agriculture in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, Dr. Buchanan says; "I am afraid, however, that the reader, in perusing the foregoing accounts, will have formed an opinion of the native agriculture still more favourable than it deserves. I have been obliged to use the English words ploughings, weedings, and hoeings, to express operations somewhat similar, that are performed by the natives; and the frequent repetitions of these, mentioned in the accounts taken from the cultivators, might induce the reader to imagine that the ground was well wrought, and kept remarkably clean. Quite the reverse, however, is the truth. Owing to the extreme imperfection of their implements, and want of strength in their cattle, a field, after six or eight ploughings, has numerous small bushes remaining as upright in it as before the labour, while the

The only circumstance to captivate the fancy of those Europeans who were on the look-out for subjects of praise, was the contrivance for irrigation. Reservoirs or excavations, known in India by the name of tanks, were so contrived as to collect a large body of water in the rainy season, whence it was drawn off in the season of drought for the refreshment of the fields. These tanks appear to have been at all times a principal concern of the government; and when it is considered that almost the whole revenue of the sovereign depended in each year upon the produce of the soil, and that the decay of the tanks ensured the decay of revenue, it is no wonder that of such care and wisdom as the government any where displayed, a large portion should appear to have been bestowed upon the tanks. In certain places much care and labour have been bestowed. But those authors strangely mistook by whom this circumstance was regarded as a proof of refined agriculture and great civilization. It is only in a small number of instances, where the whole power of an extensive government, and that almost always Mahomedan, had been applied to the works of irrigation, that they are found on a considerable scale, or in any but the rudest state. In a country in which, without artificial watering, the crops would always be lost, the ingenuity of sinking a hole in the ground, to reserve a supply of water, need not be considered as great.*

plough has not penetrated above three inches deep, and has turned over no part of the soil. * * * The plough has neither coulter nor mould-board, to divide and to turn over the soil; and the handle gives the ploughman very little power to command its direction. The other instruments are equally imperfect, and are more rudely formed than it was possible for my draughtsman to represent." Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, &c. i. 126. In another place he says, " In every field there is more grass than corn. Notwithstanding the many ploughings, the fields are full of grass roots." Ibid. p. 345. See also p. 15. Agriculture was almost universal among the American tribes. " Throughout all America, we scarcely meet with any nation of hunters, which does not practise some species of cultivation." Robertson's America, ii. 117. The agriculture of the Peruvians was apparently superior to that of the Hindus. Ibid. iii. 341.

* Frezier (see his Voyage to the South Sea, p. 213, London edition, 1718) says, " The ancient Indians were extraordinary industrious in conveying the water of the rivers to their dwellings: there are still to be seen in many places aqueducts of earth and of dry stones, carried on and turned off very ingeniously along the sides of hills, with an infinite number of windings, which shows that those people, as unpolished as they were, very well understood the art of levelling." There is something indicative of no little art in the floating gardens and fields which were on the lake of Mexico. (See the Description in Clavigero, Hist. Mex. book vii. sect. 27.) The cultivation of their fields, considering it was done, by human, without the aid of animal labour, was remarkable, and their produce surprising. (Ibid. sect. 28.) The following passage from Garcilasso de la Vega deserves to be quoted as a monument of the labours of the Peruvians in agriculture: " They drained all wet moors and fens, for in that art they were excellent, as is apparent by their

Book II.

To separate the grain from the straw, the ancient method of treading with oxen has, in Hindustan, given way to no improvement; and for the most part the corn is still ground in handmills by the women.*

Jewellery.

Of the arts which at an early stage of society acquire the greatest excellence, one, as we have already observed, is that of preparing brilliant trinkets for the ornament of the person. The Hindus cut the precious stones, polish them to a

works which remain unto this day: And also they were very ingenious in making aqueducts for carrying water into dry and scorched lands." (He explains how careful they were to water both their corn lands and pasture.) * * * "After they had made a provision of water, the next thing was to dress, and cultivate, and clear their fields of bushes and trees; and that they might with most advantage receive the water, they made them in a quadrangular form; those lands which were good on the side of hills, they levelled by certain alleys or walks which they made. To make these alleys they raised three walls of friezed stone, one before, and one of each side, somewhat inclining inwards, so that they may more securely bear and keep up the weight of the earth, which is pressed and rammed down by them, until it be raised to the height of the wall. Then next to this walk they made another, something shorter and less, kept up in the same manner with its wall; until at length they came to take in the whole hill, levelling it by degrees in fashion of a ladder, one alley above the other. Where the ground was stony, they gathered up the stones, and covered the barren soil with fresh earth to make their levels, that so no part of the ground might be lost. The first quadrangles were the largest, and as spacious as the situation of the place could bear, some being of that length and breadth as were capable to receive a hundred, some two hundred, or three hundred bushels of seed. Those of the second row were made narrower and shorter. * * * * In some parts they brought the channels of water from fifteen or twenty leagues distance, though it were only to improve a slip of a few acres of land, which was esteemed good corn ground." Royal Commentaries of Peru, part i. book v. ch. i. The Mercurio Peruano describes extensive works for irrigation among the Peruvians, of which the vestiges are still to be seen. Mercur. Peruano, viii. 38. Acosta tells us, (Nat. and Mor. Hist. book iii. ch. xviii.) "The Indians do draw from these floods, that run from the mountains to the valleys and plains, many and great brooks to water their lands, which they usually do with such industry, as there are no better in Murcia, nor at Millan itself, the which is also the greatest and only wealth of the plains of Peru, and of many other parts of the Indies."

* Sonnerat, Voyag. liv. iii. ch. viii; Tennant's Ind. Recr. i. 302. The country of the Seiks, a people confessedly barbarous, a well-informed author, Francklin, in his Memoirs of George Thomas, p. 65, 66, informs us, is highly cultivated, and their arts and manufactures are on a level with those of any other part of India. Les Tartares du Daghestan ont une coutume qu'ils observent soigneusement; sçavoir, que personne ne peut se marier chez eux, avant que d'avoir planté en un endroit marqué cent arbres fruitiers; ensorte qu'on trouve partout dans les montaignes du Daghestan de grandes forets d'arbres fruitiers. (Hist. Geneal. de Tatars, p. 313.) Zoroaster made the duties of agriculture part of his religion. "To sow grain with purity, is to fulfil the whole extent of the law of the Mazdeiesnans." (Anquetil Zendav. ii. 610.) The Heruli, and Lombards, in their native wilds, cultivated flax, "which supposes," says Gibbon, "property, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce." (Gibbon, vii. 276.)

high degree of brilliancy, and set them neatly in gold and silver. It remains to be ascertained how much of civilization this faculty implies. So early as the time of Moses, the art of forming jewels had attained great perfection among the Jews. In the ephod of Aaron, and in the breast-plate of judgment, were precious stones set in gold, with the names of the twelve tribes engraved on them. The account of these jewels, in the book of Exodus, cannot be read without ideas of considerable magnificence.* Clavigero informs us, that the ancient Mexicans "set gems in gold and silver, and made most curious jewellery of great value. "In short," says that author, "these sorts of works were so admirably finished, that even the Spanish soldiers, all stung as they were with the same wretched thirst for gold, valued the workmanship above the materials."†

Dexterity in

When Europeans have compared the extreme imperfection, the scantiness and

* Exod. ch. xxviii. "I look upon engraving on fine stones," (says Goguet, Origin of Laws, part ii. book ii. ch. ii. art. 3) "as the most remarkable evidence of the rapid progress of the arts in some countries. This work supposes a number of discoveries, much knowledge, and much experience." He adds in a note, "It must be agreed, that the ancient Peruvians, whose monarchy had not subsisted above three hundred and fifty years, understood perfectly well the working of precious stones. (Hist. Gen. des Voyages, xiii. 578.)" Ibid.

† Clavigero, Hist. of Mexico, book vii. sect. 51. Even the most rude of the American tribes seem not to have been without some knowledge of the art of working the precious stones. M. de la Condamine, speaking of the green stones, found in some places bordering on the Amazons River in South America, says (Voyage dans l'Interieur de l'Amerique Meridionale, p. 138.) "La verité est qu'elles ne different, ni en couleur, ni en dureté, du Jade Oriental; elles resistent a la lime, et on n'imagine pas par quel artifice les anciens Americains ont pu les tailler, et leur donner diverses figures d'animaux, sans fer ni acier.—In the same place, he mentions another phenomenon of the art of the ancient Americans, "Ce sont," says he, "des Emeraudes arrondies, polies, et percées de deux trous coniques, diametralement opposés sur un axe commun, telles qu'on en trouve encore aujourd'hui au Perou sur les bords de la Riviere de St. Jago, dans la province d'Esmeraldas, a quarante lieues de Quito, avec divers autres monumens de l'industrie de ses anciens habitans." The Persians of the present day are eminent lapidaries. Chardin, Voy. en Perse, iii. 115.—Olivier says, "Ils taillent assez bien les pierres precieuses, et les montent avec assez de gout." Olivier, Voy. &c. v. 304, &c. "At this place I had an opportunity of seeing their mode of smelting gold. Isaaco had purchased some gold in coming through Konkodoo, and here he had it made into a large ring. The smith made a crucible of common red clay, and dried it in the sun. Into this he put the gold, without any flux or mixture whatever. He then put charcoal under it and over it; and blowing the fire with the common bellows of the country, soon produced such a heat as to bring the gold into a state of fusion. He then made a small furrow in the ground, into which he poured the melted gold. When it was cold, he took it up, and, heating it again, soon hammered it into a square bar. Then heating it again, he twisted it by means of two pair of pincers into a sort of screw, and, lengthening out the ends, turned them up, so as to form a massy and precious ring." Mungo Park's Last Mission to Africa, p. 78.

Book II. the use of rude tools.

rudeness, of the tools by which the Hindu artist performs his task, with the neatness, and in some cases the celerity of the work; they have frequently drawn an inference, the very reverse of that which the circumstances implied. This sort of faculty is no mark of high civilization. A dexterity in the use of its own imperfect tools is a common attribute of rude society.

Acosta, speaking of some remarkable instances of this species of talent in the natives of Mexico and Peru, says, "Hereby we may judge, if they have any understanding, or be brutish; for my part, I think they pass us in those things whereunto they apply themselves."* Mr. Forster himself, whose admiration was excited by the dexterity of the Hindus, affords an instance in the rude person of a Russian peasant, which might have suggested to him an appropriate conclusion. "At the distance," says he, "of a few miles from Choperskoy, the driver of the carriage alarmed me by a report of the hinder axle being shattered; an accident which gave me an opportunity of observing the dexterity of a Russian carpenter in the use of the axe. Without the help of any other tool, except a narrow chisel, to cut a space in the centre of it for receiving an iron bar which supports the axle, and to pierce holes for the linch pins, he reduced in two hours a piece of gross timber to the requisite form, and his charge was one shilling."†

* Acosta, Nat. and Mor. Hist. of the Indies, book vi. chap. viii.

† Forster's Travels, ii. 282. Les habitans de Kamschatka, d'une stupidité sans egale à certains égards, sont à d'autres d'une industrie merveilleuse. S'agit-il de se faire des vêtemens? leur addresse en ce genre, dit leur Historien, surpasse celle des Européens. *Helvetius, de l'Homme*, i. 304. "In general, the ingenuity of all their (*the Otaheitans'*) works, considering the tools they possess, is marvellous. Their cloth, clubs, fishing implements, canoes, houses, all display great skill; their mourning dresses, their war head-dress and breast-plates, show remarkable taste: their adjustment of the different parts, the exact symmetry, the nicety of the joining, are admirable: and it is astonishing how they can, with such ease and quickness, drill holes in a pearl-shell with a shark's tooth, and so fine as not to admit the point of a common pin." Missionary Voyage, p. 330. Observe the same remarkable coincidence in patience, rudeness of tools, and neatness of execution, in the following description by Robertson of the state of the arts in Mexico. "The functions of the mason, the weaver, the goldsmith, the painter, and of several other crafts, were carried on by different persons. Each was regularly instructed in his calling. To it alone his industry was confined; and, by assiduous application to one object, together with the persevering patience peculiar to Americans, their artisans attained to a degree of neatness and perfection in work, far beyond what could have been expected from the rude tools which they employed. Their various productions were brought into commerce; and by the exchange of them in the stated markets held in the cities, not only were their mutual wants supplied, in such orderly intercourse as characterizes an improved state of society, but their industry was daily rendered persevering and inventive." Robertson's Hist. of America, iii. 286. Voltaire has a passage on this subject which shows philosophical discernment. "Il-y-a dans l'homme un instinct de mechanique que nous voyons produire

CHAP. VIII.

But while dexterity in the use of imperfect tools is not a proof of civilization; a great want of ingenuity and completeness in instruments and machinery is a strong indication of the reverse; nor would it be easy to point out any single circumstance, which may be taken as a better index of the degree in which the benefits of civilization are any where enjoyed, than the state of the tools and machinery of the artists. All European visitors have been vehemently struck with the rudeness of the tools and machinery used by the people of Hindustan.* Sonnerat, one of those travellers who have surveyed the state of the arts in that country, with the greatest attention and the most enlightened eyes, informs us, that with his hands, and two or three tools, the Hindu artisan has to perform that kind of task about which with us a hundred tools would be employed.† "When the rudeness of the tools," says Mr. Forster, "with the simplicity of the process, is examined, the degree of delicacy which the artisans have acquired in their several professions must challenge a high admiration."‡ Fryer, speaking of the mode in which coral is cut, says, "The tools of the workman were more to be wondered at than his art; his hands and feet being all the vice, and the other tools unshapen bits of iron."§

Tradesmen do the work of each customer in his own house.

In the mode in which the Hindu artisans, of almost all descriptions, perform their work, is observed a circumstance, generally found among a rude people, and no where else. The carpenter, the blacksmith, the brazier, even the goldsmith

tous les jours de très grands effets, dans des hommes fort grossiers. On voit des machines inventées par les habitans des montagnes du Tirol et des Vosges, qui etonnent les savans." Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations, Introd. p. 32.

* Craufurd's Sketches, p. 328, 1st ed.

† Sonnerat, Voy. liv. iii. chap. viii. "The Indian carpenter knows no other tools than the plane, the chisel, the wimble, a hammer, and a kind of hatchet. The earth serves him for a bench, and his foot for a holdfast. He is a month in performing what our workmen will do in three days. Even after instruction he will not adopt our method of sawing. Placing his wood between two beams fixed in the ground, and sitting on a bench, a man employs three days, with one saw, to make a plank, which would cost our people an hour's work." Ibid. Among the Birmans the state of the more necessary and useful arts seems to be fully as much advanced as among the Hindus: In not a few cases more so. (See Mr. Syme's Embassy to Ava.) The waggons more neat and commodious than the clumsy gauries or carts of India.

‡ Forster's Travels, i. 25. "Their artificers," says Stavorinus, "work with so little apparatus, and so few instruments, that an European would be astonished at their neatness and expedition." Stavorinus, Voy. p. 412. See to the same purpose, Tennant, Indian Recreations, i. 301, 302, 303.

§ Fryer's Travels, let. iii. chap. iii. They cut diamonds, he says, with a mill turned by men, the string reaching, in manner of our cutler's wheels, to lesser that are in a flat press, where under steel wheels the diamonds are fastened, and with its own bort are worn into what cut the artist pleases. Ibid.

Book II.

and jeweller, not to speak of others, produce not their manufacture, as in a refined state of the arts, in houses and workshops of their own, where the accommodations requisite for them can best be combined: they repair for each job, with their little budget of tools, to the house of the man who employs them, and there perform the operation for which they are demanded.*

The fine arts.

With regard to the fine arts, a slight sketch will suffice. Hardly by any panegyrist is it pretended that the sculpture, the painting, the music of the Hindus are in a state beyond that in which they appear in early stages of society. The merely mechanical part, that for which the principal requisites are time and patience, the natural produce of rude ages when labour is of least value, is often executed with great neatness; and often excites surprise by the idea of the difficulty overcome. In the province of genius and taste, nothing but indications of rudeness appear. The productions are not merely void of attraction; they are unnatural, offensive, and not unfrequently disgusting. "The Hindus of this day," says Mr. Forster, "have a slender knowledge of the rules of proportion, and none of perspective. They are just imitators, and correct workmen, but they possess merely the glimmerings of genius."† "The style and taste of the Indians," says Paulini, "are indeed extremely wretched; but they possess a wonderful aptitude for imitating the arts and inventions of the Europeans, as soon as the method has been pointed out to them."‡ Major Rennel himself informs us, that the imitative or fine arts were not carried to the height even of the Egyptians, much less of the Greeks and Romans, by the Hindus; that like

* The blacksmith goes from place to place, carrying his tools with him. Beside his forge and his little furnace, a stone serves for an anvil, and his whole apparatus consists of a pair of pincers, a hammer, a mallet, and a file. They have not attained the art of polishing gold and silver, or of working gold in different colours. The goldsmith goes about with his tools, like the blacksmith. Sonnerat, Voy. liv. iii. chap. viii. The workmen in gold and silver are frequently only little boys, who sit every day in the bazaar or market, waiting till they are called, when they go to your house, with their implements in a little basket, consisting of a very small anvil, a hammer, a pair of bellows, a few files, and a pair of pincers; a chaffing dish, or pan of embers, is then given to him, with a model of what is to be made, and the material. He then sets about his work in the open air, and performs it with dispatch and ingenuity. Other tradesmen go to your home in the same manner, the shoemaker and tailor. Stavorinus, Voy. p. 412. It is remarkable how exactly this description of the state of the arts among the Hindus tallies with that among the Persians. Chardin informs us that every where in Persia, the artisans of all descriptions go to work in the houses of those who employ them—that they perform their work with the poorest apparatus, and, comparing the tools with the work, to a surprising degree of perfection. Chardin, Voy. en Perse, iii. 98.

† Forster's Travels, i. 80.

‡ Bartolomeo's Travels, book i. chap. vii.

the Chinese they made great progress in some of the useful arts, but scarcely any in those of taste.* CHAP. VIII.

Statuary and sculpture.

"In India," says Sonnerat, "as well as among all the people of the East, the arts have made little or no progress. All the statues we see in their temples are badly designed and worse executed." † We have the testimony of Mr. Hodges, which to this point at least is a high testimony, that the sculpture in the pagodas of Hindustan is all very rude. ‡ In the description of a temple of Siva, at Hullybedu in Mysore, Dr. Buchanan says, "Its walls contain a very ample delineation of Hindu mythology; which, in the representation of human or animal forms, is as destitute of elegance as usual; but some of the foliages possess great neatness. It much exceeds any Hindu building that I have seen elsewhere." §

Whatever exaggeration we may suppose in the accounts which the historians of Mexico and Peru have given us of the works of sculpture in the new world, the description of them will not permit us to conclude that they were many degrees inferior to the productions of Hindustan. Clavigero says, "The Mexicans were more successful in sculpture than in painting. They learned to express in their statues all the attitudes and postures of which the human body is capable; they observed the proportions exactly; and could, when necessary, execute the most delicate and minute strokes with the chisel. The works which they executed by casting of metals were in still more esteem. The miracles they produced of this kind would not be credible, if, besides the testimony of those who saw them, curiosities in numbers, of this nature, had not been sent from Mexico to Europe." ||

* Rennel's Memoir, p. xxii.

† Sonnerat, Voy. liv. iii. ch. viii.

‡ Hodges' Travels in India. Mr. Hodges says, "I am concerned I cannot pay so high a compliment to the art of sculpture among the Hindoos as is usually paid by many ingenious authors who write on the religion of Bramah. Considering these works, as I do, with the eyes of an artist, they are only to be paralleled with the rude essays of the ingenious Indians I have met with in Otaheite, and on other islands in the South Seas:" p. 26. He adds in the next page, that in point of carving, that is, the mere *mechanical* part, the ornaments in the Hindu temples are often beautiful. In another passage, too, p. 151, he speaks again of the some *mechanical* nicety, the peculiar sharpness of the cut in Hindu carvings. See to the same purpose, Tennant's Ind. Recr. i. 299.

§ Buchanan, Journey through Mysore, &c. iii. 391.

|| Clavigero, Hist. Mex. book vii. sect. 50. He adds, "The works of gold and silver sent in presents from the conqueror Cortez to Charles V. filled the goldsmiths of Europe with astonishment, who, as several authors of that period attest, declared that they were altogether inimitable. The Mexican founders made, both of gold and silver, the most perfect images of natural bodies. They made a fish in this manner, which had its scales, alternately, the one of silver and the other of

Book II.
Painting.

The progress was similar, as we might presume, in the sister art of painting. The Hindus copy with great exactness, even from nature. By consequence they draw portraits, both of individuals and of groups, with a minute likeness; but peculiarly devoid of grace and expression. Their inability to exhibit the simplest creations of the fancy, is strongly expressed by Dr. Tennant, who says, "The laborious exactness with which they imitate every feather of a bird, or the smallest fibre on the leaf of a plant, renders them valuable assistants in drawing specimens of natural history; but farther than this they cannot advance one step. If your bird is to be placed on a rock, or upon the branch of a tree, the draughtsman is at a stand; the object is not before him; and his imagination can supply nothing."* In one remarkable circumstance their painting resembles that of all other nations who have made but a small progress in the arts. They are entirely without a knowledge of perspective, and by consequence of all those finer and nobler parts of the art of painting, which have perspective for their requisite basis.†

gold, a parrot with a moveable head, tongue, and wings, and an ape with a moveable head and feet, having a spindle in its hand in the attitude of spinning." Ibid. Garcilasso tells us, "that the Peruvians framed many figures of men and women, of birds of the air, and fishes of the sea; likewise of fierce animals, such as tigers, lions and bears, foxes, dogs, cats; in short, all creatures whatsoever known amongst them, they cast and moulded into true and natural figures of the same shape and form of those creatures which they represented. They counterfeited the plants and wall-flowers so well, that being on the walls they seemed to be natural; the creatures which were shaped on the walls, such as lizards, butterflies, snakes, and serpents, some crawling up and some down, were so artificially done, that they seemed natural, and wanted nothing but motion." (Book vi. chap. i.)

* Tennant's Ind. Rec. i. 299.

† Dr. Tennant, at the place cited above, supports his own authority, by quoting the following passage of Sonnerat: "La peinture chez les Indiens est, et sera toujours, dans l'enfance; ils trouvent admirable un tableau chargé de rouge et de bleu, et dont les personages sont vêtus d'or. Ils n'entendent point le clair obscur, n'arrondissent jamais les objets, et ne savent pas les mettre en perspective; en un mot, leurs meilleures peintures ne sont que de mauvaises enlumineures." (Voyages aux Indes, i. 99.) The Indian pictures, says Mandelsloe, are more remarkable for their diversity of colours, than any exactness of proportion. Harris' Collect. of Voy. i. How exactly does this correspond with the description which Chardin gives us of the state of the same art among the Persians? En Perse les arts, tant liberaux que mechaniques, sont en general presque tous rudes et bruts, en comparaison de la perfection ou l'Europe les a portés. . . . . . Ils entendent fort mal le dessein, ne sachant rien faire au naturel; et ils n'ont aucune connoissance de la perspective. . . . . . Pour ce que de la platte-peinture, il est vrai que les visages qu'ils representent sont assez ressemblans; ils les tirent d'ordinaire de profil, parce que ce sont ceux qu'ils font le plus aisément; ils les font aussi de trois quarts: mais pour les visages en plain ou de front, ils y reussissent fort mal, n'entendant pas à y donner les ombres. Ils ne sauroient former une attitude et une pos-

Music.

It is anomalous and somewhat surprising that the music of the Hindus should be so devoid of all excellence. As music is, in its origin, the imitation of the tones of passion, and most naturally employed, for the expression of passion, in rude ages, when the power of expressing it by articulate language is the most imperfect; simple melodies, and these often highly expressive and affecting, are natural to uncultivated tribes. It was in the earliest stage of civilization that Orpheus is fabled to have possessed the power of working miracles by his lyre. Yet all Europeans, even those who are the most disposed to eulogize the attainments of the Hindus, unite in describing the music of that people, as unpleasing, and void both of expression and art. Dr. Tennant, who founds his testimony, both on his own, and other people's observations, says: "If we are to judge merely from the number of instruments, and the frequency with which they apply them, the Hindoos might be regarded as considerable proficients in music, yet has the testimony of all strangers deemed it equally imperfect as the other arts. Their warlike instruments are rude, noisy, and inartificial: and in the

ture...................... Leur pinceau est fin et delicat, et leur peinture vive et eclatante. Il faut attribuer à l'air du pays la beauté des couleurs. Voy. en Perse, iii. 284. La peinture est encore au berceau: les Persans n'ont fait aucun progrès dans cet art.......En general, leur manière de faire ressemble un peu à celle des Chinois: leur dessin est tres incorrect; ils ne connaissent pas la perspective; ils ne savent pas employer les ombres........Cependant on voit sortir de leurs mains des ouvrages assez jolis; ils peignent assez bien les fleurs et les oiseaux de fantaisie; ils reussissent dans les arabesques; ils emploient tres bien l'or; ils font de tres beaux vernix......Les couleurs que les Persans emploient, et qu'ils font eux-mémes, ont tout l'éclat, toute la solidité, qu'on peut desirer. Ce sont eux qui nous ont fait connaître l'outremir. (Olivier, Voyage, v. 301.) It is remarkable to find the state of the fine arts in China so exactly the same. "Quoique les Chinois ayent une passion extraordinaire pour tous les ouvrages de peinture, et que leurs temples en soient ornez, on ne peut rien voire neanmoins de plus borné et de moins regulier. Ils ne sçavent point menager les ombres d'un tableau, ni meler ou adoucir les couleurs......Ils ne sont pas plus heureux dans la sculpture, et ils n'y observent ni ordre, ni proportions. (Le Gentil. Voyage, ii. 111.) The painting of the Mexicans seems to have had the same perfections and imperfections with that of these eastern nations. The colours, Robertson (iii. 278) informs us, were remarkably bright, but laid on without any art, and without any regard to light and shade, or the rules of perspective. Clavigero, though the skill of the Mexicans in painting is not one of the points for which he most highly admires them, says, "We have seen, among the ancient paintings, many portraits of the kings of Mexico, in which, besides the singular beauty of the colours, the proportions were most accurately observed." (Hist. Mex. book vii. sect. 49.) "Les Mexicains," says Humboldt, "ont conservé un goût particulier pour la peinture et pour l'art de sculpter en pierre et en bois. On est étonné de voir ce qu'ils executent avec un mauvais couteau, et sur les bois les plus durs......Ils montrent beaucoup d'aptitude pour l'exercise des arts d'imitation; ils en deploient une plus grande encore pour les arts purement mecaniques. Cette aptitude deviendra un jour tres precieuse, &c." Humboldt, Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne, p. 9.

temples, those employed for the purposes of religion are managed apparently on the same principle; for, in their idea, the most pleasant and harmonious is that which makes the loudest noise."* After a description of the extreme rudeness of the instruments of music of the people of Sumbhulpoor, Mr. Motte says, "The Rajah's band always put me in mind of a number of children coming from a country fair."†

* Indian Rec. i. 300.—Ces peuples n'ont aucune idee des accords. Leur chant commence par un bourdonnement sourd et fort bas, apres lequel ils eclatent. Anquetil Duperron, Voyage aux Indes Orientales, Zendavesta, i. xxvi. Even Sonnerat himself informs us, that their music is bad, and their songs destitute of harmony. Voyages aux Indes, liv. iii. chap. viii.

† Motte's Journey to Orissa, (Asiat. An. Regist. i. Miscellaneous Tracts, p. 77.) "Their ideas of music, if we may judge from their practice, are barbarous." Orme's Hist. Milit. Trans. i. 3. The following passage from Garcilasso de la Vega is an important document in the history of music. It exhibits more nakedly the fact respecting its origin, than, perhaps, any other written monument; and it proves at the same time the power of expression which the art had attained. "In music," says he, "the Peruvians arrived to a certain harmony in which the Indians of Colla did more particularly excel, having been the inventors of a certain pipe made of canes glued together, every one of which having a different note of higher and lower, in the manner of organs, made a pleasing music by the dissonancy of sounds, the treble, tenor, and basse, exactly corresponding, and answering each to other; with these pipes they often played in concert. . . . They had also other pipes, which were flutes with four or five stops, like the pipes of shepherds; with these they played not in concert, but singly, and tuned them to sonnets, which they composed in metre, the subject of which was love, and the passions which arise from the favours or displeasures of a mistress. . . . Every song was set to its proper tune; for two songs of different subjects could not correspond with the same air, by reason that the music which the gallant made on his flute was designed to express the satisfaction or discontent of his mind, which were not so intelligible, perhaps, by the words, as by the melancholy or cheerfulness of the tune which he played. A certain Spaniard, one night late, encountered an Indian woman in the streets of Cozco, and would have brought her back to his lodgings; but she cried out, 'For God's sake, sir, let me go, for that pipe which you hear in yonder tower calls me with great passion, and I cannot refuse the summons; for love constrains me to go, that I may be his wife, and he my husband.' The songs which they composed of their wars, and grand achievements, were never set to the airs of their flute, being too grave and serious to be intermixed with the pleasures and softnesses of love; for these were only sung at their principal festivals when they commemorated their victories and triumphs." Royal Comment. book ii. ch. xiv. "The accounts of twenty-two centuries ago represent the Indians as a people who stood very high in point of civilization: but to judge from their ancient monuments, they had not carried the imitative arts to any thing like the degree of perfection attained by the Greeks and Romans; or even by the Egyptians. Both the Hindoos and the Chinese appear to have carried the arts just to the point requisite for useful purposes; but never to have approached the summit of perfection, as it respects taste or boldness of design." Rennel's Memoir, Introd. p. xxii. Our latest informants are the most intelligent. Mr. Ward (Introd. p. lxii.) assures us, "whatever may have been the case in other countries, idolatry in this has certainly not contributed to carry the arts of painting or sculpture to any per-

Chap. VIII.

As the talent of the Hindus for accurate imitation, both in the manual and in some of the refined arts, has excited much attention; and been sometimes regarded as no mean proof of ingenuity and mental culture, it is necessary to remark, that there are few things by which the rude state of society is more uniformly characterized. It is in reality the natural precursor of the age of invention; and disappears, or at least ceases to make a conspicuous figure, when the nobler faculty of creation comes into play. Garcilasso de la Vega, who quotes Blas Valera, in his support, tells us that the Peruvian Indians, "if they do but see a thing, will imitate it so exactly, without being taught, that they become better artists and mechanics than the Spaniards themselves."*

Faculty of imitation.

Game of chess.

Sir William Jones, in pompous terms, remarks: "The Hindus are said to have boasted of three inventions, all of which indeed are admirable; the method of instructing by apologues; the decimal scale; and the game of chess, on which they have some curious treatises."† As the game of chess is a species of art, the account of it seems to belong to this place; and as it has been posted high among the proofs of the supposed civilization of the Hindus, we must see what it really imports. Though there is no evidence that the Hindus invented the game, except their own pretensions, which as evidence are of very little value,

fection." The Abbé Dubois (p. 463) observes, "that the ornamental arts, such as painting, instrumental music, and the like, are extremely low in estimation. Hardly any but the low tribe of the Mushiers exercise the first of these; and music is nearly confined to the barbers and Pariahs; instrumental music wholly so. The small encouragement these two arts receive is, no doubt, owing to the little progress they have made. In painting, nothing can be seen but mere daubing, set off with bright colours and extravagant glare. And though all Hindus are great lovers of music, introducing it into all their civil and religious ceremonies, yet I can vouch that it is still in its infancy."

* Royal Comment. part ii. book ii. chap. xxx. Frezier (Voyage to the South Sea, p. 263) says of the same people, "They have a genius for arts, and are good at imitating what they see, but very poor at invention."

† See the Discourse, Asiatic Researches, i. 429. "Invented apologues!" as well might he tell us they invented language. And the "*decimal scale!*" as if they were the only nation that had ten fingers! or, as if most nations had not been led, by the simple and very natural process of counting by the fingers, to denominate and distinguish numbers by comparison with that sum! The Scandinavians, Mallet informs us, counted up the unities to twelve, and denominated higher numbers by comparison with twelve, which, he justly remarks, is preferable to ten, as being more divisible into fractions. Mallet, Introd. Hist. Denmark, vol. i. chap. xiii. The Swedes and Icelanders, as well as Scotch, retain a memorial of this in their great hundred. From Mr. Park we learn that some of the negro tribes in Africa counted only five, the number of fingers on one of the hands, and then doubled; thus, instead of six, they said five and one; seven, five and two, &c. Park's Travels in Africa, p. 17.

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it is by no means improbable. The invention of ingenious games is a feat mos commonly displayed by nations in their rude condition. It is prior to the birth of industry, that men have the strongest need for games, to relieve them from the pain of idleness: at that period they are most addicted to gaming; bestow upon it the greatest portion of time; and most intensely fix upon it all their faculties. It is, in fact, the natural occupation and resource of a rude mind, whenever destitute of the motives to industry. The valuable and intelligent historian of Chili observes of a tribe, but a few removes from the savage state; "If what the celebrated Leibnitz asserts is true, that men have never discovered greater talents than in the invention of the different kinds of games, the Araucanians may justly claim the merit of not being in this respect inferior to other nations. Their games are very numerous, and for the most part very ingenious; they are divided into the sedentary and gymnastic. It is a curious fact, and worthy of notice, that among the first is the game of chess, which they call *comican,* and which has been known to them from time immemorial. The game of *quechu,* which they esteem highly, has a great affinity to that of backgammon, but instead of dice they make use of triangular pieces of bone marked with points, which they throw with a little hoop or circle, supported by two pegs."*

Knew the art of making glass, but not of turning it to any useful purpose.

Though the Hindus knew the art of making a species of rude glass, which was manufactured into trinkets and ornaments for the women, they had never possessed sufficient ingenuity to apply it to the many useful purposes to which it

* Molina, Civil Hist. of Chili, book ii. chap. x. The Persians claim the invention of this game; and as their game is radically different from that of the Hindus, it is probable they are both inventions. See Chardin, Voy. en Perse, iii. 62. Gibbon, vii. 276, marks a fact in the narrative of Paul Diaconus, expressive of the manners of the Heruli: Dum ad tabulam luderet, while he played at draughts, says Gibbon; but he might as well have said chess; for the word as much expresses the one as the other: And we know that, among the Scandinavians, a game very closely resembling chess was known. The ancient chronicles of the Scandinavians frequently present us with young warriors endeavouring to acquire the good opinion of their mistresses by boasting of their accomplishments, such as *their skill at chess,* their dexterity in swimming and skating, their talents in poetry, and their knowing all the stars by their names. Mallet, Introd. Hist. Denmark, chap. xiii. Mr. Barrow informs us that the chess of the Chinese is totally different from that both of the Hindus and Persians. Travels in China, p. 158. It has been therefore probably, in each of those cases, a separate invention. The idea that chess was invented by the Hindus was, we believe, first started by Hyde (de Relig. Vet. Pers. ii. 1.), and thereafter it has been taken for granted. The curious reader may see an interesting description of a game at chess by four Brahmens, in Moor's Hist. of Capt. Little's Detachment, p. 139. That there are books in India containing the doctrine of chess proves nothing. There are books in Icelandic, on the art of poetry, but the Icelanders were not the inventors of poetry.

is so admirably adapted. There are few climates in which the use of glass is more conducive to comfort in the windows of houses, than in Hindustan; yet this accommodation the Hindus had never learnt to afford themselves. Of its adaptation to optical purposes they were so ignorant, as to be astonished and confounded at the effects of a common spy-glass. They are unable to construct furnaces sufficiently powerful to melt either European glass, or cast iron.*

In the mechanical arts the Hindus have not reached the low state of the Chinese.

In almost every manufacture, and certainly as a manufacturing people in general, the Hindus are inferior to the Chinese. Yet Sir William Jones says of that latter people; "Their mechanical arts have nothing in them characteristic of a particular family; nothing which any set of men, in a country so highly favoured by nature, might not have discovered and improved." † The partialities, which it was so much his nature to feel, prevented him from perceiving how much less entitled to any kind of admiration were the arts of another people, whom he had adopted it as a business to eulogize.

"* Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, &c. iii. 370. Dr. Tennant says; "Before the arrival of the Europeans, there was not a house in all India furnished with glass windows; even at present, when glass is so common here, I believe none of the natives have availed themselves of so obvious a remedy. Glass is considered by the Europeans as an indispensable requisite in the construction of every Bungalow at the upper stations: they have even introduced the use of it into the camp. Several officers carry, on their march, a frame of glass, which they fix in the windward door of their tents, during the hot winds, should the service call them into the field at that season." Indian Recreations, i. 325. See too Voyage aux Indes, par le P. Paulini, ii. 403, 404. The Jews first discovered the art of making glass. Taciti Hist. lib. v. cap. vii; Plin. lib. v. cap. xix; also, lib. xxxvi. cap. xxvi; Strabo, lib. xvi; Josephus, Wars of the Jews, ii. 19. The Hindus seem to be considerably behind the perfection which the Japanese have attained in the useful arts. "As to all sorts of handicrafts," says Kæmpfer, "either curious or useful, they are so far from having occasion for masters, that they rather exceed all other nations in ingenuity and neatness of workmanship, particularly in brass, gold, silver, copper. What skill they have in working and tempering of iron, is evident by the goodness and neatness of their arms. No nation in the East is so dexterous and ingenious, in making, carving, graving, gilding of servaas, which is a particular kind of a precious, blackish metal, made artificially of a mixture of copper with a little gold. They weave silken stuff so fine, so neat and equal, that they are inimitable even to the Chinese." Kæmpfer, Hist. of Japan, Appendix, p. 62.

† Works of Sir W. Jones, Discourse on the Chinese.

CHAP. IX.

Literature.

BOOK II.

AS the knowledge of what conduces to the augmentation of human enjoyment and the diminution of human misery, is the foundation of all improvement in the condition of human life; and as literature, if not synonymous with that knowledge, is its best friend and its inseparable companion, the literature of a country is one of the sources from which the surest inferences may be drawn respecting the state of its civilization.

Poetry.

The first literature is poetry. Poetry is the language of the passions, and men feel before they speculate. The earliest poetry is the expression of the feelings, by which the minds of rude men are most powerfully actuated. Prior, also, to the invention of writing, men are directed to the use of versification by the aid which it affords to the memory. As every thing of which the recollection is valuable must be handed down by tradition, whatever tends to make the tradition accurate is of corresponding importance. No contrivance to this end is comparable to verse; which preserves the ideas, by preserving the very words. It is in verse that not only the few historical facts are preserved, to which the curiosity of a rude age attaches itself, but in which are promulgated the maxims of religion, and the ordinances of law. Even after the noble art of writing is known, the habit of consigning to verse every idea destined for permanency continues, till certain new steps are performed in the intellectual career.*

* "It was long before mankind knew the art of writing; but they very early invented several methods to supply, in a good measure, that want. The method most commonly used was, to compose their histories in verse, and sing them. Legislators made use of this expedient to consign and hand down to posterity their regulations. The first laws of all nations were composed in verse, and sung. Apollo, according to a very ancient tradition, was one of the first legislators. The same tradition says, that he published his laws to the sound of his lyre, that is to say, that he had set them to music. We have certain proof that the first laws of Greece were a kind of songs. The laws of the ancient inhabitants of Spain were verses which they sung. Tuiston was regarded by the Germans as their first lawgiver. They said he put his laws into verses and songs. This ancient custom was long kept up by several nations." Goguet's Origin of Laws, i. 28. See the various authorities there quoted. The laws of the Druids were in verse. Henry, Hist. of Great Britain, i. 315.

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At this first stage the literature of the Hindus has always remained. The habit of expressing every thing in verse, a habit which urgent necessity imposes upon a people unacquainted with the use of permanent signs, and which the power of custom upholds, till after a certain progress in improvement, even among those to whom permanent signs are known, exists among the Hindus to the present hour. All their compositions, with wonderfully few exceptions, whatever may be the subject, are in verse. For history they have only certain narrative poems, which depart from all resemblance to truth and nature; and have evidently no farther connexion with fact than the use of certain names, and a few remote allusions. Their laws, like those of rude nations in general, are in verse. Their sacred books are in verse; and even their books of science; and what is more remarkable still, their very dictionaries. *

There is scarcely any point connected with the state of Hindu society, on which the spirit of exaggeration and enthusiasm has more signally displayed itself than the poetry of the Hindus. Among those whose disposition was more to admire than explore, scarcely any poetry has been regarded as presenting higher claims to admiration. Among the Hindus there are two great poems, the Ramayan, and the Mahabarat, which are long narratives, or rather miscellanies, in verse, and have in some degree puzzled their admirers, whether to denominate them histories, or epic poems. By the Hindus themselves, they are moreover regarded as books of religion; nay further, as books of law; and in the Digest which the Brahmens, under the authority of the British government, have recently compiled, the text of these poems is inserted as text of the law, in the same manner as the text of any other legal authority and standard. They may even be regarded as books of philosophy; and accordingly the part of the Mahabarat with the translation of which Mr. Wilkins has favoured us, he actually presents to his reader as one of the most instructive specimens of the philosophical speculations of the country.

It is incompatible with the present purpose to speak of these poems in more than general terms. They describe a series of actions in which a number of

* "Le Dictionnaire Amarasinha est ecrit en vers Sanscrit, comme tous les anciens livres, et n'est pas divisé par chapitres comme les notres, mais par classes de noms. . . . . ainsi . . . . classe *Svarggavargga*, c'est à dire classe des noms qui appartiennent au ciel; *Manouchavargga*, de ceux qui appartiennent à l'homme, &c." Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par le P. Paulini, ii. 228. "Presque tous les livres Indiens sont ecrits en vers. L'astronomie, la medicine, l'histoire, tout se chante." Ibid. p. 369. The same was the case with the ancient Germans; "Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus est, Tuistonem, &c." Tacit. de Mor. Germ. cap. x.

BOOK II.

men and gods are jointly engaged. These fictions are more extravagant, and more unnatural, not only less correspondent with the physical and moral laws of this globe, but in reality, less ingenious, more monstrous, with less of any thing that can engage the affection, awaken sympathy, or excite admiration, reverence, or terror, than the poems of any other, even the rudest people with whom our knowledge of the globe has yet brought us acquainted.* They are excessively prolix and tedious. They are often, through long passages, trifling and childish to a degree, which those acquainted with only European poetry can hardly conceive. Of the style in which they are composed it is far from too much to say, that all the vices which characterize the style of rude nations, and particularly those of Asia, they exhibit in perfection. Inflation; metaphors perpetual, and these the most violent and strained, often the most unnatural and ridiculous; obscurity; tautology; repetition; verbosity; confusion; incoherence; distinguish the Mahabarat and Ramayan, in a degree to which no parallel has yet been discovered. That amid the numberless effusions which a wild imagination throws forth, in its loose and thoughtless career, there should now and then be something which approaches the confines of reason and taste, and capable of delighting even a cultivated mind, is so far from surprising, that it would be truly surprising if there were not. A happy description, or here and there the vivid conception of a striking circumstance, are not sufficient; the exact observation of nature, and the symmetry of a whole, are necessary to designate the poetry of a cultivated people.

* Even Mr. Maurice, whose appetite for Hindu miracles is not easily overcome, could not digest the beauties of their historic muse. After an exhibition of some of these specimens in his history, he says, "I know not whether some of my readers may not be so insensible to the charms of the Indian historic muse, as to rejoice that the Ramayan (only passages of it were then in an English dress) has not been translated; for certainly inflated accounts of the combats of giants, hurling rocks, and darting serpents at one another, and of monsters, whose blood, spouting forth in torrents, is formed into considerable rivers, are not very consistent with the sober and dignified page of history." Maurice, Hist. of Hindustan, ii. 100. "To the above list of absurdities, we may add monsters with ten heads and a hundred hands, which continue to fight after all their heads are cut off, and mow down whole battalions." Ibid. p. 248. "The minute accounts of incantations and combats of giants, that fill the Indian legends, however they may astonish the oriental literati have no charm for the polished scholar of western climes, and are justly consigned to puerile reading." Ibid. p. 251. Yet Sir William Jones could say, "The first poet of the Hindus was the great Valmic; and his Ramayan is an epic poem on the story of Rama (or rather of the three Ramas,) which in unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of style, far surpasses the learned and elaborate work of Nonnus." See Asiat. Res. i. 258. We strongly suspect that Sir William Jones never read the poem; or more of it than scraps.

Of the poems in dialogue, or in the dramatic form, which have been produced among the Hindus, Sacontala has been selected as the most favourable specimen. The author, Calidas, though he left only two dramatic pieces, Sir William Jones denominates the Shakespeare of India, and tells us that he stands next in reputation to their great historic poets, Valmic and Vyasa. As this is by far the most pleasing of all the specimens of Hindu literature yet known to Europeans, an account of it will be instructive.

Sacontala was the daughter of a pious king, named Causica, and of a goddess of the lower heaven; brought up by a devout hermit, as his daughter, in a consecrated grove. The sovereign of the district, on a hunting excursion, comes by accident into the forest. He observes Sacontala, with her two companions, the daughters of the hermit, in the grove, with watering pots in their hands, watering their plants. Instantly he is captivated. He enters into conversation with the damsels, and Sacontala is secretly enamoured. The king dismisses his attendants, and resolves to remain some time in the forest, to cultivate the interest of his passion. In a little time the quality of the lover is ascertained, while the secret agitation in the bosom of Sacontala throws her into a languor which resembles disease. The king overhears a conversation between her and her two friends, in which, being closely interrogated, she confesses her love. Upon this he discovers himself, and declares his passion. The two friends contrive to leave the lovers together, when they consummate "that kind of marriage which two lovers contract from the desire of amorous embraces." Though according to the notions of a refined people, so precipitate a conclusion would have been irreconcileable with the laws both of decorum and morality, this is one of the numerous marriages legal among the Hindus. Presently, however, the king is summoned to the court. He promises to send for his wife in three days, and leaves with her a ring. In the mean time a Brahmen, of a proud and choleric temper, comes to the residence of the hermit, when his two daughters are at a little distance, and Sacontala lies fast asleep. Finding no one to receive him with the expected hospitality and honours, he utters the following imprecation: "He on whom thou art meditating, on whom alone thy heart is now fixed, while thou neglectest a pure gem of devotion who demands hospitality, shall forget thee when thou seest him next, as a man restored to sobriety forgets the words which he uttered in a state of intoxication." This malediction, which falls upon Sacontala, is overheard by her companions, and fills them with horror and consternation. They hasten to appease the angry Brahmen; who tells them, his words cannot be recalled, but the spell would be dissolved when

Book II. the lord of Sacontala should look upon his ring. Her two friends agree to conceal the calamity from Sacontala, who now languishes at the neglect of her husband, and finds herself pregnant. The hermit Canna, who at the time of the visit of the king was absent from home, returns, and is, by a voice from heaven, made acquainted with the events which have intervened. Encouraged by good omens, he soothes Sacontala, and resolves to send her to her lord. Her friends, should he not immediately recognise her, instruct her to show him the ring. Arrived at the palace, she is disowned by the king; she thinks of the ring, but discovers it is lost. The king treats her, and the messengers who brought her, as impostors; and orders them to be taken into custody. But while they are conveying her away, a body of light, descending in a female shape, receives her into its bosom and disappears; upon which the king regards the whole scene as a piece of sorcery, and dismisses it from his thoughts. After a time, however, the ring is found, and conveyed to the king; when his wife, and all the connected circumstances, immediately rush upon his mind. He is then plunged into affliction; ignorant where Sacontala may be found. In this despondency, he is summoned by Indra, the god of the firmament, to aid him against a race of giants whom Indra is unable to subdue. Having ascended to the celestial regions, and acquitted himself gloriously in the divine service, he is conveyed, in his descent to the earth, to the mountain Hemacuta, "where Casyapa, father of the immortals, and Aditi his consort, reside in blessed retirement." To this sacred spot had Sacontala, by her mother's influence, been conveyed; and there she had brought forth her son, a wonderful infant, whom his father found at play with a lion's whelp, and making the animal feel the superiority of his strength. The king now recognizes his wife and his son, of whom the most remarkable things are portended; and perfect happiness succeeds.

There is surely nothing in the invention of this story which is above the powers of the imagination in an uncultivated age. With the scenery and the manners which the Hindu poet has perpetually present to his observation, and the mythology which perpetually reigns in his thoughts, the incidents are among the most obvious, and the most easy to be imagined, which it was possible for him to choose. Two persons of celestial beauty and accomplishments meet together in a solitary place, and fall mutually in love: To the invention of this scene but little ingenuity can be supposed to be requisite. To create an interest in this love, it was necessary it should be crossed. Surely no contrivance for such a purpose was ever less entitled to admiration than the curse of a Brahmen. A ring with power to dissolve the charm, and that ring at the moment of ne-

cessity lost, are contrivances to bring about a great event, which not only display the rudeness of an ignorant age, but have been literally, or almost literally, repeated innumerable times in the fables of other uncultivated nations. To overcome the difficulties which the interest of the plot rendered it necessary to raise, by carrying a man to heaven to conquer giants for a god, for whom the god was not a match, is an expedient which requires neither art nor invention; and which could never be endured, where judgment and taste have received any considerable culture.

The poem, indeed, has some beautiful passages. The courtship between Sacontala and Dushmantu, that is the name of the king, is delicate and interesting; and the workings of the passion in two amiable minds are naturally and vividly pourtrayed. The picture of the friendship which exists between the three youthful maidens is tender and delightful; and the scene which takes place when Sacontala is about to leave the peaceful hermitage where she had happily spent her youth; her expressions of tenderness to her friends, her affectionate parting with the domestic animals she had tended, and even with the flowers and trees in which she had delighted, breathe more than pastoral sweetness. These, however, are precisely the ideas and affections, wherever the scene is a peaceful one, which naturally arise in the simplest state of society, as the fables of the golden age and of Arcadia abundantly testify; and in whatever constitutes the beauty of these scenes they are rivalled by the song of Solomon, which is avowedly the production of a simple and unpolished age.* Beyond these few passages, there is nothing in Sacontala, which either accords with the understanding, or can gratify the fancy, of an instructed people.

Sir William Jones, who, on the subject of a supposed ancient state of high civilization, riches, and happiness among the Hindus, takes every thing for granted, not only without proof, but in opposition to almost every thing, saving the assumptions of the Brahmens, which could lead him to a different conclusion, says, " The dramatic species of entertainment must have been carried to great perfection, when Vicramaditya, who reigned in the first century before

* Of the Song of Solomon Voltaire, notwithstanding all his prejudices against the Jews, confesses, " Après tout, ce cantique est un morceau precieux de l'antiquité. C'est le seul livre d'amour qui nous soit resté des Hebreux. Il y est souvent parlé de jouissance. C'est une eglogue Juive. Le style est comme celui de tous les ouvrages d'eloquence des Hebreux, sans liaison, sans suite, plein de repetitions, confus, ridiculement metaphorique; mais il y a des endroits qui respirent la naïveté et l'amour. Voltaire Diction. Philos. Mot Solomon. The criticism would in most respects exactly suit Sacontala.

Christ, gave encouragement to poets, philologers, and mathematicians, at a time when the Britons were as unlettered and unpolished as the army of Hanumat."* Sir William forgets that, even a century before Christ, the Britons had their Druids; between whom and the Brahmens, in character, doctrines, and acquirements, a remarkable similarity has been traced. The conformities in their religious system have already been remarked. All their doctrines, their narratives, and even the laws of which they were the promulgators, were delivered in verse. "They had made considerable progress," says Dr. Henry, "in several branches of learning. We shall be confirmed in this," he adds, "by observing the respectful terms in which the best Greek and Roman writers speak of their learning. Diogenes Laertius places them in the same rank, in point of learning and philosophy, with the Chaldeans of Assyria, the Magi of Persia, and the gymnosophists and Brachmans of India. Both Cæsar and Mela observe, that they had formed very large systems of astronomy and natural philosophy; and that these systems, together with their observations on other parts of learning, were so voluminous, that their scholars spent no less than twenty years in making themselves masters of them, and in getting by heart that infinite multitude of verses in which they were contained." †

The mere existence, however, of dramatic entertainments has been held forth, in the case of the Hindus, as proof of a high state of civilization; and Sir William Jones, whose imagination on the accomplishments of the orientals delighted to gild, and hardly set any limit to its glittering creations, thinks the representation of Sacontala must have been something pre-eminently glorious; as the scenery must have been striking; and "as there is good reason," he says, "to believe, that the court at Avanti was equal in brilliancy, in the reign of Vicramaditya, to that of any monarch in any age or country." ‡ To how great a degree this latter supposition is erroneous, we shall presently see. In the mean time, it is proper to remark, that nations may be acquainted with dramatic entertainments, who have made but little progress in knowledge and civilization. In extent of dominion, power, and every thing on which the splendour of a court depends, it will not, probably, be alleged, that any Hindu sovereign ever surpassed the present emperors of China. The Chinese, too, are excessively fond of dramatic performances; and they excel in poetry as well as the Hindus; yet our British ambassador and his retinue found their dramatic representations very

* Preface to Sir William Jones's Translation of Sacontala.

† Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, ii. 5, and i. 153.

‡ Preface to Sacontala.

rude and dull entertainments.* Garcilasso de la Vega, on the subject of the ancient Peruvians, says, "The Amautas, who were men of the best ingenuity among them, invented comedies and tragedies, which in their solemn festivals they represented before their king and the lords of his court.—The plot or argument of their tragedies was to represent their military exploits, and the triumphs, victories, and heroic actions of their renowned men."† "Dramatic as well as lyric poetry," says Clavigero, "was greatly in repute among the Mexicans." He then describes their theatres, and adds, "Boturini says, that the Mexican comedies were excellent."‡

As poetry is the first cultivated of all the branches of literature, there is at least one remarkable instance, that of Homer, to prove that in a rude state of society it may acquire extraordinary perfection. At a point of civilization lower than that which we suppose the Hindus to have obtained, better poetry than theirs may be found. From the effects produced by the poetic declamations of the Druids, it is certain that they must have possessed the faculty of working powerfully on the imaginations and sympathies of their audience. The Celtic poetry, ascribed to Ossian, and other bards, which, whatever age, more recent or more remote, may be assigned by controversy for its date, is, beyond a doubt, the production of a people whose ideas were extremely scanty, and their manners rude, surpasses in every point of excellence, the sterile extravagance of the poetry of the Hindus. In so rude a state of society as that which existed in the north of Europe, in Denmark, Iceland, Sweden, at the time of our Anglo-Saxon monarchies, the number of poets, and the power of their compositions, were exceedingly great. "The poets of the north" (to use the words of Dr. Henry) "were particularly famous in this period, and greatly caressed by our Anglo-Saxon kings. 'It would be endless,' (says an excellent antiquary) 'to name all the

* "Wretched dramas," Lord Macartney calls them. Barrow's Life of Lord Macartney, ii. 286.

† Royal Commentaries of Peru, book ii. chap. xv.

‡ Clavigero, Hist. of Mexico, book vii. sect. 43. Carli (Lettres Americaines, i. 296) says, "Mais que direz vous si je vous assure que les Peruviens jouoient des comedies pendant ces fêtes, et qu'ils aimoient passionnément ce plaisir. Cela est cependant vrai. La comedie faisoit donc un des plaisirs du Peru; mais la tragédie etoit préférée à Tlascala, dont le peuple etoit republicain. Chez un peuple independant on se plait à produire les tyrans sur la scene pour en inspirer la haine à la generation actuelle, qui la transmet à la suivante......... Mais on a aussi remarqué ce gout du théatre chez plusieurs peuples des îles du Sud."—But an art which is known to the islanders of the South Sea, is not a proof of high civilization. The people in the Birman empire are fond of dramatic entertainments; but these entertainments among them are very rude. Dr. Buchanan, Asiat. Res. vi. 305.

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poets of the north who flourished in the courts of the kings of England, or to relate the distinguished honours and magnificent presents that were heaped upon them.' The same writer hath preserved the names of no fewer than eight of those Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic poets, who flourished in the Court of Canute the Great.—The poems of those ancient bards of the north are said to have produced the most amazing effects on those who heard them, and to have roused or soothed the most impetuous passions of the human mind. Revenge, it is well known, rages with the greatest violence in the hearts of warlike, fierce barbarians, and is of all their passions the most furious and ungovernable; and yet it is said to have been subdued by the enchanting power of poetry. Egil-Skallagrim, a famous poet of those times, had quarrelled with Eric Blodox, King of Norway; and in the course of that quarrel had killed the King's son and several of his friends; which raised the rage of Eric against him to the greatest height. Egil was taken prisoner, and sent to the King, who was then in Northumberland. No sooner was he brought into the presence of the enraged Monarch, who had in his own mind doomed him to the most cruel tortures, than he began to sing a poem which he had composed in praise of his royal virtues, and conveyed his flattery in such sweet and soothing strains, that they procured him not only the forgiveness of all his crimes, but even the favour of his prince. The power of poetry is thus described in one of their most ancient odes: 'I know a song by which I soften and enchant the arms of my enemies, and render their weapons of none effect. I know a song which I need only to sing when men have loaded me with bonds; for the moment I sing it my chains fall in pieces, and I walk forth at liberty. I know a song useful to all mankind; for as soon as hatred inflames the sons of men, the moment I sing it, they are appeased. I know a song of such virtue, that, were I caught in a storm, I can hush the winds, and render the air perfectly calm.'—Those ancient bards, who had acquired so great an ascendant over the minds of their ferocious countrymen, must certainly have been possessed of an uncommon portion of that poetic fire, which is the gift of nature, and cannot be acquired by art."*

Even in that figurative and turgid style, which has been supposed a peculiar mark of oriental composition, but which, in reality, is only a mark of a low stage of society, and is uniformly discovered in the language of a rude people, the poetry of the northern bards exhibits a striking similarity to that of the Hindus, the Persians, Arabians, and other eastern nations. "The style of these ancient

* Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, book ii. chap. v.

poems," says Mallet, "is very enigmatical and figurative, very remote from common language; and for that reason grand, but tumid; sublime, but obscure. If every thing should be expressed by imagery, figures, hyperboles, and allegories, the Scandinavians may rank in the highest class of poets."* For these peculiarities of the poetry of a rude people, this author philosophically accounts. "The soaring flights," says he, "of fancy, may possibly more peculiarly belong to a rude and uncultivated than to a civilized people. The great objects of nature strike more forcibly on their imaginations. Their passions are not impaired by the constraint of laws and education. The paucity of their ideas, and the barrenness of their language, oblige them to borrow from all nature images in which to clothe their conceptions."† The poetry of the Persians resembles that of the

* Mallet, Introd. Hist. Denmark, i. 13. The following is a very soft but correct delineation of the rude features of Hindu poetry. "The poetical expression of the Hindus perhaps offends by too great loftiness and emphasis. One may understand their books and conversation in prose; but it is impossible to comprehend those in verse, until diligent study has rendered them familiar. Quaint phrases, perpetual allegories, the poetical terminations of the words, contracted expressions and the like, render the poetical style obscure and difficult to be understood, excepting to those who are inured to it. One of the principal defects of the Hindu poets is that their descriptions are commonly too long and minute. For example, if they are describing a beautiful woman, they are never contented with drawing her likeness with a single stroke........Such a mode of expression would not be strong enough for the gross comprehension of a Hindu. The poet must particularize the beauty of her eyes, her forehead, her nose, her cheeks, and must expatiate on the colour of her skin, and the manner in which she adorns every part of her body. He will describe the turn and proportion of her arms, legs, thighs, shoulders, chest, and in a word of all parts visible or invisible; with an accurate recital of the shape and form which best indicate their beauty and symmetry. He will never desist from his colouring till he has represented in detail every feature and part in the most laboured and tedious style, but at the same time with the closest resemblance. The epithets, in their poetical style, are frequent, and almost always figurative.—The brevity and conciseness of many modes of expression in the Hindu idioms, does not hinder their style, upon the whole, from being extremely diffuse.—To give an exact idea of the different species of Hindu poesy would not be much relished by the greater number of readers, so different in their manner from ours. All their little pieces that I have seen are in general very flat." Description, &c. of the People of India, by the Abbé Dubois, p. 267.

† Mallet, ut supra. In the very subjects of their poems, as well as the style of them, the Scandinavian bards bore a great resemblance to the Hindu. Of the poetry of the Scalds, Mallet says, Ibid. ii. 183, "The same taste and mode of composition prevails every where: we have constantly allegories and combats; giants contending with the gods; Loke perpetually deceiving them; Thor interposing in their defence, &c." The Scandinavians had not only striking poems, but treatises on the art of poetry. Id. Introduction to the Edda, p. xix. Clavigero says of the Mexicans, "The language of their poetry was brilliant, pure and agreeable, figurative, and embellished with frequent comparisons to the most pleasing objects in nature, such as flowers, trees, rivers, &c." Hist. of Mex. book vii. sect. 42.

Book II. Arabians, and both resemble that of the Hindus. The poetry of the Persians and Arabians has been celebrated in still higher strains than even that of the Hindus; and it is no doubt entitled to more of our admiration. The Persians have their great historic poem, the *Shah Namu,* corresponding to the Mahabarat or Ramayan of the Hindus. It embraces a period of 3,700 years, and consists of 60,000 rhymed couplets. On this poem the most lofty epithets of praise have been bestowed; and a part of it, embracing a period of 300 years, Sir William Jones selects as itself a whole; a poem truly epic, of which the merit hardly yields to that of the Iliad itself.* We shall speak of it in the language of an oriental scholar, who has made the literature of Persia more peculiarly his study than Sir William Jones. The Shah Namu, says Mr. Scott Waring, "has probably been praised as much for its length as its intrinsic merit. When we allow it is unequalled in the East, we must pause before we pronounce it to be equal, or to approach very nearly, to the divinest poem of the West. The stories in the Shah Namu," he says, "are intricate and perplexed, and as they have a relation to each other, they can only be understood by a knowledge of the whole. Episodes are interwoven in episodes; peace and war succeed each other; and centuries pass away without making any alteration in the conduct of the poem—the same prince continues to resist the Persian arms; the same hero leads them to glory—and the subterfuge of supposing two Afrasiabs or two Roostums, betrays, at least, the intricacy and confusion of the whole fable. The character of Nestor answered the most important ends, his eloquence and experience had a wonderful effect in soothing the contentions of a divided council; but the age of Zal or of Roostum answers no purpose, for they only share longevity in common with their fellow creatures." In many instances, he adds, "the poet is tedious and uninteresting. He is often too minute; and by making his description particular makes it ridiculous. An example of this may be given in his description of the son of Ukwan Deo; which instead of expressing his immense size by some bold figure, gives us his exact measure: *He was one hundred yards high and twenty broad.*"† With respect to the style of this as well as of other Persian poets, the same author informs us, that "the style of the most admired Persian authors is verbose and turgid; the mind is filled with words and epithets,

* The words of Sir William Jones are: "Nobilissimum interea, et longissimum (voluminis enim permagni prope dimidiam partem constituit) est sine ulla dubitatione vere epicum, et profecto nullum est ab Europeis scriptum poema, quod ad Homeri dignitatem, et quasi cœlestem ardorem propius accedat." Works, ii. 502.

† Tour to Sheeraz, by Ed. Scott Waring, pp. 158, 159, 160, 198.

and you probably meet with several quibbles and monstrous images before you arrive at one fact."* And in another passage he says, "The Persian poets, in all their similes or comparisons, fall infinitely below mediocrity."† Chap. IX.

History. As soon as reason begins to have considerable influence in the direction of human affairs, no use of letters is deemed more important than that of preserving an accurate record of those events and actions by which the interests of the nation have been promoted or impaired. But the human mind must have a certain degree of culture, before the value of such a memorial is perceived. The

* Tour to Sheeraz, by Ed. Scott Waring, p. 150. The author adds, "I shall give one instance from an immense number, of the forced images of Persian historians; it would be disgusting to the reader to produce others:"—a style of which more than one instance would disgust must be a bad style indeed.—"Nous savons assez," says Voltaire, "que le bon gout n'a jamais été connu dans l'Orient.—Otez aux Arabes, aux Persans, aux Juifs, le soleil et la lune, les montagnes et les vallées, les dragons et les basilics, il ne leur reste presque plus de poesie." Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit de Nations, tom. i. ch. v.

† Tour to Sheeraz, ut supra, p. 235. To the imagination of the eastern poets, and above all, of the Hindus, may be aptly applied, in many of its particulars, the description of the Demoness, Imagination, in the enchanted castle of Hermaphrodix:

Sous les grands arcs—d'un immense portique,
Amas confus de moderne et d'antique,
Se promenoit un fantôme brillant,
Au pied leger, à l'œil etincelant,
Au geste vif, à la marche egarée,
La tête haute, et de clinquans parée.
On voit son corps toujours en action,
Et son nom est l'*Imagination*,
Non cette belle et charmante déesse
Qui présida dans Rome et dans la Gréce,
Aux beaux travaux de tant de grands auteurs,
Qui repandit l'eclat de ses couleurs;
Mais celle-la qu'abjure le bon sens,
Cette etourdie, effarée, insipide,
Que tant d'auteurs approchent de si près.
. . . .
Près d'elle étoit le Galimatias,
Monstre bavard caressé dans ses bras.

La Pucelle d'Orleans, Chant 17me.

Gibbon well denominates the Koran, "an endless incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds." Chap. l. p. 269. Yet it is a superior composition to any work among the Hindus.

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actions of his nation, or of individuals among his countrymen, which the rude and untutored barbarian is excited to remember, are those which he wonders at and admires; and they are remembered solely for the pleasure of those emotions. Exaggeration, therefore, is more fitted to his desires than exactness; and poetry than history. Swelled by fiction, and set off with the embellishments of fancy, the scene lays hold of his imagination, and his passions are roused. It is accordingly found that all rude nations, even those to whom the use of letters has long been familiar, neglect history, and are gratified with the productions only of the mythologists and poets.

It is allowed on all hands that no historical composition whatever appears to have existed in the literature of the Hindus; they had not reached that point of intellectual maturity, at which the value of a record of the past for the guidance of the future begins to be understood. "The Hindus," says that zealous and industrious Sanscrit scholar, Mr. Wilford, "have no ancient civil history." Remarking a coincidence in this characteristic circumstance between them and another ancient people, he adds, "Nor had the Egyptians any work purely historical."* Major Rennel says, that, founded on Hindu materials, there is no known history of Hindustan, nor any record of the historical events of that country prior to the Mahomedan conquests.† It is perhaps still more remarkable that since that period no historical work has been produced by a Hindu. It is to Mahomedan pens exclusively that we are indebted for all our knowledge of the Mahomedan conquests, and of the events which preceded the passage to India, by the Cape of Good Hope.‡ An inclination at first appeared among the

* Wilford, on Egypt and the Nile, Asiat. Res. iii. 296.

† Rennel's Memoir, Introd. p. xl.

‡ "That no Hindu nation, but the Cashmirians, have left us regular histories," says Sir W. Jones, "in their ancient language, we must ever lament." Asiat. Res. iv. xvii. What he meant by excepting the Cashmirians, we know not. No history of them has ever been seen. "Although we have had recourse," says Dr. Tennant, "to the Sanscrit records at Benares for several years, no history of the country has been found, which is the composition of a native." Ind. Rec. i. 10. "Their poets," says Mr. W. Chambers, "seem to have been their only historians as well as divines; and whatever they relate is wrapped up in this burlesque garb, set off, by way of ornament, with circumstances highly incredible and absurd, and all this without any date, and in no order or method, than such as the poet's fancy suggested and found most convenient. Asiat. Res. i. 157. Such is the character of the Puranas, from which Mr. Wilford has exerted himself with such a waste of labour and credulity to extract some scattered fragments of history; or rather something, it is difficult to say what, on which some few historical inferences might be founded. "The department of ancient history in the East is so deformed by fable and anachronism, that it may be considered an absolute blank in Indian literature." Wilks's Mysore, Pref. p. xv. Mr. Dow's prejudices went far: "We must not," says he, (Preface to his Hist. of Hindostan) "with Ferishta,

warm admirers of Sanscrit to regard the poems Mahabharat and Ramayan, as a sort of historical records. A more intimate acquaintance with those grotesque productions has demonstrated the impossibility of reconciling them with the order of human affairs; and, as the only expedient to soften the deformities in which they abound, suggested the theory that they are allegorical.*

consider the Hindoos as destitute of genuine domestic annals, or that those voluminous records they possess are mere legends framed by the Bramins." Yet it has been found that all which Ferishta said was true, and all that Col. Dow believed was false.—" Seriously speaking, the turn and bent of the imagination of the people of India are such, that they can in no wise be excited but by what is monstrous. Ordinary occurrences make no impression upon them at all. Their attention cannot be gained without the introduction of giants and pygmies. The Brahmans, therefore, having studied this propensity, availed themselves of it to invent a religious worship, which they artfully interwove with their own private interests.—This passion of the Hindus for the extraordinary and the wonderful must have been remarked by every one who has ever so little studied their character. It continually leads to the observation I have so frequently repeated, that as often as it was necessary to move their gross imagination, some circumstance, altogether extravagant, but coloured with the hue of truth, was required to be added to the simplicity of narrative or fact. To give them any idea of the marvellous, something must be invented that will overturn, or at least alter the whole order of nature. The miracles of the Christian religion, however extraordinary they must appear to a common understanding, are by no means so to the Hindus. Upon them they have no effect. The exploits of Joshua and his army, and the prodigies they effected by the interposition of God, in the conquest of the land of Canaan, seem to them unworthy of notice, when compared with the achievements of their own Rama, and the miracles which attended his progress when he subjected Ceylon to his yoke. The mighty strength of Samson dwindles into nothing, when opposed to the overwhelming energy of Bali, of Ravana, and the giants. The resurrection of Lazarus itself is, in their eyes, an ordinary event, of which they see frequent examples in the Vishnu ceremonies of the *Pahvahdam*.—I particularize these examples, because they have been actually opposed to me more than once by Brahmans, in my disputations with them on religion." Abbé Dubois, p. 421.

* Such is the opinion of some of the best Sanscrit scholars; for example, of Mr. Wilkins. The same idea is encouraged by Sir William Jones, Asiat. Res. ii. 135. The good sense of Major Rennel rejected at an early period the notion of their historical truth. " The Mahabarat...... supposed to contain a large portion of interesting historical matter: but if the father of Grecian poetry made so total a change in the story of Helen, in order to give a full scope to his imagination; what security have we that another poet may not mislead us in matters of fact." Memoir, p. xlii. A mind of greater compass and force had previously said, "It were absurd to quote the fable of the Iliad or the Odyssey, the legends of Hercules, Theseus, or Œdipus, as authorities in matter of fact relating to the history of mankind; but they may, with great justice, be cited to ascertain what were the conceptions and sentiments of the age in which they were composed, or to characterize the genius of that people, with whose imaginations they were blended, and by whom they were fondly rehearsed and admired." Ferguson, Essay on the Hist. of Civil Society, part ii. sect. 1.

BOOK II.

The ancient Persians, who used the Pehlivi language, appear to have been exactly in the state of the Hindus. "I never," says Sir John Malcolm, "have been able to hear of the existence of any work in the ancient Pehlivi that could be deemed historical."*

The modern Persians, in this, as in many other respects, are found to have made some progress beyond the ancient Persians, and beyond the Hindus. The first step towards the attainment of perfect history is the production of prose compositions, expressly destined to exhibit a record of real transactions, but in which the genius of imagination still predominates over that of exactness, and presents a detail of transactions in which the lines of reality are but faintly to be traced. With histories of this description the Persians abound; but it is only on the most recent that any reliance can be placed. "The Persians," says Mr. Scott Waring, "do not make a study of history; consequently their histories abound with idle tales, and extravagant fables."† Another celebrated Persian scholar says; "The Persians, like other people, have assumed the privilege of romancing on the early periods of society. The first dynasty is, in consequence, embarrassed by fabling. Their most ancient princes are chiefly celebrated for their victories over the demons or genii called dives; and some have reigns assigned to them of eight hundred or a thousand years."‡ On the comparison of the Grecian and native histories of Persia he says, "There seems to be nearly as much resemblance between the annals of England and Japan, as between the European and Asiatic relations of the same empire." The names and numbers of the kings as exhibited by the historians of the two countries, have no analogy. No mention in the Persian annals is made of the Great Cyrus, nor of any King of Persia, the events of whose reign can, by any construction, be tortured into a similitude with his. No trace is to be found of Crœsus, of Cambyses, or of his expedition against the Ethiopians; none of Smerdis Magus, or of Darius Hystaspes; "not a vestige of the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Salamis, Platæa, or Mycale, nor of the mighty expedition of Xerxes."§

* Hist. of Persia, i. 273. Yet the Jewish scriptures tell us, that the deeds of the kings of Persia were written in chronicles of that kingdom; and Ctesias, who was at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, says he had access to volumes contained in the royal archives.—The Persians had no historians before the æra of Mohammed; Kinneir's Geog. Mem. of the Persian Empire, p. 49.—In Persia, there is now, as there has long been, a royal historiographer, whose business it is to record the glories of the reigning prince. Ibid.

† Tour to Sheeraz, p. 152.

‡ Richardson's Dissertations, p. 47.

§ Ibid. p. 47 to 60. He gives us the following as the account, by the Persian historians, of the

Geography and chronology.

On the geography and chronology, as parts of the literature of the Hindus, I shall express myself in the language of Mr. Wilford. "The Hindus," says that celebrated Hindu scholar, "have no regular work on the subject of geography, or none at least that ever came to my knowledge.—I was under a necessity of extracting my materials from their historical poems, or, as they may be called

conquest of Alexander. Bahman, the King, had married his own daughter. When he died, leaving her pregnant, he appointed her his successor, if she had no son; and regent, if she had one. The lady wished to reign; and being delivered of a son, concealed his birth. He was exposed, but found, and brought up by a dyer. When grown to manhood he joined the Queen's army, which was marching against the Greeks, and performed prodigies of valour. The Queen sent for him; he was recognized, and the Queen resigned. He became King Darab. He marched against Philip of Macedon, and forced him to take refuge in a forest. Peace was granted, on Philip's giving his daughter to Darab, and paying annually a thousand eggs of gold. Philip's daughter ceased to please, and Darab sent her back after she was pregnant. The child she brought forth was the famous Alexander. The son of Darab, who succeeded him, proved so bad a king, that the nobles of Persia advised Alexander to assert his right to the throne. Alexander refused the annual tribute. Darab, the younger, marched against him, and was conquered. After the battle he was assassinated in his tent by his attendants. But Alexander protested his ignorance of the crime, and Darab named him his successor, requesting him to govern Persia by Persian nobles, which he did. Ibid. In another passage (Ibid. p. 326) he acknowledges that no account is found in the Persian historians of the expedition of Cyrus the younger. The story of Alexander, as told by Sir John Malcolm, in his late history of Persia, is similar, though not the same. Mr. Gibbon says well, "The art and genius of history have ever been unknown to the Asiatics...... And perhaps the Arabs might not find in a single historian, so clear and comprehensive a narrative of their own exploits as will be deduced in the ensuing sheets." Gibbon, chap. li. Chardin, speaking of the ignorance of the Persians, in regard to geography and history, says, "On ne croiroit jamais que cette ignorance fut aussi outrée qu'elle l'est, et je ne l'auroit pu croire moi-même, si je ne m'en etois convaincu par un long usage..... Pour ce qui est de l'histoire du paÿs, les livres qui en traitent ne sont clairs et sûrs, et ne se suivent, que depuis la naissance de la religion Mahometane; de maniere qu'on ne se peut fier à rien de ce qui est rapporté de siecles precedens, surtout en matière de chronologie, ou ces gens committent les plus grossieres erreurs, confondant les siecles, et mettant tout pêle-mêle sans se soucier du tems.—Toutes ces histoires, jusqu'au tems de Muhammed, sont des pieces ou fabuleuses ou Romanesques, remplies de mille contes ou il n'y a rien de vraisemblable." Voyage en Perse, iii. 256. And Gibbon says (Hist. of Decl. and Fall, ch. x. p. 442.) "So little has been preserved of Eastern history before Mahomet, that the modern Persians are totally ignorant of the victory of Sapor, an event so glorious to their nation."—"When the Romans had supplanted the Greeks, and extended their dominion over all Europe, they also engaged in endless wars with the Persian kings of the Ashkanian and Sassanian dynasties, for these Asiatic provinces. The events of these early periods are not well described in *our* histories, as we have no authentic records prior to the time of Mohammed: But the Greeks, who have histories which extend back 2000 years, have minutely described all the circumstances of these wars." Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, translated by Charles Stewart, Esq. M. A. S. Professor of Oriental Languages, in the Hon. East India Company's College, Herts, iii. 23.

Book II. more properly, their legendary tales." In another place he says, "The Hindu systems of geography, chronology, and history, are all equally monstrous and absurd. The circumference of the earth is said to be 500,000,000 yojanas, or 2,456,000,000 British miles: the mountains are asserted to be 100 yojanas, or 491 British miles high. Hence the mountains to the south of Benares are said, in the Puranas, to have kept the holy city in total darkness, till Matra-deva growing angry at their insolence, they humbled themselves to the ground, and their highest peak now is not more than 500 feet high. In Europe, similar notions once prevailed; for we are told that the Cimmerians were kept in continual darkness by the interposition of immensely high mountains. In the Calica Purana, it is said that the mountains have sunk considerably, so that the highest is not above one yojana, or five miles high.—When the Puranics speak of the kings of ancient times, they are equally extravagant. According to them, King Yudhishthir reigned 27,000 years; King Nanda is said to have possessed in his treasury above 1,584,000,000 pounds sterling in gold coin alone; the value of the silver and copper coin, and jewels, exceeded all calculation: and his army consisted of 100,000,000 men. These accounts geographical, chronological, and historical, as absurd and inconsistent with reason, must be rejected. This monstrous system seems to derive its origin from the ancient period of 12,000 natural years, which was admitted by the Persians, the Etruscans, and, I believe, also by the Celtic tribes; for we read of a learned nation in Spain, which boasted of having written histories of above six thousand years." *

Botany. The same industrious explorer of the literature of this ancient people informs us; "The Hindus were superficial botanists, and gave the same appellation to plants of different classes." † In fact, to arrange or classify, on this or on any other subject, seems an attempt which has in all ages exceeded the mental culture of the Hindus.

Metaphysics. It is an error to suppose that for the origin of unprofitable speculations, respecting the nature and properties of thought, great progress in civilization is required. The fears and hopes, the conceptions and speculations, respecting the Divine Nature, and respecting a future state of existence, lead to inquiries concerning the invisible operations of the mind. If we consult but history, we shall be led to conclude, that certain curious, and subtle, but idle questions, respecting the mental operations, are a mark, not of a cultivated, but a rude state

* See Wilford on Egypt and the Nile, Asiat. Res. iii. 295; and on the Chronology of the Hindus, Ibid. v. 241.

† Wilford on Egypt and the Nile, Asiat. Res. iii. 310.

of society. It was during an age of darkness and barbarity, that metaphysical speculations engaged so passionately the minds of the European doctors; and called forth examples of the greatest acuteness and subtlety. It was prior to the dawn of true philosophy, that the sophists, whose doctrine was a collection of ingenious quibbles on abstract questions, enjoyed their celebrity in Greece. Pythagoras flourished at a very early age; and yet there is a high degree of subtle ingenuity in the doctrines he is said to have taught. Amid the rudeness of the Celtic inhabitants of Gaul and Britain, the Druids carried, we know not how far, the refinements of metaphysical speculation. Strabo, as quoted by Dr. Henry,* says, "The Druids add the study of moral philosophy to that of physiology. † Ammianus Marcellinus informs us, that the inhabitants of Gaul, having been by degrees a little polished, the study of some branches of useful learning was introduced among them by the bards, the Eubates, and the Druids. The Eubates made researches into the order of things, and endeavoured to lay open the most hidden secrets of nature. The Druids were men of a still more sublime and penetrating spirit, and acquired the highest renown by their speculations, which were at once subtle and lofty." ‡ The progress which the Arabians made in a semblance of abstract science has been highly celebrated. The following observations, borrowed from one of the most intelligent Europeans by whom they have been studied, will enable us to appreciate their metaphysical science. Of the Arabians, even at the brightest period of their history, the Europeans, he informs us, have been prone to form too favourable, indeed extravagantly erroneous ideas. § Their best writers are the translators or copiers of the Greeks. The only study peculiar to them, a study which they continue to cultivate, is that of their own language. But by the study of language among the Arabians, we must not understand that philosophical spirit of research, which in words investigates the history of ideas, in order to perfect the art by which they are communicated. The study is cultivated on the account alone of its connexion with religion. As the word of God conveys the meaning of God, no conceivable nicety of investigation is ever too much to elicit that meaning in

* Hist. of Great Britain, ii. 4.

† Strabo, lib. iv. p. 197.

‡ Ammian. Marcell. lib. xv. cap. ix.

§ The high civilization, refined literature, beautiful language, profound philosophy, polished manners, and amiable morals of the Arabians, are celebrated in the highest strains, by M. de Boulainvilliers, Vie de Mahomet, p. 38; Ed. of Amsterdam, 1731. Pythagoras, after having studied the sciences of the Egyptians, travelled into Arabia to learn the philosophy of the Arabians. Porphyr. de Vit. Pythag.

Book II.

its divine purity. For this reason, it is of the highest moment to ascertain not only the exact signification of the words, but likewise the accents, inflections, signs, and pauses; in a word, all the most minute niceties of prosody and pronunciation; and it is impossible to conceive to what a degree of complication they have invented and refined on this subject, without having heard their declamations in the mosques. The grammar alone takes several years to acquire. Next is taught the nahou, which may be defined the science of terminations. These, which are foreign to the vulgar Arabic, are superadded to words, and vary according to the numbers, cases, genders, and persons. After this, the student, now walking among the learned, is introduced to the study of eloquence. For this, years are required; because the doctors, mysterious like the Brahmens, impart their treasures only by degrees. At length arrives the time for the study of the law and the Fakah; or science peculiarly so called, by which they mean theology. If it be considered that the object of these studies is always the Koran; that it is necessary to be acquainted with all its mystical and allegorical meanings, to read all its commentaries and paraphrases, of which there are 200 volumes on the first verse; and to dispute on thousands of ridiculous cases of conscience; it cannot but be allowed that one may pass one's whole life in learning much and knowing nothing.* It is vain, as the same author still further remarks, to tell us of colleges, places of education, and books: These words, in the regions of which we are treating, convey not the same ideas as with us.† The Turks, though signal, even among rude nations, for their ignorance, are not without speculations of a similar nature, which by superficial observers have been taken for philosophy. "Certain it is," says Sir James Porter, "that there are among the Turks many philosophical minds. They have the whole systems of the Aristotelian and Epicurean philosophy translated into their own language."‡ "The metaphysical questions," says Gibbon, "on the attributes of

* Volney's Travels in Egypt and Syria, ii. 434. "In two recent voyages into Egypt, says Gibbon, (Hist. of Dec. and Fall, &c. ix. 448.) "we are amused by Savary, and instructed by Volney. I wish the latter could travel over the globe." "The last and most judicious," he calls him, "of our Syrian travellers." Ibid. p. 224.

† Volney, ut supra, p. 443.

‡ Observations on the Religion, Laws, Government, and Manners of the Turks, p. 39. Most, if not all, the Arabian versions of the Greek authors, were done by the Christian subjects of the caliphs. See Gibbon, ch. lii. The same is probably the origin of the Turkish versions. What use, if any, they make of them, does not appear. Mr. Scott Waring says, "The science of the Persians is, I believe, extremely confined. They have translations of Euclid, Ptolemy, the works of Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, and some other of the Grecian philosophers, which few of them read, and fewer understand." Tour to Sheeraz, p. 254.

God, and the liberty of man, have been agitated in the schools of Mahomedans, as well as in those of the Christians." * And Mr. Elphinstone informs us, that if the rude Afghaun is ever stimulated to any degree of literary activity, it is when pursuing the subtleties of metaphysics. †

These facts, indeed, very exactly coincide with a curious law of human nature, which some eminent philosophers have remarked, that the highest abstractions are not the last result of mental culture, and intellectual strength; that on the other hand, some of the most general and comprehensive, that is the most abstract of our notions, are formed at that very early period, when the mind, with little discriminating power, is apt to lump together things which have but few points of resemblance; and that we break down these higher genera into species more and more minute in proportion as our knowledge becomes more extensive, more particular and precise. The propensity to abstract speculations is then the natural result of the state of the human mind in a rude and ignorant age. ‡ The most authentic source of information, yet open to the research of the European

* Hist. of Decline and Fall, &c. ch. i. Mr. Forster mentions a Mussulman fellow-traveller, a disputant, who, says he, "unhappily for himself and his neighbours, had conned over some of those books of ingenious devices and quaint syllogisms, which are held in high note among the modern Mahometans, and have fixed among them a false distorted taste." Travels in India, p. 106.

† "There is generally a want of ardour in pursuit of knowledge among the Asiatics, which is partaken by the Afghauns; excepting, however, in the sciences of dialectics and metaphysics, in which they take much interest, and have made no contemptible progress." Elphinstone's Account of Caubul, p. 189.

‡ The clearest account I have seen of this important fact, which Mr. Dugald Stewart (Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, ii. 231,) appears not to have known that any body had noticed but M. Turgot, is in the following passage of Condillac. "Mais il faut observer, qu'une fois qu'un enfant commence à generaliser, il rend une idée aussi etendue qu'elle peut l'être, c'est-à-dire qu'il se hâte de donner le même nom à tous les objets qui se ressemblent grossièrement, et il les comprend tous dans une seule classe. Les ressemblances sont les premieres choses qui le frappent, parce qu'il ne sait pas encore assez analyser pour distinguer les objets par les qualités qui leur sont propres. Il n'imaginera donc des classes moins générales, que lorsqu'il aura appris à observer par ou les choses different. Le mot *homme*, par example, est d'abord pour lui une denomination commune, sous laquelle il comprend indistinctment tous les hommes. Mais lorsque dans la suite il aura occasion de connoitre les differentes conditions, il fera aussitôt les classes subordonnées et moins generales de militaires, de magistrats, de bourgeois, d'artisans, de laboureurs, &c.; tel est donc l'ordre de la generation des idèes. On passe tout à coup de l'individu au genre, pour descendre ensuite aux differentes especes qu'on multiplie d'autant plus qu'on acquiert plus de discernment, c'est-à-dire, qu'on apprend mieux à faire l'analyse des choses." Cours d'Etude, i. 49, 50. Ed. à Parme, 1776.

scholar on the metaphysical, as on other ideas of the learned Hindus, is the volume of the Institutions of Menu. This celebrated, authoritative, and divine work contains, as is usual with the sacred books of the Hindus, a specimen of all their knowledge; cosmogony, theology, physics, metaphysics, government, jurisprudence, and economics. From the account which in this work is rendered of the origin of the mind and its faculties, very sure conclusions may be drawn respecting the extent and accuracy of the psychological knowledge of the people by whom that account is delivered and believed.

The inspired author of this divine work informs the believing Hindu that, "From the supreme soul, Brahma, the Creator, drew forth mind, existing substantially, though unperceived by sense, immaterial."* The principal words here employed are vague and obscure, and no distinct meaning can be assigned to them. What is meant by "existing substantially?" What is meant by "immaterial?" "To exist substantially," if it have any meaning, is to be a substance. But this is inconsistent with the idea which we ascribe to the word immaterial; and there is, in many other passages, abundant reason to conclude that the word, with his usual leanings, here translated "immaterial," by Sir William Jones, meant nothing, in the conception of a Hindu, but a certain air, or ether, too fine to be perceived by the organs of sense.

Immediately after the words we have just quoted, it is added; "And before mind, or the reasoning power, he produced consciousness, the internal monitor, the ruler."† Consciousness, a faculty of the mind, is here represented as created before the mind, the quality before the substratum. It is subjoined in the next words; "And before them both" (that is, before the mind and consciousness) "he produced the great principle of the soul, or first expansion of the divine idea."‡ Here is a third production, which is neither the mind, nor consciousness. What is it? To this we have no answer. As to the term "first expansion of the divine idea," which may be suspected to be a gloss rather than a translation, it is mere jargon, with no more meaning than the cawing of rooks. "In the same manner"—(that is, according to the construction of the sentence, before mind and consciousness—) "he created the five perceptions of sense, and the five organs of perception." § Another faculty of the mind, perception, is thus a creation antecedent to mind. The organs of perception, too, or bodily part, are a separate creation; perceiving organs, which belong to no perceiving being.

The following text, which are the words next in order, exhibits a curious

* Laws of Menu, ch. i. 14. See the passage quoted at length supra, p. 201.

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid. 15. § Ibid.

sample of metaphysical ideas. "Having at once pervaded, with emanations from the supreme spirit, the minutest portions of six principles immensely operative, consciousness, and the five perceptions, the Creator framed all creatures." * Consciousness, and the five perceptions, existed antecedently to all creatures; consciousness and perception, without conscious and perceiving beings. What is meant by the minute portions of consciousness? How can consciousness be supposed divided into portions either minute or large; especially when we are told that the mind is immaterial? What, too, are we to understand by the minute portions of a perception? As to the mere jargon, such as "pervading consciousness, and the five perceptions with emanations from the supreme spirit," it is unnecessary to offer on it any remarks.

We are next informed, that "the minutest particles of visible nature have a dependance on those six emanations from God." † What is meant by these six emanations is not very definitely expressed. The six things that are spoken of are consciousness and the five perceptions; and it is probable that they are meant. But how visible nature should depend upon consciousness and the five perceptions, does not appear. Certain other emanations from God, however, are spoken of, with which consciousness and the five perceptions were pervaded; and perhaps it was meant that the minutest particles of matter depend on them. But this is only barbarous jargon.

In the following verse it is said, that "from these six emanations proceed the great elements, endued with peculiar powers, and mind with operations infinitely subtle, the unperishable cause of all apparent forms." ‡ It is still a difficulty, what is meant by the six emanations. If those are meant with which consciousness and the five perceptions are pervaded, no ideas whatever can be annexed to the words; they are totally without a meaning; and that is all. If consciousness and the five perceptions be, as seems probable, the emanations in question; in what manner do the great elements and mind proceed from consciousness and the five perceptions? Mind would thus proceed from certain of its own operations.

It is added in the succeeding sentence, "This universe, therefore, is compacted from the minute portions of those seven divine and active principles, the great soul, or first emanation, consciousness, and five perceptions; a mutable universe from immutable ideas." § Here it appears that the great soul, as well as consciousness and the perceptions, can be divided into portions. The great soul is not therefore immaterial, according to our sense of the word; and still less can

* Laws of Menu, ch. i. 16. † Ibid. 17. ‡ Ibid. 18. § Ibid. 19.

either that, or the perceptions and consciousness be immaterial, if the universe, a great part of which is surely material, can be compacted from portions of them. "A mutable universe," it is said, "from immutable ideas;" therefore, the great soul, consciousness, and the five perceptions, are not realities, though divisible into portions; they are only ideas! What conclusions are we entitled to form respecting the intellectual state of a people who can be charmed with doctrine like this? *

In the following passage, and there are others of a similar import, we find a specimen of those beginnings which are made at an early stage of society, to refine in the modes of conceiving the mental operations. "Self-love," it is said, "is no laudable motive; yet an exemption from self-love is not to be found in this world: on self-love is grounded the study of scripture, and the practice of actions recommended in it." † The absurdity lies, in not perceiving, that if no action proceeding from self-love is virtuous; and if there is no action which does not proceed from self love; then is there no virtue in the world, which is far from being the subject of Hindu belief.

The Vedanti doctrine, which has caught the fancy of some of the admirers of Sanscrit, appears to be delivered *viva voce,* and not in any other mode. No passage from any Sanscrit work has been quoted for it. If it were any refinement, it might then be suspected of being wholly modern. The following is the account of it by Sir William Jones. "The fundamental tenet of the Vedanti school consisted, not in denying the existence of matter, that is, of solidity, impenetrability, and extended figure, (to deny which would be lunacy) but in correcting the popular notion of it, and in contending, that it has no essence independent of mental perception, that existence and perceptibility are convertible terms, that external appearances and sensations are illusory, and would vanish into nothing, if the divine energy, which alone sustains them, were suspended but for a moment; an opinion which Epicharmus and Plato seem to have adopted, and which has been maintained in the present century with great elegance, but with little public applause; partly because it has been misunderstood, and partly because it has been misapplied by the false reasoning of some unpopular writers, who are said to have disbelieved in the moral attributes of God, whose omnipresence, wisdom,

* Not only are consciousness and the five perceptions regarded as separate existences, and separate products of creative power, but various other operations of the mind, and even states of the affections. Thus, among the other creations, it is said, that the Creator "gave being to devotion, speech, complacency, desire, and wrath." (Laws of Menu, ch. i. 25.)

† Ibid. ch. ii. 2.

and goodness, are the basis of the Indian philosophy. I have not sufficient evidence on the subject to profess a belief in the doctrine of the Vedanta, which human reason alone could, perhaps, neither fully demonstrate, nor fully disprove; but it is manifest, that nothing can be further removed from impiety than a system wholly built on the purest devotion." *

"In some of these observations," Mr. Dugald Stewart very justly remarks, "there is a good deal of indistinctness, and even of contradiction." He also remarks, that Sir William Jones totally misunderstands the doctrine of Berkeley and Hume.† We may suspect that he not less widely mistakes the doctrine of the Brahmens, and fastened a theory of his own creation upon the vague and unmeaning jargon which they delivered to him. If the propensity be strong in all minds, and in weak minds irresistible, to *see* only through the medium of a theory; we need not wonder to find it compelling them to *hear* also, very much in the same way. "If the simplest narrative of the most illiterate observer involves more or less of hypothesis; and a village apothecary or a hacknied nurse, is seldom able to describe the plainest case, without employing a phraseology of which every word is a theory," ‡ we may conclude with certainty that the same intrusion is very difficult to avoid, in making up our own conception of what we hear, and still more in clothing it with our own language. Of the ideas which we profess to report, and which we believe that we merely report, it often happens that many are our own ideas, and never entered the mind of the man to whom we ascribe them.

We have a more distinct account of the same doctrine from Sir James Mackintosh, whose mind is still more philosophical, and on oriental subjects less prepossessed and less credulous, than that of Sir W. Jones. Presenting, in a letter to Mr. Dugald Stewart, an account of a conversation with a young Brahmen, "He told me," says he, "that besides the myriads of gods whom their creed admits, there was one whom they know by the name of Brim, or the great one, without form or limits, whom no created intellect could make any approach towards conceiving; that, in reality, there were no trees, no houses, no land, no sea, but all without was Maia, or illusion, the act of Brim; that whatever we saw or felt was only a dream; or, as he expressed it in his imperfect English,

* Works of Sir Wm. Jones, i. 165. It may be remarked, that Sir William Jones, after all these praises, allows that the Vedanti doctrines are wild and erroneous. Asiat. Res. iv. 164, 165.

† Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, vol. ii. note B.

‡ The words in which this important observation is expressed, are borrowed from a happy application of it by Mr. Stewart, in the same volume, p. 443.

thinking in one's sleep; and that the re-union of the soul to Brim, from whom it originally sprung, was the awakening from the long sleep of finite existence." *

It will require few words, in application of the evidence adduced in the chapter on religion, to make it sufficiently appear, that this is a natural part of that language of adulation towards the deity, in which the Hindu theology mainly consists. One of the deities, who is chosen as the chief object of adoration, is first made to excel all the other deities; next to absorb all their powers; next to absorb even themselves; and lastly, absorb all things.† The fancy of "Maia," is only a part of "the absorption of all things in God." There is nothing but God. All our supposed perception of things besides God is, therefore, only illusion; illusion created by God. Why, then, does God create such an illusion? This is a very necessary question. If it were put; and why it has not been put, we may a little admire; the Brahmens might very consistently reply, that as for a use, a design, a purpose, in the actions of their God, they never thought of ascribing to them any such quality. He pleases himself by his actions, and that is enough; no matter how fantastic the taste. It is with great pleasure I quote the following coincidence with my own opinion, expressed in a subsequent passage of the same letter. "I intend to investigate a little the history of these opinions; for I am not altogether without apprehension, that we may all the while be mistaking the hyperbolical effusions of mystical piety, for the technical language of a philosophical system. Nothing is more usual, than for fervent devotion to dwell so long, and so warmly, on the meanness and worthlessness of created things, and on the all-sufficiency of the Supreme Being, that it slides insensibly from comparative to absolute language, and, in the eagerness of its zeal to magnify the Deity, seems to *annihilate* every thing else. To distinguish between the very different import of the same words in the mouth of a mystic and sceptic, requires more philosophical discrimination than most of our Sanscrit investigators have hitherto shown." ‡

Sir James might have passed beyond a suspicion; if from nothing else, from the very words of the conversation he reports. Human life is there not *compared* to a sleep; it is literally affirmed to *be* a sleep; and men are not acting, or thinking, but only dreaming. Of what philosophical system does this form a part? We awake, only when we are re-united to the Divine Being; that is, when we actually become a part of the Divine Being, not having a separate existence. Then, of course, we cease to dream; and then, it may be supposed, that

* The passage is transcr bed by Mr. Stewart, in the note quoted above.

† Vide supra, p. 227.

‡ Stewart's Elem. ut supra.

Maia ceases. Then will there be any thing to be known? any thing real? Or is it the same thing, whether we are awake or asleep? But my reader might well complain I was only trifling with him, if I pursued this jargon any further. What grieves me is, that between the two passages which I have immediately quoted, Sir James (we must remember that it is in the negligence of private correspondence) has inserted the following words. "All this you have heard and read before as Hindu speculation. What struck me was, that speculations so refined and abstruse should, in a long course of ages, have fallen through so great a space as that which separates the genius of their original inventor from the mind of this weak and unlettered man. The names of these inventors have perished; but their ingenious and beautiful theories, blended with the most monstrous superstitions, have descended to men very little exalted above the most ignorant populace, and are adopted by them as a sort of articles of faith, without a suspicion of their philosophical origin, and without the possibility of comprehending any part of the premises from which they were deduced." Yet Sir James himself has described the origin from which they were deduced; namely, "the hyperbolical effusions of mystical piety;" and surely the Brahmens of the present day may understand these effusions, as well as their still more ignorant predecessors.*

* Another circumstance is always to be remembered. If the Brahmens are once informed of the European doctrine, they will take abundant care to make their own conform to it. "With respect to the real tenets of the Hindus, on subjects of theology, they are to be taken from their ancient books, rather than from the oral declarations of the most learned Brahmens of modern times, who have discovered that the opinions of Christians, concerning the nature of God, are far more rational than those currently entertained among them, and that the gross idolatry of the Hindus is contemned by the more intelligent natives of the western world. Bernier seems to have found occasion for the same remark in his time; for, after relating a conference between him and some learned pandits, in which the latter endeavoured to refine away the grossness of their image worship; 'Voila (says he) sans ajouter ni diminuer la solution qu'ils me donnerent; mais, à vous dire le vrai, cela me sembloit un peu trôp bien concerté à la Chretienne, aux prix de ce que j'en avois appris de plusieurs autres pandits.'" (Grant's Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, p. 73. Papers on India, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 15th June, 1813.) This supposed refinement, such as it is, Mr. Elphinstone found among the rude and uncivilized Afghauns. "Another sect in Caubul is that of the Soofees, who ought, perhaps, to be considered as a class of philosophers, rather than of religionists. As far as I can understand their mysterious doctrine, their leading tenet seems to be, that the whole of the animated and inanimate creation is an illusion; and that nothing exists except the Supreme Being, which presents itself under an infinity of shapes to the soul of man, itself a portion of the Divine essence. The contemplation of this doctrine raises the Soofees to the utmost pitch of enthusiasm,

Book II. Ethics.

With respect to morals or duty, it appears not that any theory has ever been constructed by the Hindus. In what regards the preceptive part, their ethics exactly resemble those of all other rude and uninstructed nations; an excellent precept, and a foolish or absurd one, placed alternately, or mixed in nearly equal proportions, in all their books which treat upon the subject. For specimens of their ethical precepts, it is sufficient to refer to what we have already produced under the head of religion. If all the right and wise precepts were selected from the rest, and exhibited pure by themselves, they would present a tolerably perfect code of the common duties of morality. As we have authors who have attached importance to this, without adverting to the fact that a soundness in detached maxims of morality is common to all men down to the lowest stage of society, it is necessary to give a specimen of the ethical rules of nations confessedly barbarous. We might, perhaps, be satisfied with a reference to the proverbs of Solomon, and other preceptive parts of the Jewish writings, which are not equalled by the corresponding parts of the books of the Hindus. We shall, however, produce another instance, which is less exposed to any objection. The Havamaal or sublime discourse of Odin, is a Scandinavian composition of great antiquity. It is a string of moral aphorisms, comprised in 120 stanzas; with which, as a whole, there is nothing in Hindu literature in any degree worthy to be compared. The following is a specimen;

" To the guest who enters your dwelling with frozen knees, give the warmth of your fire: he who hath travelled over the mountains hath need of food and well-dried garments:

" A man can carry with him no better provision for his journey than the strength of the understanding. In a foreign country this will be of more use to him than treasures; and will introduce him to the table of strangers:

" There is nothing more useless to the sons of the age than to drink too much ale; the more the drunkard swallows, the less is his wisdom, till he loses his reason. The bird of oblivion sings before those who inebriate themselves, and steals away their souls:

" I have never yet found a man so generous and munificent, as that to receive

They admire God in every thing; and, by frequent meditation on his attributes, and by tracing him through all his forms, they imagine that they attain to an ineffable love for the Deity, and even to an entire union with his substance." (An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, p. 207.) See, for an account of a similar sect in Persia, Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, ii. 385.—How different is all this from the curious result of the refined and ingenious reasonings of Berkeley! And how shallow the heads that confound them!

at his house was not to receive; nor any so free and liberal of his gifts as to reject a present when it was returned to him: Chap. IX.

"They invite me up and down to feasts, if I have only need of a slight breakfast; my faithful friend is he who will give me one loaf, when he has but two:

"Where is there to be found a virtuous man without some failing? or one so wicked as to have no good quality?" *

Grammar. Among the parts of Hindu learning chosen by its admirers as the peculiar objects of their applause, are the niceties, the numerous and intricate subtleties, of the Hindu grammar. We are informed by an eminent Sanscrit scholar, that the grammatical precepts of one single treatise are no fewer than 3996. The reader will observe, that this number is composed of the digit 3 and its multiples, to which peculiar virtues are ascribed by the Hindus. It is not improbable that the rules may have been made to correspond with the number, rather than the number with the rules. Nevertheless, we learn from Mr. Colebrooke, that those rules are framed with the utmost conciseness, the consequence of very ingenious methods. But it is added, that the studied brevity of the Paniniya Sutras renders them in the highest degree obscure; that even with the knowledge of the key to their interpretation, the student finds them ambiguous; that the application of them, even when understood, discovers many seeming contradictions; and that, with every exertion of practised memory, the utmost difficulty is experienced in combining rules dispersed in apparent confusion through different portions of Paninis and lectures. The number of commentaries on the books of grammar is exceedingly great, and many of them very voluminous.†

As these endless conceits answer any purpose rather than that of rendering language a more commodious and accurate instrument of communication, they afford a remarkable specimen of the fooleries of a rude and ignorant age; which is as much delighted with the juggleries of the mind, as it is with those of the body, and is distinguished by the absurdity of its passion for both.‡ It could not happen otherwise than that the Hindus should, beyond other nations, abound in those frivolous refinements which are suited to the taste of an uncivilized people. A whole race of men were set apart and exempted from the ordinary cares and labours of life, whom the pain of vacuity forced upon some application of mind,

* See Mallet, Introd. Hist. Denmark, vol. ii. For additional illustrations we may refer to the maxims of Confucius and Zoroaster.

† Colebrooke on the Sanscrit and Pracrit Languages, Asiat. Res. vol. vii.

‡ Mr. Colebrooke still farther remarks, that the Hindus delight in scholastic disputation; and that their controversial commentaries on grammar exhibit copious specimens of it. Ibid.

BOOK II. and who were under the necessity of maintaining their influence among the people, by the credit of superior learning, and if not by real knowledge, which is slowly and with much difficulty attained, by artful contrivances for deceiving the people with the semblance of it. This view of the situation of the Brahmens serves to explain many things which modify and colour Hindu society. In grammatical niceties, however, the Hindus but discover their usual resemblance to other nations in the infancy of knowledge and improvement. We have already seen that the Arabians on this subject carry their complex refinements to a height scarcely inferior to that of the Brahmens themselves.* Even the Turks, who are not in general a refining race, multiply conceits on this subject.† During the dark ages the multiplication of grammatical distinctions and subtleties formed a favourite exercise of the European schoolmen.‡

Sanscrit. Not only the grammar; the language itself has been celebrated as the mark of a refined and elegant people. "It is more copious," we are told, "than the Latin. It has several words to express the same thing. The sun has more than thirty names, the moon more than twenty. A house has twenty; a stone six or seven; a tree ten; a leaf five; an ape ten; a crow nine." §

* Vide supra, p. 379, 380.

† Tout ce que le mauvais goût peut inventer pour fatiguer l'esprit, fait leur delices, et ravit leur admiration. Memoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tartares, i. 8.

‡ The following remarkable passage in the celebrated letter of our countryman, and (but for one exception) admirable countryman, Sir Thomas More, to Martin Dorpius, affords at once a proof of the fact, and a judgment on the practice: "At nunc absurda quædam portenta, ad certam bonarum artium nata perniciem, et luculenter ab antiquis distincta, commiscuerunt; et veterum purissimas traditiones suis adjectis sordibus infecerunt omnia. Nam in Grammatica (ut omittam Alexandrum, atque id genus alios; qui quamquam imperite, tamen grammaticam utcunque docuerant) Albertus quidam, grammaticam se traditurum professus, logicam nobis quandam, aut metaphysicam, immo neutram, sed mera somnia, mera deliria grammaticæ loco substituit: et tamen hæ nugacissimæ nugæ in publicas academias non tantum receptæ sunt, sed etiam plerisque tam impense placuerunt, ut is propemodum solus aliquid in grammatica valere censeatur, quisquis fuerit Albertistæ nomen assequutus. Tantum auctoritatis habet, ad pervertenda bonorum quoque ingeniorum judicia, semel ab ineptis tradita magistris, dein tempore corroborata persuasio. Quo fit ut minus mirer, ad eundem modum in dialecticæ locum nugas plus quam sophisticas irrepsisse quæ cultoribus suis argutiarum nomine tam vehementer arrident." Caramuel says of the subtle doctor, Scotus, *Vix alibi subtilius scripsit quam cum de grammaticis modis significandi.* Mr. Horne Tooke, however, on this remarks, that his *De modis significandi* should be entitled, An Exemplar of the subtle art of saving appearances, and of discoursing deeply and learnedly on a subject with which we are perfectly unacquainted. *Quid enim subtilius vel magis tenue quam quod nihil est?* (Diversions of Purley, Introd. p. 12.)

§ Le Pere Paulini (Bartolomeo) Voyage aux Indes, ii. 201.

It is remarkable, at this time of day, to find that which is a defect and a deformity of language, celebrated as a perfection by European literati.* The perfection of language would consist in having one name for every thing which required a name, and no more than one. Redundancy is a defect in language, not less than deficiency. The ill effects of it are numerous and important; good effects it has none, unless for sound, which may be smoothed without it. Philosophy, and even common good sense, determine, that every thing which can simplify language, without impairing it in point of precision and completeness, is a first rate advantage. An ignorant and fantastical age deems it a glory to render it in the highest degree perplexing and difficult.

The other perfections which are ascribed to the Sanscrit are its softness, or agreeableness in point of sound, and its adaptation to poetry. Of its complete-

* Mr. Gibbon quaintly says, " In Arabia as well as in Greece, the *perfection* of language outstripped the refinement of manners; and her speech could diversify the fourscore names of honey, the two hundred of a serpent, the five hundred of a lion, the thousand of a sword, at a time when this copious dictionary was entrusted to the memory of an illiterate people." Hist. of Dec. and Fall, &c. ix. 240. The German professor Forster, who writes notes on the Voyage du Pere Paulini, says not badly on the passage quoted in the text, (Paulini, Voy. aux Indes, iii. 399.) " Ce n'est pas de cette manière-la qu'on doit juger de la richesse d'une langue. On a coutume de dire que la langue Arabe est riche, parceque elle a je ne sais quel nombre de synonimes pour exprimer le mot *epée*. Un de ces synonimes, par example, signifie le meurtrier des hommes. Ce n'est la, dans la realité, qu'une expression metaphorique et figurée, telle qu'on en peut former dans toutes les langues tant soit peu cultivées. On pouvait de même trouver plus de trente noms pour exprimer le soleil dans les poetes Grecs; mais il n'est venu dans l'esprit de personne, de faire valoir cela pour prouver la richesse de la langue Grecque." Our own sagacious, and in many respects highly philosophical Wilkins judges better, when he names, " *significancy, perspicuity, brevity*, and consequently *facility*," among the perfections of a language; and says that the multitude of rules in the Latin " argues the imperfection of that language, that it should stand in need of such and so many rules as have no foundation in the philosophy of speech. . . . . If these rules be not *necessary* to language, and according to nature, but that words may signify sufficiently, and in some respects better without them, then there is greater judgment showed in laying them aside, or framing a language without them." Essay towards a Real Character, &c. p. 448. Another writer, who speaks with as much boldness, as he thinks with force on the subject of language, says, " Persons too dull or too idle to understand the subject cannot, or will not, perceive how great an evil *many words* is; and boast of their *copiæ* verborum, as if a person diseased with gout or dropsy boasted of his great joints, or big belly." And again, " It cannot be too often repeated that superfluous *variety* and *copia*, are faults, not excellencies. Simplicity may be considered poverty by perverted understandings, but it is always of great utility; and to true judges it always possesses beauty and dignity." Philosophic Etymology, or Rational Grammar, by James Gilchrist, p. 110, 170. If the Sanscrit is to be admired for its amplicated grammar, the Ethiopic should be admired for its 202 letters; Wilkins' Essay towards a Real Character, p. 14.

ness or precision, those who were the fullest of admiration for it, were too little acquainted with it to be able to venture an opinion. Yet completeness and precision would have been undeniable proofs of the mental perfection of the people by whom it was used; while a great multitude of useless words and grammatical rules were the very reverse. Nothing is more probable than that a language which has too many words of one description, has too few of another, and unites in equal degree the vices of superfluity and defect. The adaptation of a language to poetry and the ear, affords no evidence of civilization. Languages, on which equal eulogies are bestowed to any which can be lavished on Sanscrit, are the languages confessedly of ignorant and uncivilized men. Nothing can surpass the admiration which is often expressed of the language of the modern Persians. Molina, the intelligent and philosophical historian of Chili, informs us that of the language of the Chilians, the grammar is as perfect as that of the Greek or Latin; that of no language does the formation and structure display greater ingenuity and felicity.* The language of the Malays is described as remarkably sweet, and well adapted to poetry. † Clavigero knows not where to set a limit to his admiration of the Mexican tongue.‡ "Many

* Gl' indigeni Chilesi formano una sola nazione divisa in varie tribu, et tutti hanno la medesima fisconomia, e la medesima lingua chiamata da loro *Chiledugu*, che vuol dire lingua Chilese. Questa lingua è dolce, armoniosa, expressiva, regolare, e copiosissima di termini atti ad enunciare non solo le cose fisiche generali, o particulari, ma anche le cose morali, e astratte. Saggio Sulla Storia Naturale del Chili Del Signor Abate Giovanni Ignazio Molina, lib. iv. p. 334.

† Marsden's Hist. of Sumatra, p. 197, ed. 3d.

‡ "It is so copious, polished, and expressive, that it has been esteemed by many superior to the Latin, and even to the Greek. It abounds," says he, "more than the Tuscan, in diminutives and augmentatives; and more than the English, or any other language we know, in verbal and abstract terms: for there is hardly a verb from which there are not many verbals formed, and scarcely a substantive or adjective from which there are not some abstracts formed. It is not less copious in verbs than in nouns; as from every single verb others are derived of different significations. *Chihua* "is to do," *Chichihua* "to do with diligence or often," *Chihuilia* "to do to another," *Chihualtia* "to cause to be done," *Chihuatiuh* "to go to do," *Chihuaco* "to come to do," *Chiuhtiuh* "to be doing," &c. Having mentioned the extraordinary variety with which the Mexicans express different degrees of respect, by adding adverbs and other particles to the names employed, Clavigero adds, "This variety, which gives so much civilization to the language, does not, however, make it difficult to be spoken; because it is subjected to rules which are fixed and easy; nor do we know any language that is more regular and methodical. The Mexicans, like the Greeks and other nations, have the advantage of making compounds of two, three, or four simple words; but they do it with more economy then the Greeks did; for the Greeks made use of the entire words in composition, whereas the Mexicans cut off syllables, or at least some letters from them. *Tlazotli* signifies *valued*, or *beloved; Mahuitzic, honoured* or *revered; Tespixqui, priest; Tatli,*

extravagant things have been advanced concerning the great antiquity and superior excellency of the Anglo-saxon tongue. According to some writers, it was the most ancient and most excellent language in the world, spoken by the first parents of mankind in Paradise; and from it they pretend to derive the names, Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel, and all the antediluvian patriarchs." *

Physics.

The same sacred volume which affords the most authentic materials for ascertaining the Hindu modes of accounting for the phenomena of mind, lends equal assistance in leading us to a knowledge of their modes of accounting for the phenomena of matter. At the close of the night of Brahma, "intellect, called into action by his will to create worlds, performed again the work of creation; and thence first emerges the subtle ether, to which philosophers ascribe the quality of conveying sound:" † Ignorant that air is the great agent in the conveyance of sound, the Hindus had recourse to a fiction; the imagination of a something, of whose existence they had no proof. Equally futile is their account of air. "From ether, effecting a transmutation in form, springs the pure and potent air, a vehicle of all scents; and air is held endued with the quality of touch." ‡ The word touch is here ambiguous; it may mean either that air is tangible, or that it has the faculty, the sense of touch. The latter, I suspect, is the meaning of the original; for I can hardly credit that so great a master of language as Sir William Jones, would have explained a passage which only meant that air is tangible, by so exceptionable a term as that it is endued with the quality of touch. I can with less difficulty suppose, from other instances, that he endeavoured to cloak a most absurd idea under an equivocal translation.

With respect to light and heat, we are told in the immediately succeeding passage; "Then from air, operating a change, rises light or fire, making objects visible, spreading bright rays; and it is declared to have the quality of figure."§ It sufficiently appears from these several passages, that the accounts with which

father. To unite these five words in one, they take eight consonants and four vowels, and say, for instance, *Notlazomahuitzteopixcatalzin*, that is, *my very worthy father, or revered priest*, prefixing the *No* which corresponds to the pronoun *my*, and adding *tzin*, which is a particle expressive of *reverence*. There are some compounds of so many terms as to have fifteen or sixteen syllables. . . . In short, all those who have learned this language, and can judge of its copiousness, regularity, and beautiful modes of speech, are of opinion, that such a language cannot have been spoken by a barbarous people." Clavigero, Hist. of Mexico, book vii. sect. 41.

* Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, iv. 365.—"I know not a language spoken in Europe that hath words of more sweetness and greatness than theirs:" Penn's Letter on the American Indians, in Clarkson's Life of Penn, i. 385.

† Laws of Menu, ch. i. 75. ‡ Ib. 76. § Ib. 77.

Book II. they satisfy themselves, are merely such random guesses as would occur to the most vulgar and untutored minds. From intellect arose ether; from ether, air; from air, fire and light. It appears from this passage that they consider light and heat as absolutely the same; yet the moon afforded them an instance of light without heat; and they had instances innumerable of heat without the presence of light. What is the meaning, when it is declared that fire, alias light, has the quality of figure, it is impossible to say. That fire, or, which is the same thing, light, is itself figured, is an affirmation wherein little meaning can be found. That fire, that is, light, is the *cause* of figure in all figured bodies, is an affirmation which, notwithstanding the absurdity, is in exact harmony with the mode of guessing at the operations of nature, admired as philosophy among the Hindus.

The account of water and earth is a link of the same chain. " From light, a change being effected, comes water with the quality of taste; and from water is deposited earth with the quality of smell." * As from ether came air, so from air light, from light water, and from water earth. It is useless to ask what connexion appears between water and light, or earth and water. Connexion, reason, probability, had nothing to do with the case. A theory of successive production struck the fancy of the writer, and all inquiry was out of the question. Here occurs the same difficulty as in the case of air; air was endowed with the quality of touch; water and earth are said to have the qualities of smell and taste. In this we perceive a most fantastic conceit: To water is ascribed the quality of taste; to earth, the quality of smell; to fire, the quality of *figure*, (I suspect it should be translated *sight*); to air, the quality of touch; and to ether, the quality (as Sir William Jones translates it) of conveying sound; I suspect it *should* be translated, the quality of hearing.

We have thus seen the speculations respecting the origin and qualities of the principal parts of inanimate nature. The same divine volume affords us a specimen of their ideas concerning the origin of at least one great department of animated nature. " From hot moisture are born biting gnats, lice, fleas, and common flies; these, and whatever is of the same class, are produced by heat." † If this be an idea natural enough to the mind of an uncultivated observer, it is at least not a peculiar proof of learning and civilization.

Of the arbitrary style of deciding without inquiry, the natural and ordinary style of all rude minds, a curious specimen is afforded by the Hindu dogma,

* Laws of Menu, ch. i. 78.

† Ibid. 45.

that vegetables, as well as animals, "have internal consciousness, and are sensible of pleasure and pain." *

Of all the circumstances, however, connected with the state of Hindu society, nothing has called forth higher expressions of eulogy and admiration than the astronomy of the Brahmens. Mons. Bailly, the celebrated author of the History of Astronomy, may be regarded as beginning the concert of praises, which has been sung upon this branch of the science of the Hindus. The grounds of his conclusions were certain astronomical tables from which he inferred, not only advanced progress in the science, but a date so ancient as to be entirely inconsistent with the chronology of the Hebrew Scriptures. Notwithstanding the celebrity of Mons. Bailly, for astronomy and eloquence, nothing on this subject is to be yielded to his authority; nothing believed beyond what he establishes on proof. The man who invented a theory of an ancient and highly civilized people, now extinct, formerly existing in the wilds of Tartary, and maintained it with uncommon zeal, and all the efforts of his ingenuity, is not to be trusted as a guide in the regions of conjecture. Another cause of great distrust, in this case, attaches to Mons. Bailly. It is well known with what zeal Voltaire, and other excellent writers in France, actuated by an abhorrence of the evils which they saw attached to catholicism, laboured about the time of the publication of the *Astronomie Indienne*, to subvert the authority of the books on which it was founded. Under this impulse they embraced, with extreme credulity, and actual enthusiasm, the accounts of the great antiquity of the Chinese and Hindus, as disproving entirely the accounts in the books of Moses, of the duration of the present race of men. When a case occurred in which it appeared that this favourite conclusion could be established on the strength of astronomical observations and mathematical reasoning, the grand object seemed to be accomplished. The argument was laboured with the utmost diligence by Mons. Bailly, was received with unbounded applause, and for a time regarded as a demonstration in form of the falsehood of Christianity.

The most eminent of all the mathematical converts, gained by Mons. Bailly, was Mr. Playfair, the professor of mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. A bias was probably created in his mind by the high reputation of Mons. Bailly for his attainments in that science in which Mr. Playfair himself was so great a master; and any feeling of that nature could not fail to be greatly strengthened, by the peal of applause, in which his countrymen, both in India

* Laws of Menu, ch. i. 49. See also Ib. xi. 143 to 146. N. B. At this place should have been inserted the paragraph on Botany, which is erroneously placed in a preceding page.

Book II. and returned from it, at that period joined, on the wonderful learning, wonderful civilization, and admirable institutions of the Hindus; applause which imposed implicit belief, not on the minds only of ordinary men, but such as that of his illustrious colleague, the author of the Historical Disquisition concerning the knowledge which the ancients had of India. In a paper published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Mr. Playfair stated, with all that skill and dexterity which he knows how to employ, the matter of evidence on which the proposition is founded;* and to this, as to any opinion which he has once openly espoused, he has adhered with characteristic constancy. In an article lately published in the Edinburgh Review,† he has controverted the arguments by which Mr. Bentley had endeavoured to overthrow his opinion: but though he still adheres to his first conclusions, it is evidently with shaken and mitigated confidence; as the utmost he now contends for is a suspension of belief, till further information shall yield more satisfactory proof.

In this case, however, such a demand is infinitely too much, and at variance with all the principles of reasoning. When an opinion is obviously contradicted by a grand train of circumstances to the combination of which it relates, and is not *entirely* supported by the special proof on which it pretends to rest, it is unproved; and whatever is unproved, and out of the known order of nature, is altogether unworthy of belief; deserves simple rejection.

Whoever will now, in the present improved state of our knowledge, take the trouble to contemplate the proofs which we possess of the state of knowledge and civilization among the Hindus; whoever has attentively considered the materials presented to him in this present work, can form no other conclusion, but that every thing (unless astronomy be an exception) bears clear, concurring, and undeniable testimony to the ignorance of the Hindus, and the low state of civilization in which they remain. That such a people are masters of the science of astronomy to a degree which none but nations highly cultivated have elsewhere ever attained, is certainly not to be credited on any chain of proof that is not entire in every link. The proof however is far indeed from answering to this description; and we may venture to affirm, that had the knowledge we now possess of the low state of civilization among the Hindus been all along enjoyed; had the erroneous ideas of their great knowledge and civilization not

* Transactions of the Royal Society of Edin. vol. ii.

† Of which he has over all Europe been recognized as the author: Vide infra, p. 400, note ‡.

been exceedingly prevalent, the opinion of the antiquity and excellence of their astronomy would never, on such ground as those on which it rests, have been admitted, at any rate by minds of the rank of that of Mr. Playfair.*

Of the unfitness of the proof to maintain any such conclusions as have been founded upon it, an idea may be formed from this; that Mr. Bentley, who has paid more attention than any other European to the books of Hindu astronomy, says they are all of modern date, and their pretensions to antiquity founded only on forgery.† As his moderate knowledge of mathematics, however, and even the inelegancies of his style, have been sarcastically employed to throw discredit upon his conclusions, it is of importance to add that the two mathematicians whose reputation for profundity seems to exceed that of all their cotemporaries, M. Laplace, and an eminent ornament of our country, not only reject the inference of the great antiquity and perfection of the Hindu astronomy, but, from the evidence offered, draw a conclusion directly the reverse; viz. that this science is in the very same state of infancy among the Hindus with all the other branches of knowledge. The Surya Sidhanta is the great repository of the astronomical knowledge of the Hindus. It is on the authority of our own countryman I am enabled to declare, that this book is itself the most satisfactory of all proofs of the low state of the science among the Hindus, and the rudeness of the people from whom it proceeds; that its fantastic absurdity is peculiar to itself; that all we can learn from it is a few facts, the result of observations which required no skill; that its vague allegories and fanciful reflections prove nothing, or every thing; that a resolute admirer may build upon them all the astronomical science of modern times; but if any man would divest his mind of the recollection of European discoveries, and ask what a people unacquainted with the science could learn from the Surya Sidhanta, he would find it next to nothing.‡

Dr. Smith, with his usual sagacity, says, "There are various causes which

* Mr. Playfair has himself given us a criterion for determining on his notions of the Hindu astronomy, which is perfectly sufficient. He says, in the conclusion of his discourse (Edin. Trans. ii. 192), "These conclusions are without doubt extraordinary; and have no other claim to our belief, except that their being false were much more wonderful than their being true." On this principle, the question is decided; for the wonder is little that they should be false, but mighty indeed were they true.

† Asiat. Res. vi. 577.

‡ The pages of the historian being little adapted to mathematical and astronomical discussion, I have inserted, by way of Appendix, an examination of the arguments for the antiquity and excellence of the Hindu astronomy; with which the friendship of the great mathematician to whom I have alluded has enabled me to elucidate the subject. See Append. No. I. at the end of the chapter.

BOOK II. render astronomy the very first of the sciences which is cultivated by a rude people; though from the distance of the objects, and the consequent mysteriousness of their nature and motions, this would seem not to be the case. Of all the phenomena of nature, the celestial appearances are, by their greatness and beauty, the most strikingly addressed to the curiosity of mankind. But it is not only their greatness and beauty by which they become the first objects of a speculative curiosity. The species of objects in the heavens are few in number; the sun, the moon, the planets, and the fixed stars. All the changes too which are ever observed in these bodies, evidently arise from some difference in the velocity and direction of their several motions. All this formed a very simple object of consideration. The objects, however, which the inferior parts of nature presented to view, the earth and the bodies which immediately surround it, though they were much more familiar to the mind, were more apt to embarrass and perplex it, by the variety of their species, and by the intricacy and seeming irregularity of the laws or orders of their succession. The variety of meteors in the air, of clouds, rainbows, thunder, lightning, winds, rain, hail, snow, is vast, and the order of their succession seems to be most irregular and unconstant. The species of fossils, minerals, plants, animals, which are found in the waters and near the surface of the earth, are still more intricately diversified; and if we regard the different manners of their production, their mutual influence in altering, destroying, supporting one another, the orders of their succession seem to admit of an almost infinite variety. If the imagination, therefore, when it considered the appearances in the heavens, was often perplexed and driven out of its natural career, it would be much more exposed to the same embarrassment, when it directed its attention to the objects which the earth presented to it, and when it endeavoured to trace their progress and successive revolutions." *

The Hindu astronomy is possessed of very considerable accuracy in regard to the mean motions. In other respects it has no pretensions to correctness or refinement. But no proposition is less susceptible of dispute than this; that astronomy may acquire great accuracy in regard to the mean motions, without the help of any nice or delicate observations; and while the science can hardly be

* Essays by Dr. Adam Smith, p. 97, 98. Of the Persians, Mr. Scott Waring says, "Their perverse predilection for judicial astrology excites them to the study of astronomy, merely that they may foretell the conjunction of the planets; and when they are able to do this with any degree of accuracy, they are accounted men of considerable science. They have two descriptions of Ephemeris; the first containing the conjunction and opposition of the luminaries; and the second the eclipses, the longitude and latitude of the stars," &c. Tour to Sheeraz, p. 254.

said to exist. The calendars of the different nations afford experimental proof. If there is every reason to believe, and none whatsoever to disbelieve, that the mean motions of the Hindu astronomy have been gradually corrected in the same manner in which the calendars of ancient nations have been improved, the legitimate conclusion cannot be mistaken.

As far as a conclusion can be drawn respecting the state of astronomy among the Hindus, from the state of their instruments of observation (and an analogy might be expected between those closely connected circumstances), the inference entirely corresponds with what the other circumstances in the condition of the Hindus have a tendency to establish. The observatory at Benares, the great seat of Hindu astronomy and learning, was found to be rude in structure, and the instruments with which it was provided of the coarsest contrivance and construction.

Even Mr. Playfair himself observes that "regular observations began to be made in Chaldea with the era of Nabonassar; the earliest which have merited the attention of succeeding ages." The observation which he next presents is truly philosophical and important. "The curiosity of the Greeks," says he, "was, soon after, directed to the same object; and that ingenious people was the first that endeavoured to explain or connect, by theory, the various phenomena of the heavens."* This was an important step; all that preceded was mere observation and empiricism, not even the commencement of science.† He adds; "The astronomy of India gives no theory, nor even any description of the celestial phenomena, but satisfies itself with the calculation of certain changes in the heavens, particularly of the eclipses of the sun and moon, and with the rules and tables by which these calculations must be performed. The Brahmen, seating himself on the ground, and arranging his shells before him, repeats the enigmatical verses that are to guide his calculation, and from his little tablets and palm

* Playfair, on the Astronomy of the Brahmens, Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin. ii. 135.

† Dr. Smith says, "Nature, according to common observation, appears a chaos of jarring and discordant appearances, into which philosophy endeavours to introduce order by representing the invisible chains which bind together all these disjointed objects. It thus soothes the imagination, and renders the theatre of nature a more coherent, and therefore a more magnificent spectacle, than otherwise it would appear to be. Mankind in the first ages of society have little curiosity to find out those hidden chains of events which bind together the seemingly disjointed appearances of nature. A savage has no inclination to amuse himself with searching out what seems to serve no other purpose than to render the theatre of nature a more connected spectacle to his imagination." Essays, Hist. of Astron. p. 20, 21, 23.

Book II. leaves, takes out the numbers that are to be employed in it. He obtains his result with wonderful certainty and expedition; but having little knowledge of the principles on which his rules are founded, and no anxiety to be better informed, he is perfectly satisfied, if, as it usually happens, the commencement and duration of the eclipse answer, within a few minutes, to his prediction. Beyond this his astronomical inquiries never extend; and his observations, when he makes any, go no farther than to determine the meridian line, or the length of the day at the place where he observes."*

Scarcely can there be drawn a stronger picture than this of the rude and infant state of astronomy. The Brahmen, making his calculation by shells, is an exact resemblance of the rude American performing the same operation by knots on a string; and both of them exhibit a practice which then only prevails; either when the more ingenious and commodious method of ciphering, or accounting by written signs, is unknown; or when the human mind is too rude and too weak to break through the force of an inveterate custom.†

But the rude state of the science of astronomy among the Brahmens of the present day, is supposed to have been preceded by a period in which it was cultivated to a high degree of perfection. It is vain to ask at what date this period had its existence; and where the signs of such ancient knowledge are to be found. To these questions no answer can be returned. Sir William Jones himself admits "it is improbable that the Indian astronomers, in very early times, had made more accurate observations than those of Alexandria, Bagdad, or Maraghah; and still more improbable that they should have relapsed without apparent cause into error." ‡ Mr. Davis, one of the oriental inquirers to whom

* Playfair, on the Astron. of the Brahm. Trans. R. S. E. ii. 138, 139.

† Goguet, having mentioned the quipos of the Peruvians, says, "It is the same with the negroes on the coast of Juida. They know nothing of the art of writing, and yet they can calculate the largest sums with great facility, by means of cords and knots, which have their own signification." Hist. Gen. de Voyage, iv. 283, 373, and 393." Origin of Laws, i. 224. We are informed by Herodotus, that the Egyptians, like the Brahmens, counted by shells; and at one time at least, the Greeks; but in an inverse order, the Greeks passing from left to right, the Egyptians from right to left. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 36.

‡ Asiat. Res. ii. 115. The following is valuable from the pen of M. Delambre. "M. La Place, qui avoit quelque interet a soutenir la grande ancienneté de l'astronomie Indienne, et qui avoit d'abord parlé des mouvemens moyens et des époques des Hindous de la maniere la plus avantageuse, a fini pourtant par croire et imprimer que leurs tables ne remontent pas au dela du 13me siècle. Mr. Playfair, en repondant à l'objection de M. de la Place, ne la detruit pas. Peu importe que Bailly ait affirmé plus ou moins directement et positivement la conjonction generale des planètes, qui a determiné l'epoque; Ce qu'il falloit eclaircir est un fait. Les tables indiquent-elles en effet

we are most indebted for our knowledge of Hindu astronomy, says, " I had been inclined to think with many others, that the Brahmens possess no more knowledge in astronomy, than they have derived from their ancestors in tables ready calculated to their hands, and that few traces of the principles of the science could be found among them; but by consulting some Sanscrit books I was induced to alter my opinion. I believe the Hindu science of astronomy will be found as well known now as it ever was among them." * In other words, the ignorance of the present age is the same with the ignorance of all former ages.†

While we are thus unable, from all we have learned of the Hindu astronomy, to infer either its high antiquity, or great excellence, it is a matter of doubt whether even that portion of the science which they possess, they may not to a great degree have derived from other nations more advanced in civilization than themselves. The Hindu astronomy possesses certain features of singularity which tend to prove, and have by various inquirers been held sufficient to prove, its perfect originality. But it may very well be supposed, that in a science which so naturally fixes the attention of even a rude people, the Hindus themselves proceeded to a certain extent; and even if they did borrow the most valuable portion of all that they know, that it was constrained to harmonize with the methods they had previously invented, and the discoveries they had made. The fact, moreover, is that if the Hindu astronomy exhibits marks of distinction from other systems, it exhibits, on the supposition of its originality, still more surprising instances of agreement with other systems. " The days of the week " (I use the

cette conjonction, l'epoque alors est fictive, et l'astronomie Indienne est beaucoup plus moderne. Les tables n'indiquent-elles pas cette conjonction, alors l'objection de M. de la Place tombe d'elle-même. C'est ce que ne dit pas Mr. Playfair, et c'est ce que je n'ai pas le tems de vérifier. Mais quand même l'objection seroit sans force, il resteroit bien d'autres difficultés. Ce ne sont pas quelques rencontres heureuses parmi une foule de calculs erronés ou incoherens, qui suffiroient pour prouver l'antiquité de l'Astronomie Indienne. La forme mysterieuse de leurs tables et de leurs méthodes, suffiroit pour donner des soupçons sur leur veracité. C'est une question qui probablement ne sera jamais decidée, et qui ne pourroit l'etre que par de nouvelles decouvertes dans les ecrits des Hindoos." Letter from M. Delambre, dated Paris, July 21, 1814, published, Appendix, note D. of " Researches concerning the Laws, &c. of India, by Q. Craufurd, Esq."

* Asiat. Res. ii. 226—228.

† Of that ignorance, take the following specimens :—" The Bhagavat," (says Mr. Davis, Asiat. Res. iii. 225) " when treating of the system of the universe, places the moon above the sun, and the planets above the fixed stars."—" The prince of serpents continually sustains the weight of this earth." Sacontala, beginning of act v.—" Some of them " [the Brahmens of the present day] " are capable," says Mr. Orme, Hist. of Indost. i. 3, " of calculating an eclipse, which seems to be the utmost stretch of their mathematical knowledge."

BOOK II. language of Mr. Playfair) "are dedicated by the Brahmens as by us, to the seven planets, and, what is truly singular, they are arranged precisely in the same order. The ecliptic is divided, as with us, into twelve signs of thirty degrees each. This division is purely ideal, and is intended merely for the purpose of calculation. The names and emblems by which these signs are expressed, are nearly the same as with us; and as there is nothing in the nature of things to have determined this coincidence, it must, like the arrangement of the days of the week, be the result of some ancient and unknown communication." * From this striking circumstance, Montucla, the celebrated historian of mathematics, inferred, that the Hindu zodiac was borrowed from the Greeks; and from the vicinity of the Greek empire of Bactria, as well as from the communications which took place between the Hindus, the Persians, and Arabians, the facility with which the knowledge of the Grecian astronomy might pass into India is clear. Sir William Jones controverts the position that the Hindu ecliptic was borrowed from the Greeks; he contends that it was derived from the Chaldeans.† But this is a conclusion which comes to the same point.‡

* Playfair, on the Astronomy of the Brahmens, Trans. R. S. E. ii. 140, 141. See to the same purpose, Colebrooke on the Indian and Arabian Divisions of the Zodiac, Asiat. Res. ix. 323, 376.

† Asiat. Res. ii. 289.

‡ The division of the zodiac among the Birmans as well as the Brahmens, resembles ours, the original Chaldean. "My friend Sangermano," (says Dr. Buchanan, Asiat. Res. vi. 204,) "gave Captain Symes a silver bason on which the twelve signs were embossed. He conceived, and I think justly, that this zodiac had been communicated to the Burmans from Chaldea by the intervention of the Brahmens. And I find that in this conjecture he is supported by Sir W. Jones, (As. Res. ii. 306). Both, however, I am afraid, will excite the indignation of the Brahmens, who, as the learned judge in another place alleges, have always been too proud to borrow science from any nation ignorant of the Vedas. Of their being so proud as not to acknowledge their obligations I make no doubt: but that they have borrowed from the Chaldeans who were ignorant of the Vedas, Sir W. Jones himself has proved. Why then should he have opposed the sarcastic smiles of perplexed Pandits to the reasoning of M. Montucla, (As. Res. ii. 303, 289,) when that learned man alleged that the Brahmens have derived astronomical knowledge from the Greeks and Arabs. The expression of the Brahmens quoted by him as a proof, namely, 'that no base creature can be lower than a Yavan or Greek,' only exposes their miserable ignorance and disgusting illiberality."—On this pride, too great to learn (a sure sign of barbarity), it is also to be remarked, that a matrimonial connexion (among the Hindus the most sacred of all connexions) took place between Seleucus and Sandracottos. "On this difficulty," says Mr. Wilford, "I consulted the pundits of Benares, and they all gave me the same answer; namely, that in the time of Chandragupta, the Yavanas were much respected, and were even considered as a sort of Hindus." Asiat. Res. v. 286. What was to hinder the Brahmens from learning astronomy from the Greeks at that period? Mr. Wilford indeed says that a great inter-

Mathematics.

At one time a disposition appeared to set the knowledge of the Hindus in pure mathematics very high. But this ground was soon acknowledged to be untenable. It seems now to be agreed that their mathematical science is not more than elementary.

course formerly subsisted between the Hindus and the nations of the West. Ibid. iii. 297, 298. Sir William seems to have known but little of the intercourse which subsisted between the Hindus and the people of the West. Suetonius (in vit. Octav.) informs us, that the Indians sent ambassadors to Augustus. An embassy met him when in Syria, from king Porus, as he is called, with letters written in the Greek character, containing, as usual, an hyperbolical description of the grandeur of the monarch. Strabo, lib. xv. p. 663. A Brahmen was among those ambassadors, who followed Augustus to Athens, and there burnt himself to death. Strabo, Ibid. and Dio. Cass. lib. liii. p. 527. Another splendid embassy was sent from the same quarter to Constantine. Cedreni Annal. p. 242, Ed. Basil. 1566; Maurice, Hist. iii. 125. "I have long harboured a suspicion," says Gibbon, "that *all* the Scythian, and *some*, perhaps *much*, of the Indian science, was derived from the Greeks of Bactriana." Gibbon, vii. 294. A confirmation of this idea, by no means trifling, was found in China, by Lord Macartney and his suite, who discovered the mathematical instruments deposited in the cities of Pekin, and Nankeen, not constructed for the latitude of those places, but for the 37th parallel, the position of Balk or Bactria: Barrow's China, p. 289. The certainty of the fact of a Christian church being planted in India at a time not distant from that of the apostles, is a proof that the Hindus had the means of learning from the Greeks.—We learn the following very important fact from Dr. Buchanan. The greater part of Bengal manuscripts, owing to the badness of the paper, require to be copied at least once in ten years, as they will, in that climate, preserve no longer; and every copyist, it is to be suspected, adds to old books whatever discoveries he makes, relinquishing his immediate reputation for learning, in order to promote the grand and profitable employment of his sect, the delusion of the multitude. As. Res. vi. 174, note. Anquetil Duperron, who had at an early peried asserted the communication of Grecian science to the Hindus, (See Recherches Historiques et Philosophiques sur l'Inde) supported this conclusion at the end of his long life. "N'est il pas avoué," says he in his notes to the French translation of Paulini's Travels, iii. 442; "que, de tout tems, sans conquête, avec conquête, par terre comme par mer, l'Asie, l'Inde, et l'Europe, ont eu des relations plus ou moins actives; que les savans, les sages de ces contrées se sont visités, ont pu se faire part de leurs decouvertes; et qu'il n'est pas hors de vraisemblance que quelques uns auront fait usage dans leurs livres, même sans en avertir, des nouvelles lumières qu'ils avaient reçues de l'etranger? De nos jours, le Rajah d'Amber, dans ses ouvrages astronomiques, parle des tables de la Hire. Le Rajah Djessingue, aura profité des leçons du P. Boudier, qu'il avait appelé auprès de lui. Si l'astronome Brahme, avec lequel M. le Gentil a travaillé à Pondicherri, ecrit sur l'astronomie, sans abandonner le fond de ses principes, du systême Indien, il adoptera des pratiques qu'il aura remarquées dans son disciple, calculera, quoique Indou, à la Française, et donnera comme de lui, du pays, des resultats réellement tirés de ses rapports avec l'astronomie Française. Nier ces probabilités, c'est ne pas connaître les hommes."—"Il y a differentes epoques dans les sciences Indiennes, dans la mythologie, les opinions religieuses de cette contrée. Les Indiens ont reçu ou impruntè diverses connaissances des Arabes, des Perses, en tel temps; des Grecs dans tel autre." Ibid. p. 451.

Book II.

A very convenient, and even an ingenious mode of constructing the table of approximate signs, is in use among the Hindu astronomers. "But ignorant totally," says Professor Leslie, "of the principles of the operation, those humble calculators are content to follow blindly a slavish routine. The Brahmens must, therefore, have derived such information from people further advanced than themselves in science, and of a bolder and more inventive genius. Whatever may be the pretensions of that passive race, their knowledge of trigonometrical computation has no solid claim to any high antiquity. It was probably, before the revival of letters in Europe, carried to the East by the tide of victory. The natives of Hindustan might receive instruction from the Persian astronomers, who were themselves taught by the Greeks of Constantinople, and stimulated to those scientific pursuits by the skill and liberality of their Arabian conquerors." *

* Elements of Geometry, &c. By John Leslie, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, note xxxiv. All that can be said in favour of the mathematical science of the Hindus is very skilfully summed up in the following passage, by a mathematician of first rate eminence, Professor Wallace of the Royal Military College. "The researches of the learned have brought to light astronomical tables in India, which must have been constructed by the principles of geometry; but the period at which they have been formed has by no means been completely ascertained. Some are of opinion, that they have been framed from observations made at a very remote period, not less than 3,000 years before the Christian era; and if this opinion be well founded, the science of geometry must have been cultivated in India to a considerable extent, long before the period assigned to its origin in the West: so that many of the elementary propositions may have been brought from India to Greece. The Hindus have a treatise called the Surya Sidhanta, which professes to be a revelation from heaven, communicated to Meya, a man of great sanctity, about four millions of years ago; but setting aside this fabulous origin, it has been supposed to be of great antiquity, and to have been written at least two thousand years before the Christian era. Interwoven with many absurdities, this book contains a rational system of trigonometry, which differs entirely from that first known in Greece or Arabia. In fact, it is founded on a geometrical theorem, which was not known to the geometricians of Europe, before the time of Vieta, about two hundred years ago. And it employs the sines of arcs, a thing unknown to the Greeks, who used the chords of the double arcs. The invention of sines has been attributed to the Arabs, but it is possible that they may have received this improvement in trigonometry, as well as the numeral characters, from India." Edinburgh Encyclopedia, Article Geometry, p. 191. The only fact here asserted which bears upon the question of the civilization of the Hindus, is that of their using the sines of arcs instead of the chords of the double arcs. Suppose that they invented this method. It proves nothing beyond what all men believe; that the Hindus made a few of the first steps in civilization at an early period; and that they engaged in those abstract speculations, metaphysical and mathematical, to which a semi-barbarous people are strongly inclined. The Arabians were never more than semi-barbarous. The Greeks were no better, at the early age when they were acquainted with the elementary propositions of geometry. If the Greeks or Arabians invented, in the semi-barbarous state, the mode of computation by the chords; what was to hinder

Numerical characters.

Arithmetic is a branch of mathematics; and among other inventions, of which the honour has been claimed for the Hindus, is that of numerical characters. Whether the signs used by the Hindus are so peculiar as to render it probable that they invented them; or, whether it is still more probable that they borrowed them, are questions which, for the purpose of ascertaining their progress in civilization, are not worth resolving. "The invention of numerical characters," says Goguet, "must have been very ancient. For though flints, pebbles, and grains of corn, &c. might be sufficient for making arithmetical calculations, they were by no means proper for preserving the result of them. It was, however, necessary on many occasions to preserve the result of arithmetical operations, and consequently it was necessary, very early, to invent signs for that purpose."* Under these motives, a people, who had communication with another people already acquainted with numerical signs, would borrow them; a people, who had no such communication, would be under the necessity of inventing them. But alphabetical signs, far more difficult, were invented at a rude period of society; no certain proof of civilization is therefore gained by the invention of arithmetical characters. The characters of which Europeans themselves make use, and which they have borrowed from the Arabians, are really hieroglyphics; and "from the monuments of the Mexicans," says Goguet, "which are still remaining, it appears that hieroglyphics were used by that people, both for letters and numerical characters."† That diligent and judicious inquirer says, in general, "The origin of cyphers or numerical characters was confounded with that of hieroglyphic writing. To this day, the Arabian cyphers are real hieroglyphics, and do not represent words, but things. For which reason, though the nations which use them speak different languages, yet these characters excite the ideas of the same numbers in the minds of all."‡

Algebraic signs.

Algebraic signs, which were brought into Europe from Arabia, may, it is said, have originated in India. There is an assertion of the Arabian writers, that an Arabian mathematician in 959 travelled to India, in quest of information. He might travel, however, without finding. On this foundation, it is plain that

the Hindus from inventing, while semi-barbarous, the mode of computing by the sines of arcs? This is upon the supposition that the mode of computing by sines, and the elementary propositions on which it depends, really are original among the Hindus. But this seems not to rest upon very satisfactory proof, when it is barely inferred from the use of chords by the Greeks; and the *possibility* alone is asserted of the Arabians having derived the knowledge from the Hindus.

* Origin of Laws, i. 221.

† Ibid., i. 224.

‡ Ibid. Mr. Gilchrist renders it highly probable, that not only the digits, but the letters of the alphabet are hieroglyphics. Philosophic Etymology, p. 23.

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no sound inference can be built. If, indeed, it were proved that the algebraic notation came from India, an invention, which the Arabians could make, implies not much of civilization wherever it was made. The shape, indeed, in which it was imported from Arabia sets the question at rest. It cannot be described more clearly and shortly than in the words of Mr. Playfair. The characters, as imported from Arabia, "are mere abbreviations of words. Thus the first appearance of algebra is merely that of a system of short-hand writing, or an abbreviation of common language, applied to the solution of arithmetical problems. It was a contrivance merely to save trouble." *

Praise of learning.

The books of the Hindus abound with the praise of learning; and the love and admiration of learning is a mark of civilization and refinement. By the panegyrics, however, in the books of the Hindus, the existence is proved of little of any thing to which admiration is due. On the pretensions of the Brahmens to learning, the title to which they reserved exclusively to themselves, a great part of their unbounded influence depended. It was their interest, therefore, to excite an admiration of it, that is, of themselves, by every artifice of exaggerating praise. When we contemplate, however, the acquirements and performances on which the most lofty of these panegyrics were lavished, we can be at no loss for a judgment on their learning, or the motive from which the praises of it arose. To be able to read the Vedas, was merit of the most exalted nature; to have actually read them, elevated the student to a rank almost superior to that of mortals. "A priest," says the sacred text of Menu, "who has gone through the whole Veda, is equal to a sovereign of the whole world.† What is valuable in

* Second Dissertation, Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, p. 12. It is a coincidence well worth remarking, that Diophantus, a Greek mathematician of Alexandria, about 150 years after Christ, employed a like expedient. "The questions he resolves," says Mr. Playfair, "are of considerable difficulty. The expression is that of common language abbreviated, and assisted by a few symbols." (Ib. p. 13.) In a MS. of Diophantus, which Bombelli says he saw in the Vatican library, the Indian authors, he says, are often quoted. Nothing of this appears in the work of Diophantus, which was published about three years after the time when Bombelli wrote. Nor has any other work of Diophantus been produced. It is, besides, to be remembered, that the Greeks used the word *Indian* with great latitude. They applied it not merely to the people beyond the Indus; they applied it also to a people on the Euxine Sea; to a people in Ethiopia; in a general way, to all the people of the East. It is by no means clear that Diophantus would not apply it to the Arabians themselves. (See Appendix, No. II. at the end of the chapter.)

† Laws of Menu, ch. ix. 245. "Since the era of Halhed and Sir William Jones," says Mr. Scott Waring, "the existence of the precious manuscripts of Sanscrit learning, has, like the chorus to a popular song, been echoed from author to author, who, though entirely ignorant of Sanscrit, have stamped with credibility a seemingly vague supposition; for what production have

learning could be little understood, where consequences of so much importance were attached to a feat of this description.

we yet seen to justify those extravagant praises." Tour to Sheeraz, by Ed. Scott Waring, p. 5. Mr. Wilford, better acquainted with the Puranas than any other European, speaks of them with little respect. He talks of "the ignorant compilers of the Puranas, who have arranged this heterogeneous mass without method and still less judgment." As. Res. vi. 471. M. Bernier, than whom no European had better opportunities of observing the actual and present attainments of the Brahmens, who observed with a penetrating and judicious spirit, and wrote before the birth of theory on the subject, says, " Apres le Purane quelques uns se jettent dans la philosophie ou certainement ils reussissent bien peu;—je l'ai deja dit, ils sont d'une humeur lente et paresseuse, et ne sont point animez dans l'esperance de parvenir a quelque chose par leur etude." Suite des Memoires sur l'Empire du Grand Mogol, i. 184. "Leurs plus fameux Pendets," says he, "me semblent tres ignorans." (Ibid. p. 185.) Mentioning their accounts of the origin of the world, he says, " Il y en a aussi qui veulent que la lumiere et les tenebres soient les premiers principes, et disent la-dessus mille choses a vue de pays sans ordre ni suite, et apportent de longues raisons *qui ne sentent nullement la philosophie,* mais souvent la façon ordinaire de parler du peuple." (Ibid. p. 187.) Though the Hindus abstain religiously from anatomy, they pretend to know most confidently anatomical facts. " Ils ne laissent pas d'assurer qu'il y a cinq mille veines dans l'homme, ny plus ny moins, comme s'ils les avoient bien contées." (Ibid. p. 190.) After a review of their whole knowledge, which would be reckoned no incorrect outline, by the best informed of the present day, he adds, " Toutes ces grandes impertinences que je viens de vous raconter m'ont souvent fait dire en moimeme que si ce sont la les fameuses sciences de ces anciens Bragmanes des Indes, il faut qu'il y ait eu bien du monde trompé dans les grandes idées qu'on en a conçues." (Ibid. p. 193.)—" For some time a very unjust and unhappy impression appeared to have been made on the public mind, by the encomiums passed on the Hindoo writings. In the first place, they were thus elevated in their antiquity beyond the Christian scriptures, the writings of Moses having been called the productions of yesterday, compared with those of the bramhŭns. The contents of these books, also, were treated with the greatest reverence; the primitive religion of the Hindoos, it was said, revealed the most sublime doctrines, and inculcated a pure morality. We were taught to make the greatest distinction between the ancient and modern religion of the Hindoos; for the apologists of Hindooism did not approve of its being judged of by present appearances. Some persons endeavoured to persuade us, that the Hindoos were not idolaters, because they maintained the unity of God; though they worshipped the work of their own hands as God, and though the number of their gods was 330,000,000. It is very probable, that the unity of God has been a sentiment amongst the philosophers of every age; and that they wished it to be understood, that they worshipped the One God, whether they bowed before the image of Moloch, Jupiter, or Kalēē; yet mankind have generally concluded, that he who worships an image is an idolater; and I suppose they will continue to think so, unless in this age of reason common sense should be turned out of doors.—Now, however, the world has had some opportunity of deciding upon the claims of the Hindoo writings, both as it respects their antiquity and the value of their contents. Mr. Colebrooke's essay on the vĕdŭs, and his other important translations; the Bhŭgŭvŭt Gēēta, by Mr. Wilkins; the translation of the Ramayŭnŭ, several volumes of which have been printed; some valuable papers in the Asiatic Researches; with other translations by different Sŭngskritŭ scholars;

Book II.

Institutions of education.

The Hindus have institutions of education; and the Brahmens teach the arts of reading and writing, by tracing the characters with a rod in the sand.* How extensively this elementary knowledge is diffused, we have received little or no information. This is a satisfactory proof of the want of intelligence and interest with which our countrymen in India have looked upon the native population. The magistrates, however, who returned answers to the interrogatories of government in the year 1801, respecting the morals of the people, describe the state of education, in general terms, as deplorable in the extreme. Mr. J. Stracey, magistrate of Momensing, says, "The lower sort are extremely ignorant." Mr. Paterson, magistrate of Dacca Jelalpore, recommends "a total change in the system of education amongst those who have any education at all:" adding, that "the great mass of the lower ranks have literally none." The judges of the court of appeal and circuit of Moorshedabad say: "The moral character of a nation can be improved by education only. All instruction is unattainable to the labouring poor, whose own necessities require the assistance of the children as soon as their tender limbs are capable of the smallest labour. With the middle class of tradesmen, artificers, and shopkeepers, education ends

have thrown a great body of light on this subject:—and this light is daily increasing.—Many an object appears beautiful when seen at a distance, and through a mist; but when the fog has dispersed, and the person has approached it, he smiles at the deception. Such is the exact case with these books, and this system of idolatry. Because the public, for want of being more familiar with the subject, could not ascertain the point of time when the Hindoo Shastrŭs were written, they therefore at once believed the assertions of the bramhŭns and their friends, that their antiquity was unfathomable." (Ward on the Hindoos, Introd. p. xcix.) "There is scarcely any thing in Hindooism, when truly known, in which a learned man can delight, or of which a benevolent man can approve; and I am fully persuaded, that there will soon be but one opinion on the subject, and that this opinion will be, that the Hindoo system is less ancient than the Egyptian, and that it is the most puerile, impure, and bloody of any system of idolatry that was ever established on earth." (Ib. ciii.)

* Anquetil Duperron, who lodged a night at the house of a schoolmaster, at a Mahratta village, a little north of Poona, gives a ludicrous picture of the teaching scene. "Les ecoliers, sur deux files, accroupis sur leurs talons, traçoient avec le doigt les lettres, ou les mots, sur une planche noire couverte de sable blanc; d'autres repetoient les noms des lettres en forme de mots. Car les Indiens, au lieu de dire comme nous, a, b, c, prononçent ainsi—awam, banam, kanam. Le maitre ne me parut occupé pendant une demi heure que la classe dura encore, qu'a frapper avec un long rotin le dos nud de ces pauvres enfans: en Asie c'est la partie qui paye; la passion malheureusement trop commune dans ces contrées, veille à la sureté de celle que nos maitres sacrifient a leur vengeance. J'aurois été bien aise de m'entretenir avec Monsieur le Pedagogue Marate, ou de moins d'avoir un alphabet de sa main; mais sa morgue ne lui permit pas de repondre a mes politesses." (Zendavesta, Disc. Prelim. p. ccxxx.)

at ten years of age, and never reaches further than reading, writing (a scarcely legible hand on the plantain leaf), and the simplest rules of arithmetic." * But if the Hindu institutions of education were of a much more perfect kind than they appear to have ever been, they would afford a very inadequate foundation for the inference of a high state of civilization. The truth is, that institutions for education, more elaborate than those of the Hindus, are found in the infancy of civilization. Among the Turks and the Persians, there are schools and colleges, rising one above another, for the different stages of instruction. † And scarcely in any nation does the business of education appear to have been a higher concern of the government than among the Americans of Mexico and Peru. ‡

* Papers on India Affairs, No. iii. ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 30th April, 1813.

† "There were in these times [the times of Aliverdi, nabob of Bengal] at Azimabad," says the author of the Seer Mutakhareen, "numbers of persons who loved sciences and learning, and employed themselves in teaching and in being taught; and I remember to have seen in that city and its environs alone, nine or ten professors of repute, and three or four hundred students and disciples; from whence may be conjectured the number of those that must have been in the great towns, and in the retired districts." Seer Mutakhareen, i. 705, 4to. Calcutta, 1789. N. B. This with regard to the *Mussulmans* of Bengal. The translator says, in a note, "The reader must rate properly all these students, and all these expressions: their only object was the Coran and its commentaries; that is, the Mahometan religion, and the Mahometan law." Ibid. A hint very different from those we are wont to receive from our guides in Hindu literature.—"In vain do some persons talk to us of colleges, of places of education, and books: These words in Turkey convey not the same ideas as with us." Volney's Travels in Syria and Egypt, ii. 443.—Chardin, who formed as high an opinion of the Persians as Sir William Jones of the Hindus, tells us, (Voyage en Perse, iii. 130,) "Le genie des Persans est porté aux sciences, plus qu' à toute autre profession; et l'on peut dire que les Persans y reussissent si bien que ce sont, après les Chretiens Européens, les plus sçavans peuples du monde. . . . . . Ils envoyent les enfans aux colleges, et les elevent aux lettres autant que leurs moyens le peuvent permettre."—And at pages 137, 138, he adds, that schools are distributed in great numbers in Persia, and colleges very numerous.

‡ "Inca Roca was reputed the first who established schools in Cozco, where the Amautas were the masters, and taught such sciences as were fit to improve the minds of Incas, who were princes, and of the chief nobility, not that they did instruct them by way of letters, for as yet they had not attained to that knowledge, but only in a practical manner, and by daily discourses: their other lectures were of religion, and of those reasons and wisdom on which their laws were established, and of the number and true exposition of them; for by these means they attained to the art of government and military discipline; they distinguished the times and seasons of the year, and by reading in their knots they learned history and the actions of past ages; they improved themselves also in the elegance and ornament of speaking, and took rules and measures for the management of their domestic affairs. These Amautas, who were philosophers, and in high esteem amongst them, taught something also of poetry, music, philosophy, and astrology," &c. Garcilasso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, book iv. ch. xix. This same Inca exhibited one stroke at least which

BOOK II.

Hints of modern discoveries.

As evidence of the fond credulity with which the state of society among the Hindus was for a time regarded, I ought to mention the statement of Sir W. Jones, who gravely, and with an air of belief, informs us, that he had heard of a philosopher "whose works were said to contain a system of the universe, founded on the principle of attraction and the central position of the sun."* This reminds the instructed reader of the disposition which has been manifested by some of the admirers of the Greek and Roman literature, and of these by one at least who had not a weak and credulous mind, to trace the discoveries of modern philosophy to the pages of the classics. Dr. Middleton, in his celebrated Life of Cicero, says, that "several of the fundamental principles of the modern philosophy, which pass for the original discoveries of these later times, are the revival rather of ancient notions, maintained by some of the first philosophers, of whom we have any notice in history; as the motion of the earth, the antipodes, a vacuum; and an universal gravitation or attractive quality of matter, which holds the world in its present form and order."† It is a well known artifice of the Brahmens, with whose pretensions and interests it would be altogether inconsistent to allow there was any knowledge with which they were not acquainted, or which was not contained in some of their books, to attach to the loose and unmeaning phraseology of some of their own writings, whatever ideas they find to be in esteem, or even to interpolate for that favourite purpose.‡ It was thus extremely natural that Sir William Jones, whose pundits

will be reckoned high wisdom by some amongst us: "He enacted that the children of the common people should not be educated in the liberal arts and sciences, for that were to make them proud, conceited, and ungovernable; but that the nobility were those only to whom such literature did appertain, to render them more honourable, and capable of offices in the commonwealth." Ibid. "There is nothing," (says Acosta, book vi. ch. 27) "that gives me more cause to admire, nor that I find more worthy of commendation and memory, than the order and care the Mexicans had to nourish their youth." He tells us they had schools in their temples, and masters to instruct the young "in all commendable exercises, to be of good behaviour," &c.

* Asiat. Res. i. 430, and iv. 169.

† Middleton's Life of Cicero, sect. 12. Considerable currency was obtained by a very learned work of a clergyman of the Church of England, Mr. Dutens, who undertook to prove that all the discoveries which the moderns have made in the arts and sciences, may be found distinctly broached in the writings of the ancients.

‡ Anquetil Duperron gives us a remarkable instance of the disposition of the Brahmens to accommodate, by falsification, even their sacred records, to the ideas of Europeans. "Si je n'avois pas sçu que le commencement de l'Amerkosh contenoit la description du lingam, peut-etre m'eut il été impossible de decouvrir que mes Brahmes, qui ne vouloient pas devoiler le fond de leurs mysteres, paraphrasoient et pallioient plutot qu'ils ne traduisoient." Zendav. Disc. Prelim. i. ccclxix. Dr. Buchanan found the propensity general, to deceive him in their accounts both of

had become acquainted with the ideas of European philosophers respecting the system of the universe, should hear from them that those ideas were contained in their own books : The wonder was that without any proof he should believe them.*

their religion and history. See Journey through Mysore, &c. ii. 76, 79, 80. "The Brahmens," he says, "when asked for dates, or authority, say that they must consult their books, which may be readily done; but when I send my interpreter who is also a Brahmen, to copy the dates, they pretend that their books are lost." Ibid. i. 335. All information, he says, from the Brahmens, usually differs most essentially as derived from different individuals. Ibid. ii. 306. See an account of the imposition practised by his pundits upon Captain Wilford, by Lord Teignmouth, in the Introduction to his Life of Sir William Jones; also an account by Mr. Wilford himself, Essay on the Sacred Isles in the West, Asiat. Res. viii. 253.—In a letter to a friend Sir W. Jones said, "I can no longer bear to be at the mercy of our pundits, who deal out the Hindu law as they please, and make it at reasonable rates, where they cannot find it ready made." Life of Sir W. Jones, by Lord Teignmouth, 4to Ed. p. 307.—Colonel Wilks accuses the Hindu author of the Digest of Hindu Law, translated by Mr. Colebrooke, of substituting a false principle of law for a true one, out of "a courtesy and consideration, for opinions established by authority, *which is peculiar to the natives of India.*" Histor. Sketches, p. 116.

* He might have got proofs, equal to those with which they presented him, of Plato's having been acquainted with the circulation of the blood; viz. because when speaking of that fluid he uses the word περιαγεσθαι, which signifies to be carried round.—It is worthy of remark, that the philosopher, of whom Sir William heard, and whose works contained such important discoveries, was called Yavan Acharya, that is, Gentile or Greek. By the argument of Sir William, we might believe that the Greeks anticipated Newton. When Copernicus, dissatisfied with the received account of the heavenly motions, addressed himself to discover a new arrangement, we are told that "he examined all the obscure traditions delivered down to us, concerning every other hypothesis which the ancients had invented. He found in Plutarch, that some old Pythagoreans had represented the earth as revolving in the centre of the universe, like a wheel round its own axis; and that others of the same sect, had removed it from the centre, and represented it as revolving in the ecliptic, like a star round the central fire. By this central fire he supposed they meant the sun," &c. Dr. Ad. Smith, Essay on Hist. Astron. p. 51. We might prove that Parmenides had a just conception of the figure of the globe. Plato informs us that, according to that inquirer, Το ὁλον εςι

Παντοθεν ευκυκλȣ σφαιρας εναλιγκιον ογκῳ,
Μεσσοθεν ισοπαλες παντη. τȣ γαρ ȣτε τι μειζον
Ουτε βεβαιοτερον πελει. Plat. Sophista, p. 171.

Herodotus mentions the opinion of a naturalist, even in his days, who supposed that the ocean flowed round the earth, (a bold step towards the conception of its right figure,) τον ωκεανον γην περι πασαν ρεειν, lib. ii. sect. 22. Dr. Vincent, giving an account of the knowledge possessed by the ancients of the globular form of the earth, and of the saying of Strabo, that nothing obstructed the passage from Spain to India by a westerly course, but the immensity of the Atlantic ocean, has the following note; "Aristotle seems the author of this supposition, as well as of most other things that are extraordinary in the knowledge of the ancients. See Bochart, Phaleg. 169. Συναπτειν τον περι τας Ἡρακλειȣς ςηλας τοπον τῳ περι την Ινδικην. The parts about the pillars of Hercules

BOOK II. join to those about India. This is a nearer approach still; but both suppositions arise from the contemplation of the earth as a sphere.—Aristotle has also preserved the opinion of the Pythagoreans, who made the sun the centre of our system, with the earth and the other planets revolving round it, which is the hypothesis adopted by Copernicus, and established by Newton. Strabo, likewise, who left the phenomena of the heavens, and the form of the earth, to the mathematicians, still thought the earth a sphere, and describes our system agreeable to that which was afterwards adopted by Ptolemy; but he adds the idea of gravitation in a most singular manner. Σφαιροειδης μεν ὁ Κοσμος και ὁ Ουρανος. Ἡ ΡΟΠΗ δ' επι το μεσον των βαρεων . . . . ὁ δ' ουρανος περιφερεται περι τε αυτην και περι τον αξονα, απ' ανατολης επι δυσιν. Lib. ii. 110. The earth and the heaven are both spherical; but the tendency is to the centre of gravity. The heaven is carried round itself, and round its axis from east to west. I barely suggest the extent of ancient knowledge on these questions; those who wish to gratify their curiosity may consult Stobæus, tom. ii. cap. 25, Ed. Heeren, Gotting. 1792, 1794; and Diogenes Laertius in Anaximander, Pythagoras, and Zeno, lib. vii. sect. 155." Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, part ii. p. 517.—Sir William Jones tells us in his Discourse on the Hindu zodiac, that the pundit Ramachandra had a correct notion of the figure of the earth.—So had the elder Hermes, of whom it was one of the established maxims, that the earth was oviform, and hence the oval form of many of the oldest temples of Egypt. The earth was called Brahma's egg. See Asiat. Res. i. 360. Or Ramachandra, like a common fortune-teller, might only repeat to Sir William what he had learned from Sir William.—Europeans will arrive in time to think justly respecting the Hindus: Thus speaks Dr. Buchanan; " No useful science have the Brahmens diffused among their followers; history they have abolished; morality they have depressed to the utmost; and the dignity and power of the altar they have erected on the ruins of the state, and the rights of the subject." Asiat. Res. vi. 166.

APPENDIX. N° I.

Remarks on the Arguments for the Antiquity of the Hindu Astronomy.

Astronomie Indienne, p. 1 and 2.

THE knowledge of the Europeans concerning the astronomy of India is chiefly derived from different sets of astronomical tables brought to Europe at different times. All these tables are obviously connected with one another: for they are all adapted to one meridian; the mean motions are the same in them all; and their principal epochs are all deduced by calculation from one original epoch. The most ancient of the Indian epochs is fixed in the year 3102 before the Christian era, at the commencement of the Cali-yug. On account of the mutual connexion which, it is allowed, subsists between the three remaining epochs, it is only necessary to discuss that one which seems to be the most im-

Ast. Ind. p. 103.

Ast. Ind. p. 108.

portant: it is comparatively of modern date, and goes back no further than to the year of Christ 1491.

M. Bailly, in his Astronomie Indienne, has endeavoured to prove that the more ancient of the two epochs is fixed by actual observations: a proposition, which, if it were clearly made out, would confer the highest antiquity on the astronomy of India. In a paper in the Edinburgh Transactions, Mr. Playfair, who has adopted the opinion of M. Bailly, has given a clear and forcible summary of all the arguments that have been adduced in favour of the side he supports. M. Laplace, who is the only other author that has noticed the subject of the Indian astronomy since the publication of M. Bailly's work, does not accede to the opinion of his brother academician. In a very short passage in the "Systeme du Monde," Laplace states it as his own opinion, that the ancient epoch of the Brahmens was adopted with the view of making all the celestial motions begin at the same point of the zodiac: and he very briefly hints the reasons on which his opinion is founded. In drawing up the following remarks the observations of Laplace have been kept in view. Syst. du Monde, p. 293 and 294.

1. If we set out from the epoch of 1491, and compute the places of the sun, moon, and the planets, for the ancient epoch in 3102 A. C. it is found that all the celestial bodies are then in mean conjunction with the sun in the origin of the moveable zodiac. Here then is an astronomical fact, which the Indian tables necessarily suppose to have taken place, and which, it must be allowed, appears to be very fit to bring the authenticity of the ancient epoch to the proof. For, although the tables of the modern astronomy, highly improved as they are, do not enable us to go back more than 2000 years with extreme accuracy, yet they are sufficiently exact to afford the means of judging whether the general conjunction, supposed in the Indian tables, was actually copied from the heavens or not. Now M. Bailly has computed the places of the planets at the time of the ancient epoch of the Indians, or for the commencement of the Cali-yug, from the tables of M. Lalande: and, although all the planets, except Venus, were then nearly in conjunction with the sun, yet they were by no means so near to one another as to render it probable that this epoch was fixed by observation. M. Bailly argues that the conjunction could not be determined by direct observation; because the planets are invisible when immersed in the sun's light: and he shows that fifteen days after the epoch all the planets, except Venus, were contained within seventeen degrees of the zodiac. But this is not satisfactory. Mr. Playfair admits that the Indian tables cannot be entirely vindicated in this respect. Laplace lays all the stress on this argument to which it seems fairly entitled. Ast. Ind. p. 181 and 182. Ast. Ind. p. 182. Edin. Trans. § 39. Syst. du Monde, p. 294.

Book II.

The fiction of a general conjunction in the beginning of the moveable zodiac is the more remarkable, because it agrees precisely with the account which M. Bailly gives of the formation of the Indian astronomical systems.

Asiatic Researches, vol. vi.

The Brahmens were aware of this themselves; for the substance, or principle, is distinctly stated in the translation of a passage from the commentary on the Surya Siddhanta, ii. 241.

The validity of the observations made by the critic in the Edinburgh Review, as far as they regard the accuracy of the mean motions, and other astronomical elements which do not depend on the epochs, cannot be disputed. There is but one way of determining the mean motions with accuracy; namely, by comparing together real observations of the places of the planets made at a sufficient interval of time. No fictitious, or assumed, epochs can be of the least use for this purpose. Indeed Mr. Bently does not maintain that the Brahmens make any such use of their assumed epochs. The artificial systems of the Indian astronomy necessarily suppose the mean motions, and other elements, to be already determined and known. Mr. Bently seems in some measure to have misconceived the nature of the arguments by which the Europeans endeavour to establish the antiquity of the Hindu astronomy. He seems to have imagined that nothing more was necessary for confuting all their reasoning on this subject, than to make them acquainted with the formation of the artificial systems of the Brahmens.

But considering Mr. Bently as a person acquainted with the astronomy of the East, and as having access to the books in which it is contained, his testimony cannot but be allowed to be of great force in the present argument. He tells us that the Brahmens, when they would form an astronomical system, go back to a remote epoch, and assume as the basis of their system, that all the heavenly bodies are in a line of mean conjunction with the sun in the beginning of Aries: Now the Indian tables actually suppose such a conjunction at the commencement of the Cali-yug; and in this they are at variance with the most exact of the modern astronomical tables. Is it not then in the highest degree probable that the era of the Cali-yug is an assumed, or fictitious epoch in the astronomy of the Hindus?

If the ancient epoch, in 3102 A. C. be fictitious, the force of many of the arguments for the antiquity of the Indian astronomy will be greatly diminished. For that reasoning must needs be a good deal vague and unsatisfactory which rests entirely on the quantity of an astronomical element of an uncertain date, affected, as must be the case, by the errors of observation, of the limits of which we have no means of judging.

Ast. Ind. p. 163.

2. The equation of the sun's centre, according to the Indian tables, is $2° 10\frac{1}{2}'$; whereas the same quantity, according to modern observations, is only $1° 55\frac{1}{2}'$. It is one consequence of the mutual disturbances of the planets that

the excentricity of the solar orbit, on which the equation just mentioned depends, was greater in former ages than it is at the present time. From the quantity which the Hindus assign to this astronomical element, M. Bailly has drawn an argument in favour of the antiquity of the Indian tables, which, it must be confessed, is of great weight, when the difference of the Indian and European determinations is considered as arising from the gradual alteration of the planetary orbits. But Laplace has remarked that the equation, which in the Hindu tables amounts to 2° 10½′, is really composed of two parts; namely, the equation of the sun's centre, and the annual equation of the moon; both of which depend alike on the excentricity of the sun's orbit, and complete their periods in the same interval of time. The Indians have naturally enough blended these two irregularities together; because, the great object of their astronomy being the calculation of eclipses, the relative places of the sun and moon are affected by the sum of both. The annual equation of the moon is nearly 11′: And, when added to the equation of the sun's centre, the amount (2° 6½′,) does not differ much from the quantity set down in the Indian tables. The force of M. Bailly's argument is therefore completely taken off.

Syst. du. Monde, p. 239, 4to. Edin. Review, x. p. 468.

But the remark of Laplace not only invalidates the argument for the antiquity, but it furnishes a powerful one on the opposite side. It is indeed in the situation of a perfidious ally, who not only deserts his friends, but marshals his whole force in the ranks of their opponents. The amount of the two irregularities which are blended together by the Indians is 2° 6½′ at the present time: but if we go back to the commencement of the Cali-yug, there must be added about 13½′, on account of the greater magnitude of the sun's excentricity in that age above what it is in the present century; and thus we ought to have found 2° 20′, in place of 2° 10½′, in the Hindu tables, if their supposed antiquity be granted. It must be admitted that, in this instance at least, the Indian tables, when they are referred to the ancient epoch, are fairly at variance with the state of the heavens.

3. The quantities which the Indian tables assign to two other astronomical elements, viz. the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn, have been found to agree almost exactly, not with what is observed at the present time, but with what the theory of gravity shows would have been observed at the beginning of the Cali-yug. This curious coincidence between the Hindu tables and the most abstruse theory of modern Europe, was discovered by Laplace after the publication of the Astronomie Indienne: and it was communicated to M. Bailly in a letter inserted in the Journal des Sçavans. The argument which this circum-

Edin. Tran. § 42.

Book II. stance furnishes in favour of the antiquity is not forgotten by Mr. Playfair; and it is also mentioned by the critic in the Edinburgh Review.

But the discovery of Laplace, although it cannot be disputed, is absolutely of no avail in establishing the antiquity of the Indian astronomy: for no inference can be drawn from it respecting the ancient epoch in 3102 A. C. which is not equally conclusive with regard to the modern epoch in 1491 of our era.

Syst. du Monde, p. 203, 4to.

The theory of astronomy is indebted to Laplace for many interesting discoveries. Of these, two equations, affecting the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn, are not the least important. These irregularities are periodical, and they both complete their courses in 917$\frac{3}{4}$ years: And while one of them augments the motion of one of the planets, the other diminishes the motion of the other planet. It is a consequence of this discovery of Laplace, that, after an interval of time equal to 917$\frac{3}{4}$ years; or equal to twice, or thrice, or any exact number of times that period; the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn will return, to be precisely of the same quantity that they were at the beginning of the interval of time. Now, if from the epoch 1491, we reckon back a number of years, equal to five times the period of Laplace, we shall arrive at the year 3095 A. C., which is so near the ancient epoch of the Indians, as to entitle us to infer, that an observer who lived in 1491, would agree in his determinations of the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn, with an astronomer who had lived forty-six centuries before, at the beginning of the Cali-yug.

No reliance, then, can be placed on this argument, as a proof of the antiquity of the Hindu tables. On the contrary, if we admit, what it must be allowed is extremely probable, that the ancient epoch is a fictitious one, pointed out by superstition, or fixed upon for convenience in calculation, this argument will concur with the last in giving, to the astronomy of India, a modern date, rather than the high antiquity contended for.

Ast. Ind. p. 184 and 186. Edin. Trans. § 40 and 41.

4. M. Bailly has shown that the place of the aphelion of Jupiter's orbit, determined by the Indian tables for the beginning of the Cali-yug, agrees with the modern tables of Lalande, when corrected by the theoretical equations of La Grange. The same thing is true of the quantity which the Hindus assign to the equation of Saturn's centre. It requires but little scepticism to raise up doubts of the validity of arguments founded on such coincidences. In the first place, we are ignorant of the limits of the errors, that the Indian determinations may be susceptible of. In the second place, the dates of the observations on which the astronomical elements of the Indians depend are unknown and merely conjectural; yet these are necessary data for calculating the corrections that must

be applied to the modern tables, to fit them for representing the ancient state of the heavens: In the third place, the theoretical formulas themselves, by which the corrections are computed, cannot be supposed to enable us to go back with much accuracy, to so remote an epoch as the Cali-yug; a circumstance which is not owing to any imperfection of the theory, but to the want of our knowing with precision the relative proportions of the masses of the planets that compose our system. When we reflect on these things, even the very exact coincidence of the Indian elements, with the calculated quantities (which is nearer than there is reasonable ground to expect) is apt to create a suspicion that the whole is owing to a happy combination of balancing errors.

But waving these objections, fairness of reasoning requires that we should lay no more stress on such coincidences, as those just mentioned, in favour of one side of the question, than we are willing to allow to discrepancies in similar circumstances, in support of the other side. M. Bailly allows that not any more of the elements of the planetary motions, contained in the Indian tables, agree so well with the determinations derived from the theory of gravity: and the quantities which are assigned to the equations of the centre, for Jupiter and Mars, are quite irreconcileable with the supposition of so remote an antiquity as the beginning of the Cali-yug. Such a contrariety of results justly invalidates the whole argument.

5. Another argument urged by the favourers of the antiquity of the Indian astronomy, is derived from the obliquity of the ecliptic, which the Indians state at 24°.

Both observation and theory concur in showing that the obliquity of the ecliptic has been diminishing slowly for many ages preceding the present. At the beginning of the Cali-yug, this astronomical element, according to theory, was 23° 51′, which is still short of what the Indians make it. Twelve centuries before the Cali-yug, the actual obliquity of the ecliptic, as derived from theory, would coincide with the Indian quantity within 2′: And, by going back still further, the error may, no doubt, be entirely annihilated. Nothing, it must be confessed, can be more vague and unsatisfactory than this sort of reasoning.

Let us grant that the Hindus determined the obliquity of the ecliptic, 4300 years before our era, which supposes that they made an error of 2′ only: How are we to account for the strange circumstance, that a quantity, which they were at one time able to determine with so much accuracy, should remain unaltered for a period of nearly 6000 years; during which time, the error of the first determination has accumulated to half a degree? Are we to suppose that, imme-

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Observe what Mr. Davis says on this head, As. Res. ii. 238; also p. 237.

Asiat. Res. vi. 566.

diately after this imaginary epoch, the art of astronomical observation disappeared, and was entirely lost? This, we know, could not be the case, because many other astronomical elements necessarily suppose observations of a comparatively modern date: as, for instance, the equation of the sun's centre.

We shall account for the quantity which the Indians assign to the obliquity much more simply and naturally, if we trust to the authority of Mr. Bently. According to him, the Hindu astronomers (unless in cases where extraordinary accuracy is required) make it a rule, in observing, to take the nearest round numbers, rejecting fractional quantities: so that we have only to suppose that the observer who fixed the obliquity of the ecliptic at 24°, actually found it to be more than 23½°.

6. The length of the tropical year, as deduced from the Hindu tables, is 365ᵈ 5ʰ 50′ 35″ which is 1′ 46″ longer than the determination of La Caille. This is certainly not a little accurate, and necessarily supposes some degree of antiquity, and the comparison of observations made at a great interval of time. We shall be the better able to form a judgment of the length of time which such a degree of accuracy may require, if we consider the errors of some of our older tables, published before the art of making astronomical instruments was brought to its present perfect state. In the Alphonsine Tables, published about 1252, the length of the tropical year, is

	365ᵈ	5ʰ	49′	16″
Copernicus (about 1530) makes it....	365	5	49	6
Kepler (about 1627)...............	365	5	48	57½

These quantities are determined by observations distant from one another about 1500 or 1600 years: And the differences between them and the year of La Caille, is about the fourth part of the error of the Indians.

If we suppose that the length of the year found in the Hindu tables was actually determined by observation at the beginning of the Cali-yug, the error, which has been stated at 1′ 46″, may be reduced to 1′ 5″. The reason of this is that the year has been decreasing in duration, for all the intervening time: and the quantity, computed by theory, which must be added to the length of the year as observed in the present age, to have its length forty-nine centuries ago, is 40½″. Arguments of this kind carry but little force with them. For the time when the observations from which the length of the Indian year was deduced is totally unknown: and it seems highly probable, that the beginning of the Cali-yug is not an epoch settled by observation. Besides, the error of observation (which cannot be reduced under 1′ 5″) must be allowed to be, in this instance,

nearly double of the correction applied; and there is nothing to prove that it may not amount to much more.

It is to be remarked that the Indian tables contain the siderial motion of the sun, and not his motion in respect of the moveable equinox as our tables do. If we draw our comparison from the length of the siderial, instead of the tropical year, the result will not be so favourable to the accuracy of the Hindu astronomy. The siderial revolution of the sun, according to the Indians, is $365^{d}\ 6^{h}\ 12'\ 30''$; according to modern observation it is $365^{d}\ 6^{h}\ 9'\ 11''$; and the error is $3'\ 19''$ nearly double the former error. The difference of these errors arises from the quantity which they assign to the precession of the equinoxes, which is $54''$ instead of $50\frac{1}{4}''$.

The zodiac of Le Gentil is probably the same with that of which Mr. Davis has given a drawing, Asiat. Res. iii. 209.

7. Of all the arguments in support of the antiquity of the Hindu astronomy, the strongest and most direct is that which is derived from an ancient zodiac brought from India by M. le Gentil. This argument therefore deserves to be particularly considered.

It must be observed, that the force of an argument such as this, which turns on the magnitude of an astronomical quantity that accumulates slowly, and is perceptible only after a long lapse of time, will entirely depend on the authenticity of the observations, or facts, from which the argument is drawn, and on the precision and accuracy with which they are recorded. Any thing uncertain, or arbitrary, or hypothetical, respecting these fundamental points, will greatly weaken the strength of the argument. We are told by Mr. Playfair, that the star Aldebaran has the longitude of 3° 20′ in the zodiac of M. le Gentil: and it is on the authenticity and precision of this fact, that the validity of his reasoning hinges. Now, if we turn to the passage of the Astronomie Indienne, which is cited by Mr. Playfair, it will appear that this position of Aldebaran is rather a conjecture, or hypothesis, of M. Bailly, than an authentic observation recorded with precision.

Edin. Trans. § 22.

Edin. Rev. p. 463 and 464.

The Indian zodiac moves westward, at the same rate as the fixed stars, and it is divided into twenty-seven constellations, each of 13° 20′. The vernal equinox was 54° to the east of the beginning of the zodiac at the commencement of the Cali-yug: and it was therefore in the fifth constellation, being 40′ more advanced than the fourth. The Indians mark the fourth constellation, which they call Rhonini, by five stars, of which the most easterly, or the most advanced in the zodiac, is the very brilliant star Aldebaran. These things being premised, M. Bailly thus proceeds: "Il est naturel que cette belle etoile ait marqué la fin ou le commencement d'une constellation. Je suppose qu'elle marque en effet la fin

Ast. Ind. p. 129, § 30.

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de Rhonini, la quatrieme des constellations Indiennes, et le commencement de la cinquième; il resulte de cette supposition que l'etoile Aldebaran etoit placée dans le zodiaque Indien à $1^s\ 23°\ 20'$ de l'origin du zodiaque." It appears then that the whole of the argument, which is stated so strongly by Mr. Playfair, and by the critic in the Edinburgh Review, rests on the conjecture of M. Bailly; that Aldebaran was exactly placed at the end of the fourth, and the beginning of the fifth constellation in the Indian zodiac. For this, no sort of proof is offered, except the conspicuousness of the star, which is certainly one of the most brilliant in the heavens. Are we to suppose, for the sake of this argument, that the position of the Indian zodiac was entirely regulated by the star Aldebaran? For it must be admitted that when the beginning of one constellation is fixed, all the rest are thereby determined. Or, are we to suppose, what is still more improbable, that the beginning of the fifth constellation fell, by a lucky chance, exactly in the place of this conspicuous star?

Asiat. Res. vi. 558.

But the Indians themselves afford us the means of correcting the supposition of M. Bailly. Mr. Bently tells us that Bromha Gupta makes the longitude of the star, Spica Virginis, in the moveable zodiac of the Hindus, $6^s\ 3°$: According to De la Caille, the longitude of the same star in 1750, was

	6^s	$20°$	$21'$	$18''$
Of Aldebaran	2	6	17	47
Difference....................	4	14	3	31

which, subtracted from $6^s\ 3°$, leaves $1^s\ 18°\ 56'\ 29''$ for the longitude of Aldebaran in the Indian zodiac, instead of $1^s\ 23°\ 20'$ which it is according to the hypothesis of M. Bailly. The error amounts to $4°\ 23'\ 31''$: a quantity which is nowise inconsistent with the configuration of the constellation Rhonini, while it is sufficient to show that the Indians may have fixed the origin of their zodiac at the beginning of the Cali-yug by calculating back from a modern epoch.

Asiat. Res. vi. 558.

And indeed the Brahmens point out a modern epoch, a noted one in their astronomy, which is connected with the era of the Cali-yug by their precession, in the same manner that the modern epoch 1491 is connected with it by the mean motions. Mr. Bently tells us that, according to Varaha, the year 3601 of the Cali-yug (A. D. 499) began precisely at the vernal equinox: which implies that the origin of the Indian zodiac did then coincide with the equinoxial point. Now if we deduct $1^s\ 24°$, the Indian precession for 3600 years, from 12^s, we shall have $10^s\ 6°$ for the origin of the zodiac, reckoned eastward from the vernal

equinox according to the practice of our astronomy: precisely as it comes out by the Indian tables. CHAP. IX.

The epoch 3601 of the Cali-yug is involved in all the Indian tables, insomuch that M. Bailly was led to discover it by calculation: And in fact, there is no authority for fixing the origin of the Indian zodiac in 10^s $6°$ at the era of the Cali-yug, except by reckoning back from this epoch, according to the Hindu rule for the precession. Ast. Ind. p. 43.

It appears then that the argument drawn from the zodiac of M. le Gentil, when closely considered, not only affords no evidence for the antiquity of the Indian astronomy, but rather favours the opinion that the beginning of the Cali-yug is a fictitious epoch fixed by calculation. For it has been shown that the place of the origin of the Indian zodiac, at the era of the Cali-yug, is connected by the precession contained in the Hindu tables with the epoch 3601 of that age: and indeed all the epochs of the Brahmens, ancient as well as modern, are connected with the same fundamental epoch, in what regards the precession. The pretended position of the star Aldebaran is merely a conjecture of M. Bailly: And it is at variance with the place which Bromha Gupta, and other Indian astronomers, assign to the star "Spica Virginis."

8. In the preceding observations, all the arguments that have been adduced in favour of the antiquity of the Indian astronomy, as far as the question is purely astronomical, have been considered, excepting those drawn from the places of the sun and moon, at the beginning of the Cali-yug, (at midnight, between the 17th and 18th of February, of the year 3102 A. C). With regard to the first of these, there is a difficulty which weighed so much with Mr. Playfair, as to induce him to set aside the argument entirely, and to lay no stress upon it. It is remarkable, that the critic in the Edinburgh Review has brought forward this argument, without noticing the difficulty which, in Mr. Playfair's opinion, rendered it inconclusive. After what has been urged to invalidate the opinion of M. Bailly, that the ancient epoch of the Indian tables was settled by observation, we shall be spared the task of examining the remaining argument drawn from the place of the moon: allowing to this argument all the force which the most sanguine supporters of the antiquity can demand, it can have but little weight in opposition to the many strong and concurring indications of a contrary nature.* Edin. Trans. sect. 23. Edin. Rev. p. 464.

* Laplace has remarked, that the mean motions of the lunar orbit are quicker in the Indian tables, than in those of Ptolemy: which indicates that the former tables were constructed posterior to those of the Greek astronomer. This argument is at least as strong as any of those by which the antiquity is supported.

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10. If the author of the "Astronomie Indienne" has succeeded in establishing any of his positions, it is in proving that the astronomy of the Brahmens is original, or at least that it has not been borrowed from any of the astronomical systems that we are acquainted with. This was a preliminary point which his favourite system required him to examine: for if the astronomy of the Brahmens had turned out to have an obvious affinity to the astronomical systems of Arabia or Greece, it would have been in vain to bring proofs of its antiquity. But how does this prove the antiquity of the Indian astronomy? It only proves that the inhabitants of the eastern world, separated from the rest of mankind, have made the same progress to a certain extent, which, in the western world, has been carried to a far greater pitch of perfection.

APPENDIX. N° II.

Colebrooke on Sanscrit Algebra.

Since the pages relating to the science of the Hindus were sent to the press, has appeared a work entitled, "Algebra, with Arithmetic and Mensuration, from the Sanscrit of Brahmegupta and Bhascara; translated by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq." No person who takes an interest in the history of the human mind, can fail to recognize that Mr. Colebrooke has added largely to the former obligations he had conferred upon us, not only by laying open to European readers the most approved production on Algebra in the Sanscrit language, but by the research and ability with which, in a preliminary dissertation, he has brought together the materials for forming an opinion, both respecting the origin of that science among the Hindus, and their merit in the prosecution of it.

On mathematics I must speak superficially, because my knowledge does not enable me to speak profoundly. Enough, I think, however, appears on the face of this subject, to enable me to resolve the only question, in the solution of which I am interested.

Mr. Colebrooke thinks it possible, nay probable, that the Hindus derived their first knowledge of algebra from the Greeks; that they were made acquainted with the writings of Diophantus, before they had of their own accord made any attempts in the science; and that it is in the accessions which Algebra received in their hands, that their title, if any, to our respect, must, in this particular,

look for its foundation.* That the Hindus cultivated astronomy, and those branches of the art of calculation subservient to astronomy, solely for the purposes of astrology, is not disputed by any body, and least of all by Mr. Colebrooke. That candid and careful inquirer has brought to light a very important fact, that even on the subject of astrology, on which they might have been supposed original, the Hindus have been borrowers, and borrowers from the Greeks.† "Joining," he says, "this indication, to that of the division of the zodiac into twelve signs, represented by the same figures of animals, and named by words of the same import, with the zodiacal signs of the Greeks; and taking into con-

* "If it be insisted, that a hint or suggestion, the seed of their knowledge, may have reached the Hindu mathematicians immediately from the Greeks of Alexandria, or mediately through those of Bactria, it must at the same time be confessed that a slender germ grew and fructified rapidly, and soon attained an approved state of maturity in Indian soil. More will not be here contended for: Since it is not impossible, that the hint of the one analysis may have been actually received by the mathematicians of the other nation: nor *unlikely;* considering the arguments which may be brought for a probable communication on the subject of astrology." (Dissertation, p. xxii.) This is an important admission which Mr. Colebrooke was too well informed to overlook, and too honest to conceal. His partialities, however, lead him to a very useless effort of extenuation. Why call the knowledge which the Hindus derived of the Diophantine methods, a *hint?* What should confine it to a *hint?* Why make use of the word hint? when it is perfectly clear that if they had the means of receiving a hint, they had the means of receiving the whole. The communication was full and complete between the Hindus and the Greeks, both of Bactria and of Egypt; and the Hindus had the means of receiving from the Greeks all those parts of their knowledge, which the state of civilization among the Hindus enabled them to imbibe. Of the exaggerating language of Mr. Colebrooke, on the other side, about the growing and fructifying of the germ, and its attaining a state of approved maturity in Indian soil, we shall speak by and bye.

† He had stated long ago, "That astronomy was originally cultivated among the Hindus, solely for the purposes of astrology: That one branch, if not the whole of their astrological science, was borrowed from the Arabians: And that their astronomical knowledge must, by consequence, have been derived from the same quarter." (Asiat. Res. ix. 376.) And on the present occasion he says; "The position that astrology is partly of foreign growth in India; that is, that the Hindus have borrowed, and largely too, from the astrology of a more western region, is grounded, as the similar inference concerning a different branch of divination, on the resemblance of certain terms employed in both. The mode of divination, called *Tájaca,* implies by its very name its Arabian origin: Astrological prediction, by configuration of planets, in like manner, indicates even by its Indian name a Grecian source. It is denominated *Hórá,* the second of three branches which compose a complete course of astronomy and astrology: and the word occurs in this sense in the writings of early Hindu astrologers.... The same term *hórá* occurs again in the writings of the Hindu astrologers, with an acceptation—that of hour—which more exactly conforms to the Grecian etymon. The resemblance of a single term would not suffice to ground an inference of common origin, since it might be purely accidental. But other words are also remarked in Hindu astrology," &c. (Algebra, &c. from the Sanscrit, Dissert. Notes and Illust. p. lxxx.)

Book II. sideration the analogy, though not identity, of the Ptolemaic system, and the Indian one of excentric deferents and epicycles, no doubt can be entertained that the Hindus received hints from the astronomical schools of the Greeks."*

To draw, then, from the tracts which Mr. Colebrooke has translated, an inference to any high state of civilization among the Hindus, the three following propositions must, first, be established;

1. That the Greeks did not teach to the Hindus as much of the science as the works in question contain:

2. That the works are sufficiently old to render it impossible that the knowledge could have been borrowed from any modern source:

3. That the accessions made to the knowledge derived from the Greeks are so difficult as could not have been made except by a people in a high state of civilization.

If all these propositions are not fully and entirely made out; if any weakness appears in the evidence of any one of them, the inference falls to the ground. Upon inquiry, it seems to come out, that for not one of them is the evidence sufficient, or trustworthy.

1. That the Hindus received from the Greeks all that the latter knew, is admitted by Mr. Colebrooke. It is also admitted by Mr. Colebrooke, that "Diophantus was acquainted with the direct resolution of affected quadratic equations, and of indeterminate problems of the first degree; that he displays infinite sagacity and ingenuity in particular solutions; and that a certain routine is discernible in them."† It is unfortunately from Diophantus alone, that we derive any knowledge of the attainments of the Greeks in this branch of mathematics. It is no less unfortunate, that out of thirteen books which he wrote upon this subject, only six, or possibly seven, have been preserved. How does Mr. Colebrooke know, that these other books of Diophantus did not ascend to more difficult points of the science?‡ He says, you have no right to infer that. True;

* Algebra, &c. from the Sanscrit, Dissert. Notes and Illust. p. xxiv. † Ib. x. and xvi.

‡ Dr. Hutton says, that Diophantus "knew the composition of the cube of a binomial.... In some parts of book vi. it appears that he was acquainted with the composition of the fourth power of the binomial root, as he sets down all the terms of it; and from his great skill in such matters it seems probable that he was acquainted with the composition of other higher powers, and *with other parts of Algebra, besides what are here treated of*.... Upon the whole, this work is treated in a very able and masterly manner, manifesting the utmost address and knowledge in the solutions, and forcing a persuasion that the author was deeply skilled in the science of Algebra, to some of the most abstruse parts of which these questions or exercises relate. However, as he contrives his assumptions and notations, so as to reduce all his conditions to a simple equation, or at least a

but neither has he any right to infer the contrary. There is, however, another possibility, and a still more important one, which Mr. Colebrooke has altogether overlooked. Supposing that nothing more of Algebra was known to the Greeks, at the time of Diophantus, than is found in seven out of thirteen books of one author, which is a pretty handsome allowance; is it certain, or is it probable, that when the Greeks had made so considerable a progress, they remained stationary; and though the most ingenious and inventive people in the world, peculiarly at that time turned to mathematical and abstruse investigations, they made no addition, through several generations, to what was taught them by Diophantus? This argument appears to be conclusive.

2. Mr. Colebrooke has a very elaborate, complex, and in some parts obscure train of argument to prove the antiquity of certain points of Algebraic knowledge among the Hindus. That it is not conclusive may be made to appear very certainly; it is only to be regretted that so many words are required.

The point is, to prove the antiquity of certain treatises which Mr. Colebrooke possesses; part under the name of Bhascara, one mathematician; part under that of Brahmegupta, another. He begins with Bhascara.

There are two treatises of astronomy, which bear the name of Bhascara, and which themselves affirm, that they were written at a particular time, corresponding to the middle of the twelfth century of the Christian era: Therefore the Treatise on Algebra, possessed by Mr. Colebrooke, was produced about the middle of the twelfth century. For this degree of antiquity, this is the whole of the evidence. Let us see what it is worth.

In the first place, the dates refer only to the astronomical treatises; not to the Algebraic. The algebraic is indeed prefixed to the astronomic; but it is alleged by one of the commentators, and believed by Mr. Colebrooke, that it "may have been added subsequently." And then at what date subsequently, or by what hand, are questions to which we shall presently see that there is no answer.

In the next place, an important observation applies to the affirmations, with respect to their own age, found in the treatises of astronomy. From the known, the extravagant disposition of the Hindus to falsify with regard to dates, and make almost every thing with respect to their own transactions and attainments more ancient than it is, such asseverations, found in books or transcripts of books, are no proof; and only deserve a moment's regard when fully corroborated by

simple quadratic, it does not appear *what* his knowledge was, in the resolution of compound or affected quadratics." Mathematical Dictionary, Art. Diophantus.

BOOK II. other circumstances. Not one circumstance is adduced to corroborate them by Mr. Colebrooke.

We come down, all at once, from the date of the work, to the date of the commentaries upon it. For none of them does Mr. Colebrooke claim a degree of antiquity beyond that of 200 or 300 years. Supposing this date to be correct, what reason has Mr. Colebrooke to infer that the work on which they comment was, at the time of that commentary, 400 years old? None, whatsoever. In nine instances out of ten, the commentator would be sure to speak of it as old, whether it was so or not. But further, what reason have we to believe that the date which he ascribes to these commentaries is the real one? Again the answer is, None: none that will bear examination. The date of the oldest is assumed upon the strength of an astronomical example, describing a particular state of the heavens: But this may be perfectly accidental; and, besides, the Hindus have the power of calculating backwards. Of the next two, the date is assumed upon the strength of their own assertion: This we have shown is of no value. Of the next two the date is assumed upon the assertion of other books: This, if possible, is of less value. There are three others to which no date is assigned: And there are two commentaries upon the astronomical treatises, the date of which too rests upon their own assertion.

Neither to the treatise, therefore, in the hands of Mr. Colebrooke, nor to the Commentaries upon it, has any thing appeared in what we have yet mentioned, which enables us to assign, with any degree of certainty, any one date in preference to any other. We may, if we please, assume that all of them in a body are less than a century old.

Beside the Sanscrit commentaries, there is a Persian translation, of each of the two treatises of Bhascara. In general, what is testified by Persian is far more trustworthy, than what rests upon Sanscrit authority; because there was more publicity in the Persian writings; whereas the Sanscrit being wholly secret, and confined to a small number of Brahmens, accustomed and prone to forgery, there is security for nothing which they had any interest, real or imaginary, to change. If there was any evidence, therefore, to fix the dates of the Persian translations, we could not reasonably dispute a degree of antiquity corresponding to them. I suspect that there is no evidence to fix the dates of these translations. Mr. Colebrooke says, the one was made by order of the emperor Acber, the other in the reign of Shah Jehan. But he subjoins no reason for this affirmation. The cause probably is, that he had none; and that he took the conjecture from some date written somewhere in the book, nobody knows at what time, nobody knows by whom.

Such is the whole of the evidence which is adduced by Mr. Colebrooke to prove the antiquity of Bhascara. "The age of his predecessors," he adds, "cannot be determined with equal precision:" that is to say, the evidence which can be adduced for the antiquity of the other treatise, that of Brahmegupta, is still less conclusive and satisfactory. As we have seen that the better evidence proves nothing, I shall spare the reader a criticism to show, what he will easily infer, that the worse evidence proves as little; evidence, which, as it is tedious and intricate, it would require a criticism of some length to unfold.

3. We come to the third of the propositions; that if the Hindus had discovered as much as they know of algebra, beyond what appears in the fragment of Diophantus, they must have been placed in a high state of civilization. That this proposition cannot be maintained, I expect to find universally acknowledged. I transcribe the passage from Mr. Colebrooke, in which he sums up the claims and pretensions of the Hindus. "They possessed well the arithmetic of surd roots; they were aware of the infinite quotient resulting from the division of finite quantity by cipher; they knew the general resolution of equations of the second degree, and had touched upon those of higher denomination, resolving them in the simplest cases, and in those in which the solution happens to be practicable by the method which serves for quadratics; they had attained a *general solution* of indeterminate problems of the first degree; they had arrived at a method for deriving a multitude of solutions of answers to problems of the second degree from a single answer found tentatively."*

In all this it appears, that the only point in which there can be a pretence for their having gone beyond what we have in the fragment of Diophantus, is the *general* solution of indeterminate problems of the first degree. But, to quote Dr. Hutton once more, "Diophantus was the first writer on indeterminate problems. His book is wholly on this subject; whence it has happened that such kind of questions have been called by the name of Diophantine problems." Now, take the point at which the solution of indeterminate problems appears in the fragment of Diophantus, and the point at which it appears in the Sanscrit treatise, of whatever age, in the hands of Mr. Colebrooke; the interval between the two points is so very small, and the step is so easily made, that most assuredly far more difficult steps in the progress of mathematical science have been made in ages of which the civilization has been as low as that of the Hindus. Thales lived at a period when Greece was still uncultivated, and but just emerging from

* "Algebra;" &c. ut supra, Dissert. p. xiv.

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barbarism; yet he excelled the Egyptians in mathematical knowledge, and astonished them by computing the height of the pyramids from the shadow. Pythagoras lived in the same age; and was a great inventor both in arithmetic and geometry: In astronomy he made great discoveries, and maintained, we are told, the true system of the universe; that the sun is in the centre, and makes all the planets revolve about him. Regiomontanus was born in 1456, when the human mind was still to a great degree immersed in the darkness of the middle ages: Yet of him Mr. Playfair says, "Trigonometry, which had never been known to the Greeks as a separate science, and which took that form in Arabia, advanced, in the hands of Regiomontanus, to a great degree of perfection; and approached very near to the condition which it has attained at the present day: He also introduced the use of decimal fractions into arithmetic, and thereby gave to that scale its full extent, and to numerical computation the utmost degree of simplicity and enlargement which it seems capable of attaining.*" Cardan was born in 1501, when assuredly much had not yet been gained of what deserves the name of civilization. "Before his time," says the same accomplished mathematician, "little advance had been made in the solution of any equations higher than the second degree. In 1545 was published the rule which still bears the name of Cardan; and which, at this day, marks a point in the progress of algebraic investigation, which all the efforts of succeeding analysts have hardly been able to go beyond."† Even Vieta, with all his discoveries, appeared at an early and ill-instructed age.

Utility, the grand test of civilization.

In looking at the pursuits of any nation, with a view to draw from them indications of the state of civilization, no mark is so important, as the nature of the *End* to which they are directed.

Exactly in proportion as *Utility* is the object of every pursuit, may we regard a nation as civilized. Exactly in proportion as its ingenuity is wasted on contemptible or mischievous objects, though it may be, in itself, an ingenuity of no ordinary kind, the nation may safely be denominated barbarous.

According to this rule, the astronomical and mathematical sciences afford conclusive evidence against the Hindus. They have been cultivated exclusively for the purposes of astrology; one of the most irrational of all imaginable pursuits; one of those which most infallibly denote a nation barbarous; and one of those which it is the most sure to renounce, in proportion as knowledge and civilization are attained.

* Suppl. Encycl. Brit. Dissert. Second, p. 4.

† Ibid. p. 14.

CHAP. X.

General Reflections.

CHAP. X.

Importance of the inquiry into the state of civilization among the Hindus.

To ascertain the true state of the Hindus in the scale of civilization, is not only an object of curiosity in the history of human nature; but to the people of Great Britain, charged as they are with the government of that great portion of the human species, it is an object of the highest practical importance. No scheme of government can happily conduce to the ends of government, unless it is adapted to the state of the people for whose use it is intended. In those diversities in the state of civilization, which approach the extremes, this truth is universally acknowledged. Should any one propose, for a band of roving Tartars, the regulations adapted to the happiness of a regular and polished society, he would meet with neglect or derision. The inconveniences are only more concealed, and more or less diminished, when the error relates to states of society which more nearly resemble one another. If the mistake in regard to Hindu society, committed by the British nation, and the British government, be very great; if they have conceived the Hindus to be a people of high civilization, while they have in reality made but a few of the earliest steps in the progress to civilization, it is impossible that in many of the measures pursued for the government of that people, the mark aimed at should not have been wrong.

Origin of the mistakes on this subject.

The preceding induction of particulars, embracing the religion, the laws, the government, the manners, the arts, the sciences, and literature, of this remarkable people, affords, it is presumed, the materials from which a correct judgement may, at last, be formed of their progress toward the high attainments of civilized life. That induction, and the comparisons to which it led, have occupied us long, but not longer, it is hoped, than the importance of the subject demanded, and the obstinacy of the mistakes which it was the object of it to remove.

The reports of a high state of civilization in the East were common even among the civilized nations of ancient Europe. But the acquaintance of the Greeks and Romans with any of the nations of Asia, except the Persians alone, was so imperfect, and among the circumstances which they state so many are incredible

and ridiculous, that in the information we receive from them on this subject, no confidence can be reposed.

Of the modern Europeans, the individuals who first obtained a tolerable acquaintance with any of the nations of the East, were the popish missionaries, chiefly the Jesuits, who selected China for the scene of their apostolical labours. Visiting a people who already composed a vast society, and exhibited many, though fallacious, marks of riches, while Europe as yet was every where poor; and feeling, as it was natural for them to feel, that the more they could excite among their countrymen an admiration of the people whom they described, the greater would be the portion of that flattering sentiment, which would redound upon themselves, these missionaries were eager to conceive, and still more eager to propagate, the most hyperbolical ideas of the arts, the sciences, and institutions of the Chinese. As it is almost always more pleasing, and certainly far more easy, to believe than to scrutinize; and as the human mind in Europe, at the time when these accounts were first presented, was much less powerful and penetrating than it is at present, they were received with almost implicit credulity. The influence of this first impression lasted indeed so long, that Voltaire, a keen-eyed and sceptical judge, makes the Chinese, of almost all nations, the objects of the loudest and most unqualified praise.* The state of belief in Europe has, gradually, through the scrutiny of facts, been of late approximating to sobriety on the attainments of the Chinese, and a short period longer will probably reduce it to the scale of reason and fact.†

It was under circumstances highly similar, that the earliest of the modern travellers drew up and presented their accounts of Hindustan. The empire of the Moguls was in its meridian splendour. It extended over the principal part of India; and the court, the army, and the establishments of Akber or Aurungzebe, exhibited that gorgeous exterior, that air of grandeur and power, which were well calculated to impose upon the imagination of an unphilosophical observer.‡

* "Any thing proposed to us which causes surprise and admiration, gives such a satisfaction to the mind, that it indulges itself in those agreeable emotions, and will never be persuaded that its pleasure is entirely without foundation." (Hume, Treatise of Human Nature, i. 53.)

† To this good effect, if to no other, the embassy of Lord Macartney, and the writings to which it has given occasion, have largely contributed. See Barrow's two works, Travels in China, and Life of Lord Macartney, and above all, that important document, a volume of the Laws of China, translated by Sir George Staunton. No one has more approximated to a correct judgment of the Chinese, than De Guignes. See Voyage.

‡ Many of the observations of Mr. Barrow upon the panegyrical accounts of the Chinese by the popish missionaries are very applicable to the flattering accounts which travellers have been

It was unfortunate that a man so pure and warm in the pursuit of truth, and so devoted to oriental learning, as Sir William Jones, took up, with that ardour which belonged to him, the theory of a high state of civilization in the principal countries of Asia. This theory he supported with all the advantages of an imposing manner, and a brilliant reputation; and gained for it so much fame and credit, that for a time it would have been very difficult to obtain a hearing against it.

Beside the illusions with which the fancy magnifies the importance of a favourite pursuit, Sir William was actuated by the virtuous design of exalting the Hindus in the eyes of their European masters; and thence ameliorating the temper of the government; while his mind had scope for error in the vague and indeterminate notions which it still retained of the signs of social improvement. The term civilization was by him, as by most men, attached to no fixed and definite assemblage of ideas. With the exception of some of the lowest states of society in which human beings have been found, it was applied to nations in all the stages of social advancement.*

The species of inquiry not much cultivated.

It is not easy to describe the characteristics of the different stages of social progress. It is not from one feature, or from two, that a just conclusion can be drawn. It sometimes happens that in one feature or two, nations resemble, which are placed at stages considerably remote. It is from a joint view of all the great circumstances taken together, that their progress can be ascertained; and it is from an accurate comparison, grounded on these general views, that a scale of civilization can be formed, on which the relative position of nations may be accurately marked.

Notwithstanding all that modern philosophy had performed for the elucidation of history, very little had been attempted in this great department, at

so fond of giving us of the Hindus. " In the same breath that they extol the wonderful strength of filial piety, they speak of the common practices of exposing infants; the strict morality and ceremonious conduct of the people are followed by a list of the most gross debaucheries; the virtues and the philosophy of the learned are explained by their ignorance and their vices: if in one page they speak of the excessive fertility of the country, and the amazing extension of agriculture, in the next thousands are seen perishing with want; and whilst they extol with admiration the progress they have made in the arts and sciences, they plainly inform us that without the aid of foreigners they can neither cast a cannon nor calculate an eclipse." Barrow's Travels in China, p. 31.

* One of the chief circumstances from which Sir William Jones drew conclusions respecting the high civilization of the Hindus, was the supposition, that they never went abroad, a supposition which is now well known to have been erroneous. See Asiat. Res. vi. 531, and i. 271.

the time when the notions of Sir William Jones were formed. The writings of Mr. Miller of Glasgow, of which but a small part was then published, and into which it is probable that Sir William had never looked, contained the earliest elucidations of the subject. The suggestions offered in his successive productions, though highly important, were but detached considerations applied to particular facts, and not a comprehensive induction, leading to general conclusions. Unfortunately the subject, great as is its importance, has not been resumed. The writings of Mr. Miller remain almost the only source from which even the slightest information on the subject can be drawn. One of the ends which has at least been in view during the scrutiny conducted in these pages, has been to contribute something to the progress of so important an investigation. It is hoped that the materials which are here collected will be regarded as going far to elucidate the state of society in all the leading nations of Asia. Not only the Hindus, the Persians, the Arabians, the Turks, and Chinese of the present day, but the Hindus, Arabians, and Persians of ancient days, the Chaldeans, the Jews, and even the ancient Egyptians, may all be regarded as involved in the inquiry; and to these, with the sole exception of the wandering Tartars and the hyperborean hordes, may be added the second-rate nations; the inhabitants of the eastern peninsula, and of the plains and mountains of Tibet. It is surprising, upon a close inspection, how extensively all these various nations, notwithstanding the dissimilarity in some of the more obvious appearances, resemble one another, in laws and institutions of government, in modes of thinking, in superstition and prejudices, in arts and literature, even in the external forms of manner and behaviour; and as well in ancient, as in modern times.

So crude, on this subject, were the ideas of Sir William Jones, that the rhapsodies of Rousseau on the virtue and happiness of the savage life surpass not the panegyrics of Sir William on the wild, comfortless, predatory, and ferocious state of the wandering Arabs. "Except," says he, "when their tribes are engaged in war, they spend their days in watching their flocks and camels, or in repeating their native songs, which they pour out almost extempore, professing a contempt for the stately pillars and solemn buildings of the cities, compared with the natural charms of the country, and the coolness of their tents: thus they pass their lives in the highest pleasure of which they have any conception, in the contemplation of the most delightful objects, and in the enjoyment of perpetual spring." * "If courtesy," he observes, "and urbanity, a love of poetry

* Essay on the Poetry of Eastern Nations. Voltaire exclaimed, on reading Rousseau's panegyrics, "Jamais n'avais-je tant d'envie de marcher à quatre pattes."

and eloquence, and the practice of exalted virtues, be a just measure of perfect society, we have certain proof that the people of Arabia, both on plains and in cities, in republican and monarchical states, were eminently civilized for many ages before their conquest of Persia." * We need not wonder if the man, who wrote and delivered this, found the Hindus arrived at the highest civilization. Yet the very same author, in the very same discourse, and speaking of the same people, declared, " I find no trace among them till their emigration of any philosophy but ethics ; " † and even of this he says, " The distinguishing virtues which they boasted of inculcating, were a contempt of riches and even of death ; but in the age of the seven poets, their liberality had deviated into mad profusion, their courage into ferocity, and their patience into an obstinate spirit of encountering fruitless dangers." ‡ He adds ; " The only *arts* in which they pretended to excellence (I except horsemanship and military accomplishments) were poetry and rhetoric." § It can hardly be affirmed that these facts are less than wonderful as regarding a people " eminently civilized ; " a people exhibiting " a just measure of perfect society." ||

Inaccuracy of the ideas of European scholars on the subject of civilization.

The extreme inaccuracy and fluctuation of the ideas of European scholars

* Sir W. Jones, Asiat. Res. ii. 3. † Ibid. p. 9. ‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. p. 14.—" On this occasion, as well as on many others, the sober historian is forcibly wakened from a pleasing vision ; and is compelled, with some reluctance, to confess, that the pastoral manners, which have been adorned with the fairest attributes of peace and innocence, are much better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life." Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ch. xxvi. p. 342.

|| In the same discourse Sir William further remarks ; " That we have none of their compositions in prose before the Koran, may be ascribed, perhaps, to the little skill which they seem to have had in writing, to their predilection in favour of poetical measure, and to the facility with which verses are committed to memory ; but all their stories prove, that they were eloquent in a high degree, and possessed wonderful powers of speaking without preparation, in flowing and forcible periods." (Ibid.) " Who," says Dr. Ferguson, " would from mere conjecture suppose, that the naked savage would be a coxcomb and a gamester ; that he would be proud and vain, without the distinctions of title and fortune ; and that his principal care would be to adorn his person, and to find an amusement ? Even if it could be supposed that he would thus share in our vices, and in the midst of his forest vie with the follies which are practised in the town ; yet no one would be so bold as to affirm that he would likewise in any instance excel us in talents and virtue ; that he would have a penetration, a force of imagination and elocution, an ardour of mind, an affection and courage, which the arts, the discipline, and the policy of few nations would be able to improve. Yet these particulars are a part in the description which is delivered by those who have had opportunities of seeing mankind in their rudest condition : and beyond the reach of such testimony, we can neither safely take, nor pretend to give information on the subject." Ferguson's Essay on the History of Civil Society, part ii. sect. 1.

BOOK II.

with respect to civilization, are curiously exemplified in their opinions of the Asiatic nations. Gibbon says, "The cavalry of Scythia was forced to yield to the admirable swiftness and spirit of the Arabian horses; their riders were skilled in the evolutions of irregular war; and the northern barbarians were astonished and dismayed, by the inhuman ferocity of the barbarians of the south. A Gothic soldier was slain by the dagger of an Arab; and the hairy, naked savage, applying his lips to the wound, expressed a horrid delight, while he sucked the blood of his vanquished enemy." * Of the various nations subject to the Persian sceptre, many of them still higher in civilization than the most civilized portion of the Arabians, the same author thus expresses himself: "It was here," says he, "in a place where the opposite banks cannot exceed 500 paces, that Xerxes imposed a stupendous bridge of boats, for the purpose of transporting into Europe 170 myriads of *barbarians*." † Of the Syrians and Egyptians, who still more nearly than the Arabians resembled the Hindus, and were acquainted with more of the arts which attain their perfection in civilized life, he says, "The use of their ancient dialects, by secluding them from the commerce of mankind, checked the improvements of these *barbarians*." ‡ Mr. Halhed says, that the Jews, at the time of the Mosaic institutions, "were very little removed from a state of barbarism; gross in their conceptions, illiterate in their education, and uncultivated in their manners." § And yet these institutions are not only superior to the institutions of the Hindus; they are in a high degree superior to the institutions of any other nation in Asia. But with the circumstances of Jewish society, we become, through the medium of our religion, early and familiarly acquainted. No European is *early*; hardly any is ever *familiarly* acquainted with the other nations of Asia. No blind propensity therefore excites to admiration in the one case: several do so in the other. Among the authors who have followed Sir William Jones in his track of eulogy and admiration, it may be suspected, from the limited information of some, that they were unacquainted with the facts of uncivilized life, and wherever man exhibited the attributes of humanity believed he must there be civilized; ignorant of the intense exercise which is given to several of the human faculties even among savages, and of the strength which those faculties must hence acquire.

* Gibbon, Hist. of the Dec. and Fall, &c. iv. 413.

† Ibid. iii. 9.

‡ Ibid. i. 62. N. B. The same cause operated among the Hindus, and still more powerfully, to the production of the same effects.

§ Preface to Code of Gentoo Laws, p. xvii.

CHAP. X.

Other causes of eulogy on the civilization of the Hindus.

Among the causes which excited to the tone of eulogy adopted with regard to the Hindus, one undoubtedly was, the affectation of candour. Of rude and uncultivated nations, and also of rude and uncultivated individuals, it is a characteristic, to admire only the system of manners, of ideas, and of institutions to which they have been accustomed, despising others. The most cultivated nations of Europe had but recently discovered the weakness of this propensity: Novelty rendered exemption from it a source of distinction: To prove his superiority to the prejudices of home, by admiring and applauding the manners and institutions of Asia, became, therefore, in the breast of the traveller, a motive of no inconsiderable force.*

The nations of Europe became acquainted, nearly about the same period, with the people of America, and the people of Hindustan. Having contemplated in the one, a people without fixed habitations, without political institutions, and with hardly any other arts than those indispensably necessary for the preservation of existence, they hastily concluded, upon the sight of another people, inhabiting great cities, cultivating the soil, connected together by an artificial system of subordination, exhibiting monuments of great antiquity, cultivating a species of literature, exercising arts, and obeying a monarch whose sway was extensive, and his court magnificent, that they had suddenly passed from the one extreme of civilization to the other. The Hindus were compared with the savages of America; the circumstances in which they differed from that barbarous people, were the circumstances in which they corresponded with the most cultivated nations; other circumstances were overlooked; and it seems to have been little suspected that conclusions too favourable could possibly be drawn. †

* None of them has confessed the existence of this motive with more frankness than Le Gentil, Voy. ii. 98. "Avant que j'eusse perdu mon clocher de vue, les François etoient mes heros. . . . . . Quant à moi, je suis gueri de mes prejugés, et *je m'applaudis en secret de m'etre detrompé.*—Col. Dow boasts of being actuated by the same sentiment, and scruples not to call Goths, or worse than Goths, all those who are not so: "In love with our own times and country," says he, "we are apt to consider distant ages and nations, as objects unworthy of the page of the historian.... Some men of genius have entertained sentiments upon that subject, too narrow and confined for the Goths of a much darker age. Had the translator of the following history thought so meanly of the affairs of the East," &c. Dow's Hindostan, Preface.

† The account which Robertson gives of the causes which led to exaggerated conceptions in the mind of the Spaniards, respecting the civilization of the Mexicans, applies in almost every particular to those of the English and French respecting the Hindus. "The Spaniards," says he, "when they first touched on the Mexican coast, were so much struck with the appearance

Book II.

The hypothesis of an ancient state of high civilization.

The progress of knowledge, and the force of observation, demonstrated the necessity of regarding the actual state of the Hindus as little removed from that of half-civilized nations. The saving hypothesis, however, was immediately adopted, that the situation in which the Hindus are now beheld is a state of degradation; that formerly they were in a state of high civilization; and had fallen from it through the miseries of foreign conquest, and subjugation.

This was a theory invented to preserve as much as actual observation would allow to be preserved, of a pre-established and favourite creed. It was not an inference from what was already known. It was a gratuitous assumption. It preceded inquiry, and no inquiry was welcome, but that which yielded matter for its support.*

To this purpose were adapted the pretensions of the Brahmens, who spoke of an antecedent period, when the sovereigns of Hindustan were masters of great power and great magnificence. It was worthy of consideration, however, how much these pretensions were worth: because the rude writers of rude nations have almost always spoken of antecedent times as deserving all the praise with which their powers of rhetoric or song could exalt them. If the descriptions of ancient times presented by the Brahmens bore the consistent marks of truth and reality, a degree of intrinsic evidence would be attached to their representations. If these descriptions flew wide of all resemblance to human affairs, and were nothing but wild unnatural fictions, they would be so far from proving an antecedent state of knowledge and civilization, that they would prove the reverse. And, had

of attainments in policy and in the arts of life, far superior to those of the rude tribes with which they were hitherto acquainted, that they fancied they had at length discovered a civilized people in the New World. This comparison between the people of Mexico and their uncultivated neighbours, they appear to have kept constantly in view, and observing with admiration many things which marked the pre-eminence of the former, they employed, in describing their imperfect policy and infant arts, such terms as are applicable to the institutions of men far beyond them in improvement. Both these circumstances concur in detracting from the credit due to the descriptions of Mexican manners by the early Spanish writers. By drawing a parallel between them and those of people so much less civilized, they raised their own ideas too high. By their mode of describing them, they conveyed ideas to others no less exalted above truth. Later writers have adopted the style of the original historians and improved, upon it." Hist. of America, iii. 320.

* " Le voyageur racontant ses avantures, cherche dans l'admiration de ceux qui l'ecoutent, un dedommagement aux dangers qu'il a courus; il enfle la narration: Le sçavant, qui s'est donné beaucoup de peine pour apprendre des langues etrangeres et lointaines, s'extasie sur la beauté des ouvrages qu'il est parvenu à entendre." Anquetil Duperron, Note, No. ii. Supplement aux Recherches, &c. sur l'Inde.

the Hindus remained fixed from the earliest ages in the semibarbarous state, it is most certain that the Brahmens would have given to us just such accounts of antiquity as those we have actually received at their hands.

As the Hindus have enlightened us by no record of antecedent events, and we thus have no immediate proof of the state of civilization in the times that are past, the only sure ground of inference is the laws and institutions which they framed; the manners they adopted; and the arts and sciences which they cultivated. If these great circumstances were at variance with the existing state of society, but adapted to one more advanced, the inference would certainly be a probable one, that to a period when society was in that improved condition, they really owed their birth. But in regard to the Hindus, their laws and institutions are adapted to the very state of society which those who visit them now behold. They are laws and institutions which, so far from importing any more perfect state of society, seem entirely inconsistent with it; such as could neither begin, nor continue to exist, under any other than one of the rudest and weakest states of the human mind. As the manners, the arts and sciences, of the ancient Hindus are entirely correspondent to the state of their laws and institutions, every thing we *know* of the ancient state of Hindustan conspires to prove that it was rude.

It is another important fact, that, if the Hindus had ever been placed in this pretended state of civilization, we know of no such period of calamity as was sufficient to reduce them to a state of ignorance and barbarity. The conquest of Hindustan, effected by the Mahomedan nations, was to no extraordinary degree sanguinary or destructive. It substituted sovereigns of one race to sovereigns of another, and mixed with the old inhabitants a small proportion of new; but it altered not the texture of society; it altered not the language of the country; the original inhabitants remained the occupants of the soil; they continued to be governed by their own laws and institutions; nay the whole detail of administration, with the exception of the army, and a few of the more prominent situations, remained invariably in the hands of the native magistrates and officers.* The few occasions of persecution, to which under

* "The administration of justice has been almost universally, by the Mogul conquerors of Indostan, devolved upon the Hindus, the office of Duan being generally conferred upon one of that people." Orme on the Government and People of Indostan, p. 443. "Although the Mogul Tartars under Tamerlane and his successors have at last rendered themselves lords of almost the whole of it (India); yet the original inhabitants have lost very little of their original character by the establishment of these strangers amongst them." Orme, Hist. of Milit. Transact. in Indostan, i. 2.

Book II. the reigns of one or two bigoted sovereigns they were subjected on the score of religion, were too short and too partial to produce any considerable effects.*

When we look for the particulars of those pretended reigns of mighty kings, the universal lords of India, under whom science flourished, and civilization rose to the greatest height, we meet with nothing but fable, more wild, and inconsistent, and hyperbolical, than is any where else to be found. From this no rational conclusion can be drawn, except that it is the production of a rude and irrational age. Bharat, or Bharata, is said to have been the first universal sovereign of India, which from him derived its name. India, in the language of the natives, is Bharata Versh. In this, however, as usual, the Hindu accounts contradict themselves, since Bharat is represented as preceding Rama, the son of Cush, who, according to Sir William Jones, might have established the *first* regular government in India.† Judhishter is another of these universal sovereigns; but of him even the origin is allegorical; he is the son of Dherma, or the god of justice, and he reigned 27,000 years. The name with which chiefly the idea of the universal sovereignship of India, and of the glory of art and science, is combined,

* It seems to have been a rash and foolish assimilation of the conquest of Hindustan by the Moguls to the overwhelming of the Roman empire by the northern nations, that alone would have suggested so gratuitous a supposition as that of the degradation of the Hindus from an improved to a barbarous state of society by the calamities of conquest. The two cases are totally dissimilar. By the successive inundations of the barbarians, the ancient inhabitants of the Roman provinces were well nigh swept from the face of the earth. Every where they were stript of the possession of the land, and commonly reduced to the state of bondsmen and slaves. The ancient institutions entirely gave way, and were replaced by a set of institutions altogether new. The language of the conquerors in most places entirely supplanted; in all it so much altered, the language of the people subdued or exterminated, as to impose upon it a different structure. Another circumstance is never to be forgotten. To such a degree of barbarity were the inhabitants of the Roman provinces degraded, by the long continued effects of a detestable government, that the invaders had really not much to accomplish to reduce them to the same level with themselves. This was abundantly seen in the state of the Greeks of the eastern empire; who, upon their very first subjugation to the Turks, exhibited a condition not greatly different from that in which they grovel at the present day. The conquest to which, with greatest propriety, that of the Hindus by one tribe of Tartars might be compared, would be the conquest of the Chinese by a similar tribe of Tartars. There is no reason to think that the one was a conquest of a more destructive nature than the other. If the Moguls did not adopt the religion and institutions of the Hindus, it was because the religion and institutions of the Hindus admitted of no participation, and because the Moguls had already embraced a more enlightened faith. See Francis's Minute, p. 30; also the treatise of Mr. Grant, on the Character of the Hindus, printed by order of the House of Commons in 1813.

† Asiat. Res. i. 258.

is that of Vicramaditya. Let us hear what is represented; and then we shall be enabled to judge. "The two periods," says Captain Wilford, "of Vicrama'ditya and Saliva'ha'na are intimately connected; and the accounts we have of these two extraordinary personages are much confused, teeming with contradictions and absurdities to a surprising degree. In general the Hindus know but of one Vicrama'ditya; but the learned acknowledge four; and when, at my request, they produced written authorities, I was greatly surprised to find no less than eight or nine.—Vicrama'ditya made a desperate *tapasya*, in order to obtain power and a long life from Ca'li'devi, and as she seemingly continued deaf to his entreaties, he was going to cut off his own head, when she appeared, and granted him undisturbed sway over all the world for one thousand years, after which a divine child, born of a virgin, and the son of the great TACSHACA, carpenter or artist, would deprive him both of his kingdom and of his life. This would happen in the year of the Cali yug, 3101, answering to the first of the Christian era. The history of these nine worthies, but more particularly when considered as a single individual, is a most crude and undigested mass of heterogeneous legends, taken from the apocryphal gospel of the infancy of Christ, the tales of the Rabbis and Talmudists concerning Solomon, with some particulars about Muhammed; and the whole is jumbled together with some of the principal features of the history of the Persian kings of the Sassanian dynasty. Thus Vicrama is made contemporary with Solomon; and like him, he is said to have found the great *mantra*, spell or talisman; through which he ruled over the elements, and spirits of all denominations, who obeyed him like slaves. Like Solomon, he had a most wonderful throne, supported and adorned with lions, who were endued with reason and speech. We read in the Vetala-pancha-vinsati, that it was through the assistance of the great Vetala, or devil, that two Vicrama'dityas obtained the empire of the world, a long life, with unlimited sway. They performed the púja in his honour, offered sacrifices, and in short dedicated or gave themselves up to him." * Is not this a firm foundation of historical matter, on which to build the magnificent fabric of a great and universal monarchy, of the reign of the arts and sciences, of all that embellishes human life, and augments the human powers? Such being the premises, and such the conclusion, are they not admirably adapted to one another? The legend speaks, and that loudly, and distinctly, what it is; the creation of a rude and uncultivated fancy—exerting itself to rouse the wonder of a rude and uncultivated age, by a recital of actions,

* Essay on Vicramaditya and Salivahana, by Capt. Wilford, Asiat. Res. ix. 117 to 120.

BOOK II. powers, and events, swelled beyond the measure of human nature; profiting by all the hints which the legends or history of other nations supplied to furnish out its story, and by appropriating the wonderful deeds of all the world to gratify the barbarous vanity of the people to whom it was addressed. If the historian gave to his hero a reign of a thousand years; it was quite in the same temper, and conducive to the same end, to give him the sovereignty of all India; and not only of all India, but, as we see was the fact, the sovereignty of the whole world. This is precisely the course which a wild and ignorant mind, regarding only the wonder which it has it in view to excite, naturally in such cases, and almost universally pursues. Such legends, if they existed in myriads, are no more a proof of a monarchy common to all India, which they do not assert, than of the universal monarchy of the whole world, or of the thousands or the myriads of years to one reign, which they expressly assert.*

The very lists which are found in the books of the Hindus, filled up with the names of successive monarchs, Mr. Wilford assures us, are the creation of the fancies of the writers, and are formed without any reference to facts. In enumerating the authorities, from which he drew his materials in the essay on Vicramaditya and Salivahana, he says, "The fourth list has been translated into all the dialects of India, and new-modelled at least twenty different ways, according to the whims and pre-conceived ideas of every individual, who chose to meddle with it. It is, however, the basis and ground work of modern history among the Hindus; as in the *Khulásetul Tuwarie*, and the *Tadkeratussulatin*. The latter treatise is a most perfect specimen of the manner of writing history in India; for, excepting the above list, almost every thing else is the production of the fertile genius of the compiler. In all these lists the compilers and revisers seem to have had no other object in view, but to adjust a certain number of remarkable epochs.

* If we examine the chronological table of the Hindu kings, presented us by Sir William Jones, we shall find Vicramaditya placed at an era posterior to the Mussulman conquests.

	Years.
From Chandragupta to the end of the Maurya race (As. Res. ii. 139)	137
From the beginning to the end of the Sunga (Ibid. p. 140)	112
From the ditto to ditto of the Canna (Ibid.)	345
From ditto to ditto of Andra (ending with Chandrabija) (p. 141)	456
From Chandrabija to Vicramaditya (Ibid. p. 142)	396
From Chandragupta to Vicramaditya	1446

Now Seleucus, who was contemporary with Chandragupta (Asiat. Res. iv. xxvi.), began to reign about 300 years before Christ. By this chronology, therefore, Vicramaditya began to reign about 1146 years after Christ.

This being once effected, the intermediate spaces are filled up with names of kings not to be found any where else, and most probably fanciful. Otherwise they leave out the names of those kings of whom nothing is recorded, and attribute the years of their reign to some among them better known, and of greater fame. They often do not scruple to transpose some of those kings, and even whole dynasties; either in consequence of some pre-conceived opinion, or owing to their mistaking a famous king for another of the same name. It was not uncommon with ancient writers, to pass from a remote ancestor to a remote descendant; or from a remote predecessor to a remote successor, by leaving out the intermediate generations or successions, and sometimes ascribing the years of their reigns to a remote successor or predecessor. In this manner the lists of the ancient kings of Persia, both by oriental writers, and others in the west, have been compiled: and some instances of this nature might be produced from Scripture. I was acquainted lately, at Benares, with a chronicler of that sort; and in the several conversations I had with him, he candidly acknowledged, that he filled up the intermediate spaces between the reigns of famous kings, with names at a venture; that he shortened or lengthened their reigns at pleasure; and that it was understood, that his predecessors had taken the same liberties. Through their emendations and corrections, you see plainly a total want of historical knowledge and criticism; and sometimes some disingenuity is but too obvious. This is, however, the case with the sections on futurity in the Bhagavat, Vaya, Vishnu, and Brahmanda Puranas; which with the above lists constitute the whole stock of historical knowledge among the Hindus; and the whole might be comprised in a few quarto pages of print." *

Such is the mode, in which the authors of the Puranas supply themselves with a convenient quantity of *ordinary* kings: Mr. Wilford affords most satisfactory information with regard to the manner in which they further supply themselves with *extraordinary* ones. " The propensity," says he, " of the Hindus, to appropriate every thing to themselves, is well known. We have noticed before their claims to Bahram-Gûr and his descendants; and in the same manner they insist that Acbar was a Hindu in a former generation. The proximity of the time, in which this famous emperor lived, has forced them, however, to account for this in the following manner. There was a holy Brahmen, who wished very much to become emperor of India; and the only practicable way for him was to die first, and be born again. For this purpose he made a desperate *Tapasya,*

* Essay on Vicramaditya, and Salivahana, by Captain Wilford, Asiat. Res. ix. 132—133.

wishing to remember then every thing he knew in his present generation. This could not be fully granted; but he was indulged with writing upon a brass plate a few things which he wished more particularly to remember; then he was directed to bury the plate, and promised that he would remember the place in the next generation. Mucunda, for such was his name, went to Allahabad, buried the plate, and then burned himself. Nine months after he was born in the character of Acbar, who, as soon as he ascended the throne, went to Allahabad, and easily found the spot where the brass plate was buried. Thus the Hindus claim Muhammed and Acbar as their own; exactly like the Persians of old, who insisted that Alexander was the son of one of their kings; so that after all they were forced to submit to their countrymen only."*

The account of the claim to Bahram-Gûr, mentioned in the beginning of the preceding passage, is extremely important on the present occasion; as it shows us that Vicramaditya, whom the legend makes sovereign of the world, and the believers in the great Hindu monarchy take for emperor of Hindustan—was in reality a King of Persia, borrowed by the Brahmens, from their propensity to appropriate every thing remarkable, which they heard of in the world. "One of these Vicramas," says Mr. Wilford, speaking of the different persons in whom this Vicramaditya appears, "was really a Sassanian Prince: and the famous Shabour or Sapor, of that dynasty, who took the emperor Valens prisoner."† The story is as follows: "In Gurjjara-mandalam are the Sabharamati and Mahi rivers; between them is a forest, in which resided Tamralipta-rĭshi, whose daughter married King Tamrasena. They had six male children and one daughter, called Mandava-rec'ha. The King had two young lads, called Devas'arma and Havis'arma, whose duty chiefly was to wash, every day, the clothes of their master, in the waters of the nearest river. One day, as Devas'arma went, by himself, for that purpose, he heard a voice, saying, Tell King Tamrasena to give me his daughter; should he refuse me he will repent it. The lad on his return mentioned the whole to his master; who would not believe it, and the next day sent Havis'arma to the river, who heard the same voice also, with the threats in case of a refusal. The King was astonished; and going himself heard the voice also. On his return he assembled his council; and after consulting together, it was agreed, that the King should go again, and ask him who he was. The supposed spirit, being questioned, answered, I am a Gand'harva, or heavenly choirister; who, having incurred Indra's displeasure, was doomed to assume the shape

* Essay on Vicramaditya, and Salivahana, by Captain Wilford, Asiat. Res. ix. 158, 159.

† Ibid. p. 149.

of an ass. I was born in that shape, in the house of a cumbhacara, or potter, in your capital city; and I am daily roving about in quest of food. The King said that he was very willing to give him his daughter; but that he conceived that such an union was altogether impossible while he remained in that shape. The Gand'harva said, Trouble not yourself about that; comply with my request, and it shall be well with you. If, says the King, you are so powerful, turn the walls of my city, and those of the houses, into brass; and let it be done before sunrise to-morrow. The Gand'harva agreed to it, and the whole was completed by the appointed time; and the King of course gave him his daughter. This Gand'harva's name was Jayanta, the son of Brahma. When cursed by Indra, he humbled himself; and Indra, relenting, allowed him to resume his human shape in the night time; telling him that the curse should not be done away, till somebody had burned his ass-like frame. The mother of the damsel spied them once in the night; and, to her great joy, found that the Gand'harva dallied with her daughter in a human shape. Rejoiced at this discovery, she looked for his ass-like form, and burned it. Early in the morning, the Gand'harva looked for this body of his, and found that it had been destroyed. He returned immediately to his wife, informing her of what had happened, and that his curse being at an end, he was obliged to return to heaven, and leave her. He informed her also that she was with child by him, and that the name of the child was to be Vicramaditya."* After the statement of some other particulars, Mr. Wilford says; "This is obviously the history of Yesdegird, son of Bahram-Gûr, or Bahram the ass, King of Persia; the grand features are the same, and the times coincide perfectly. The amours of Bahram-Gûr, with an Indian princess, are famous all over Persia, as well as in India."† Such are the accounts of Vicramaditya, from which we are called upon for our belief of an universal monarchy, and a period of civilization and knowledge in India.

Mr. Wilford presents us also with the history which the Brahmens have manufactured for placing Mahomed among the great men of Hindustan. It is of much importance, to elucidate the accounts, which are given by the Hindus, not only of the actions, but of the very persons and existence, of their pretended heroes. I should otherwise have been well pleased to omit a story, tainted with that indelicacy, which, even when they are inventing, and have the circumstances at their own selection, marks the writings of an uncultivated people. "The Hindus say, that the son of a certain King of India, being disgusted with

* Essay on Vicramaditya, and Salivahana, by Captain Wilford, Asiat. Res. ix. 147, 148, 149.
† Ibid. p. 149.

BOOK II.

the world, turned pilgrim, and went to Mocsheswarast'hana (or Mecca). In his way thither, and in Arabia, he stopped at the house of a Brahmen, who received him kindly, and ordered his daughter to wait on him as usual. Whilst asleep, the cloth with which his loins were covered was accidentally defiled. When he awoke, he took it off, and concealed it in a corner of the house, in some hole, and out of the sight of the damsel, as he thought. Being from home, to perform his ablutions, in consequence of this nocturnal defilement, the damsel came at the usual hour; and her courses suddenly making their appearance, she was much distressed, and looking every where for some cloth, she spied the bundle—in short she conceived. He departed for Mecca; and some months after, the parents of the damsel and herself, were thrown into the greatest confusion, as may be imagined.—The holy man was considered as the author of their disgrace, though the damsel exculpated him: Yet she could not account for her present situation. She was, like Hagar, turned out of the house, into the wilderness with her son: where they were miraculously preserved, both being innocent. Some years after the holy man returned, unconscious of his having been the cause of so much uneasiness to the family of the hospitable Brahmen. After much abuse, the matter was explained; but the son of the damsel could not be admitted to share with his relatives, or even to remain in their communion. He was, however, honourably dismissed with his mother, after they had given him a suitable education, and rich presents; and they advised him to shift for himself, and to set up a new religion, as he could not be considered as a member of the old one, on account of his strange birth, or rather conception. When advanced in years, he wished to see his paternal relations and India; and to persuade them to conform to his new doctrine; but he died in his way thither, at Medina, near Candáhár. This Medina is Ghazni, called emphatically the second Medina, from the great number of holy men entombed there: and it is obvious, that the Hindus have confounded Muhammed with Sultan-Mahmood, whose sumptuous Mausoleum is close to that city. Thus we see, that the account they give of Muhammed is a mere rhapsody, retaining some of the principal features of the history of Ishmael, Hagar, Muhammed himself, and Sultan-Mahmood.—This *Samvat*, or era, of Maha'bhat (Muhammed), was early introduced into India, and the Hindus were obliged to use it, as they do now in all their civil transactions; and thus Muhammed became at least a Sambatica or Santica. According to the rules laid down by the learned in India, Muhammed is certainly a Saca and Saceswara, and is entitled to the epithet of Vicrama. He is a Saca, or mighty chief; and, like other Sacas, he killed his millions: he is Saceswara, or the ruler of a sacred

period, still in use in India. For these reasons, the Pandits, who assisted Abul-Fazil, did not scruple to bestow the title of Vicramaditya upon him; and even to consider him as the real worthy of that name; and in order to make the era, or at least the time of Vicramaditya's appearance coincide with the era of Muhammed, they have most shamefully distorted the chronology of the appendix to the Agni-purana."*

It would thus appear that Vicramaditya is a sort of an appellative, and is applied to any character, whether real or imaginary, whom it suited the Brahmens to erect into a hero; and whether it was originally the name of some Hindu prince who had greatly distinguished himself, or of pure invention, it is altogether useless to inquire. That this name has been attached to a particular era, which in one of their numerous modes of dating the Hindus employ, establishes nothing. What we do not know is—for what cause they adopted such an era: What we do know is—that they would very naturally apply to it the appellative Vicramaditya, whatever the cause. And no one can doubt the absurdity of supposing that the cause was a particular prince, contemporary at once with Solomon, with Jesus Christ, with Sapor, and with Mohammed.

What the Brahmens fable, about an universal monarchy, and the celestial glory of this or that pretended hero, can therefore be regarded as no evidence of the facts which they assert.† Vicramaditya is indeed, expressly, at times asserted, not to have been King of all India, but only of a certain portion of it in the west. "The author of the Vicrama-Upac'hyana says, that he was a powerful prince, in the west of India, and possessed of the countries which we find, afterwards, constituting the patrimonial territories of the Balahara, which included Gurjjarasht'ra (or Gujjarat) with some adjacent districts."‡

* Mr. Wilford, Asiat. Res. ix. 159, 160, 161. See a still more extraordinary attempt to foist the story of Jesus Christ, borrowed from the spurious gospels, into the Puranas; and to make Christ, at one time Chrishna, at another time Salivahana, at another time Buddha. Essay on the Origin and Decline of Christianity in India, by Captain Wilford, Asiat. Res. x.

† The propensity of the Hindus to exaggeration is every where displayed. "The officers of government here," says Dr. Buchanan, "had the impudence to inform me, that, according to Chica Deva Raya's valuation of the country which belonged to Nandi Raj, it contained 32,000 villages. . . . . . The account here given seems to be one of those gross exaggerations common in India, and is entirely contradicted by the accounts which I received from the revenue office at Seringapatam." Journey through Mysore, &c. ii. 97. In other places the native officers told him lies, contradicted by the very facts presented to their and his eyes, at the moment of delivering them. "Among the natives, however," he remarks, "similar departures from the truth are common." Ibid. p. 136, 137.

‡ Essay on Vicramaditya, &c. by Captain Wilford, Asiat. Res. ix. 149.

Book II.

People may be united under an extensive monarchy in a low state of civilization.

Our experience of human nature, and the phenomena which are exhibited under the manners, attainments, and institutions of the Hindus, are the only materials from which a rational inference can be drawn. It is by no means impossible for a people, who have passed but a small number of stages in the career of civilization, to be united, extensively, under one government, and to remain steady for a great length of time in that situation. The empire of China is one conspicuous proof; the ancient kingdom of Persia, which for several ages stood exempt from revolution, is another. The Ottoman empire may be considered as a similar instance. And the Russians, a barbarous people, have long formed a very extensive monarchy. It would, therefore, be far from evidence of any higher civilization, among the Hindus, than what they now manifest, had the existence of a great monarchy been proved. Among uncivilized nations, however, it is most common to find a perpetual succession of revolutions, and communities in general small; though sometimes a prince or individual with uncommon talents arises, and acquiring power, extends his authority over several of those communities; or even, as in the case of a Charlemagne, over a great number; while after his death, the large empire which he had erected gradually dissolves, till the whole, or the greater part, is re-divided into small communities as before. Every thing which the Europeans have seen in Hindustan, conspires to prove that such an alternation of small communities, and occasional and temporary extensions of power in particular hands, have composed the history of that country. The Mahratta empire affords a striking example of those changes which seem natural to the circumstances in which the people are placed. Within the period of the modern intercourse of the Europeans with Hindustan, an aspiring individual was enabled to extend his authority, partly by persuasion, partly by force, first over one district and then over another, till at last he united under his command an extensive empire, composed chiefly of the separate and disjointed communities, who occupied the mountainous districts in the western and central parts of Hindustan.* Already is this empire broken into several different governments, the owners of which hardly acknowledge even a nominal homage to the throne of Sevagee; and had they been left to themselves, free from the restraints imposed by the British power, the empire of the Mahrattas, in all probability, would have been resolved, ere this time, into its primitive elements. Even the

* The word Hindustan is in this work generally used to signify, comprehensively, the land of the Hindus, from Cape Comorin to the farthest boundary of the country which they inhabited. It is necessary to mention, that in the oriental books, it has often a more limited signification, being appropriated to that part of the land of the Hindus, which is north of the river Nerbudda.

empire of the Moguls, itself; though erected on firmer foundations than it is reasonable to suppose that any Hindu monarchy ever enjoyed; though supported by a foreign force; and acted upon by peculiar motives for maintaining undivided power, had no sooner attained its greatest extension by the conquests of Aurungzebe, than it began immediately to fall to pieces; and a single century beheld it crumbled into fragments.

The ancient state of Hindustan, a troubled scene.

The monuments of the ancient state of Hindustan conspire in giving indication of a troubled scene. Every ancient writing, which bears any reference to the matter of history, the historical poems, the Puranas, hold up to view a state of society, the reverse of tranquil; perpetual quarrels, dethronements, injustice, wars, conquests, and bloodshed. Among the most important of all the documents of antiquity found in Hindustan, are the inscriptions, declaratory of grants of land, made by the ancient princes of the country. These princes are so far from appearing to have presided over a peaceful land, that they are all represented as victorious warriors; and as having been surrounded by enemies, over whom they have triumphed, and whom they have severely chastised.* Almost all the princes mentioned in these inscriptions, princes in all the parts of India, and not pretended to have been more than the sovereigns of some particular district, are described as the conquerors and sovereigns of the whole world.†

Of the unsparing and destructive cruelty which accompanied the perpetual wars and conquests of the Hindus, among other proofs, the following may be considered as strong. In the inscription found at Tanna, part of the panegyric bestowed upon the donor Prince, is in these words; "Having raised up his slain foe on his sharp sword, he so afflicted the women in the hostile palaces, that their forelocks fell disordered, their garlands of bright flowers dropped from their necks on the vases of their breasts, and the black lustre of their eyes disappeared: a warrior, the plant of whose fame grows up over the temple of Brahma's egg [the

* See the inscription found at Monghir, and translated in the Asiat. Res. i. 123. That found at Buddal, Ibid. p. 130.—That found at Tanna, Ibid. p. 357.—Those from the Vindhya mountains, Ibid. ii. 168, 169.—That on the staff of Feeroz Shah, Ibid. p. 382.—That respecting a grant of land in Carnatic, Ibid. iii. 40—47.—That found in the district of Gorakhpur, Ibid. ix. 410.—That found at Chitradurg, Ibid. p. 418, 419, 420.—That found at Curugode, Ibid. p. 436, 437, 438.—Those found at Nedigal and Goujda, Ib. p. 447.

† See the inscriptions translated in the Asiat. Researches, i. 360, 123, 125; iii. 48, 52; ix. 406, 418. The inscription, cut on a stone, upon the hill of Belligola, in front of the great Jain image, bears a similar testimony. "In the year of the Saca 1290 (A. D. 1367)......... be success and glory to the honourable monarch, the sovereign and destroyer of envious princes, lord of foreign kings, whose name is Buccaraya." (Asiat. Res. ix. 270.)

Book II. universe] from the-repeated-watering-of-it-with-the-drops-that-fell-from-the-eyes-of-the-wives-of-his-slaughtered-foe." * It would be in the highest degree absurd to reject this, were it even a solitary instance, as evidence of a general fact; because the exterminating ferocity is described as matter of the highest praise; and panegyric, to be what it is, must be conformable to the ideas of the people to whom it is addressed.†

The picture which Major Rennel, looking only to a limited period, drew of the state of Hindustan, may be taken, agreeably to every thing which we know of Hindustan, as the picture of it, to the remotest periods of its history. "Rebellions, massacres, and barbarous conquests, make up the history of this fair country, (which to an ordinary observer seems destined to be the paradise of the world,)—the immediate effect of the mad ambition of conquering more than can be governed by one man."‡ "Revolutions," (says Sonnerat, directing his atten-

* Asiat. Res. i. 360.

† The inscription on the Lāt (staff) of Feerōz Shah, celebrates the monarch, in whose honour it has been erected, "for having achieved conquest in the course of travelling to holy places—as resentful to haughty kings, and indulgent to those whose necks are humbled—making Ariaverta [the land of virtue or of respectable men] once more what its name signifies, by causing the barbarians to be exterminated.—Visala Deva, son of the fortunate Vella Deva, king of Sacambari, the situation of which the translator does not know, most eminent of the tribe which sprang from the arms of Brahma—boasts of having rendered tributary the region of the earth between Himavat (the Imaus of ancient geographers) and Vindhya (the range of hills which passes through the provinces of Bahar, Benares) and exhorts his descendants to subdue the remainder."—No proof, all this, of the peaceful state of Hindostan. The inscription continues—"May thy abode, O Vigraha, sovereign of the earth, be fixed, as in reason it ought, in the bosoms, akin to the mansions of dalliance, of the women with beautiful eye-brows, who were married to thy enemies."—The abuse of an enemy's wives, no great proof of a generous or civilized conqueror. The inscription then deifies this same Rajah. "Art thou not Vishnu himself? Art thou not he who slept in the arms of Lacshm, whom thou didst seize from the ocean, having churned it?"—Are epithets of extravagant praise to the deity surprising, when they are thus heaped upon a mortal? (As. Res. ii. 382.) The account of the Sacas affords important proof of the glory that was attached by the Hindus to the shedding of blood. The Cali yug is divided into six Sacas, so called from six glorious monarchs. Of these, three have made their appearance; three are yet to come. To become a Saca, each of these monarchs must have first killed 550,000,000, of a certain mighty tribe of heretics, called Sacas. The first of these blood-thirsty sovereigns was Judishter, whose period was 3044 years; the second, Vicramaditya, whose saca lasted only 135 years; the third, Salivahana, whose period is to last 18,000 years; the fourth, Nandana, 10,000 years; the fifth, Nagarjuna, 400,000 years; for the sixth, will re-appear the Antediluvian Bali, whose period will be 821 years, at which period a general renovation of the world will take place. Wilford, Asiat. Res. ix. 82.

‡ Rennel's Memoir, p. 1.

tion to the coast of Malabar, which had been little affected by foreign conquest) "have been more rapid in this than in any other part of the globe. A daring robber, possessed of policy and courage, in a short time gives laws to the whole coast, but in his turn becomes tributary to a bolder villain, who, marching in the same path, subjects him to that lot he had inflicted on others." *

CHAP. X.

Many proofs of division into petty states.

Notwithstanding, in other respects, the extreme scantiness and uncertainty of the materials for any inferences, except the most general, in regard to the ancient state of Hindustan, there is really a great assortment of evidence to prove the habitual division of the country into a number of moderate, and most frequently, petty sovereignties and states. † In the dramatic poem Sacontala, the daughter of the hermit asks the royal stranger who had visited their consecrated grove; "What imperial family is embellished by our noble guest? What is his native country? Surely it must be afflicted by his absence from it?" The question undoubtedly implied that there were more royal families than one to which he might belong; and these at no remarkable distance; since the stranger was known to have come into the forest in the course of a hunting excursion. In the Hetopadesa mention is made of a variety of princes. Thus in the compass of a few pages, we are told; "In the country of Calinga is a prince, named Rucmangada, who, advancing with preparations to subdue the adjacent regions, has fixed his station near the river Chandrabhaga." ‡ Again, "In the country of Canyacuja is a prince named Virasena." § And further, "There is near the Bhagirathi a city, named Pataliputra, in which lived a prince named

* Sonnerat, Voy. liv. iii. ch. ii. Their very laws and religion encourage a spirit of restlessness, and warfare; "Fully performing all duties required by law, let a king seek to possess regions yet unpossessed." (Laws of Menu, ch. ix. 251.) This gives implicit encouragement to a spirit of conquest. The gloss of Culluca, the commentator, inserts the words *with justice*, a saving clause; but even then, the practical effect of the law is but too visible.

† In the Bhagavat, (See Maurice, Hist. of Hindustan, ii. 395,) Creeshna says, he does not vaunt, "though he carried away Rokemenee from so numerous an assemblage of monarchs." When Creeshna fought with the seven bulls of Koosele, great numbers of rajahs and rajpoots were collected to see the conflict. Ib. p. 402. Bhoom Assoor had collected the daughters of 16,000 rajahs. Ib. p. 405. Rajah Doorjoodhen, sovereign of Hastanapoor, had a daughter who was courted by rajahs and rajpoots from every quarter. Ib. 413. Twenty thousand and eight hundred rajahs of eminence were held in confinement by Jarasandha, and released upon his destruction by Creeshna and Rama. Ib. p. 433. When Creeshna carried away Rokemenee, Jarasandha said, "This is surely most astonishing, that, in the presence of so many crowned heads as are here assembled, this cowherd should make so bold an effort." Ib. p. 394.

‡ Hetopadesa, in Sir William Jones's Works, vi. 43.

§ Ibid. p. 44.

BOOK II. Sudersana." * In the inscription, formerly quoted, found at Monghir, and bearing date 23 years B. C. there is sufficient proof of the division of Hindustan into numerous kingdoms. Gopaal, the prince or the father of the prince by whom the grant is made, is panegyrized as the conqueror of many princes; and his son is, "He who marching through many countries, making conquests, arrived with his elephants, in the forests of the mountains Beendhyo, where seeing again their long-lost families, they mixed their mutual tears; and who going to subdue other princes, his young horses meeting their females at Komboge, they mutually neighed for joy:—who conquered the earth from the source of the Ganges as far as the well-known bridge which was constructed by the enemy of Dosaesyo, from the river of Luckeecool as far as the ocean of the habitation of Booroon."† If this prince overran the peninsula, and conquered a multitude of princes, the peninsula must have been possessed by a multitude of princes before. And we may form an idea of the exaggeration used in the account of his victories, when we are told that his father Gopaal was king of the world, and possessed of two brides, the earth, and her wealth.‡ The conquests by those princes, even when they took place, were but inroads, never, to any considerable extent, effecting a durable possession. This prince himself, we are told, "when he had completed his conquests, released all the rebellious princes he had made captive; and each returning to his own country laden with presents, reflected upon this generous deed, and longed to see him again." § The laws frequently afford evidence to the same purpose. The penalty, so fre-

* Hetopadesa, in Sir William Jones's Works, vi. 51. † Asiat. Res. i. 123. ‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. The third stanza of this inscription, omitted by Mr. Wilkins, but translated by Sir W. Jones, affords additional proof that these conquests were but an irruption: "By whom, having conquered the earth as far as the ocean, it was left as being unprofitably seized." Ibid. p. 142. In the inscription on the pillar near Buddal, found by Mr. Wilkins, is described a race of princes who originally, it is said, ruled over "but one quarter, and had no authority in other regions;" but one of the line, "being a virtuous prince, became supreme over every country without reserve, and the three worlds were held in subjection by his hereditary rank." The dominions of his son and successor extended from Reva Janak, to the father of Gowree, and to the two oceans, &c. and all this country, the prince Sree Dev Pal rendered tributary. Ibid. p. 134. Yet Sir W. Jones says, that this race of princes were all along only prime ministers to the House of Devu Pal: p. 142. Nothing can be more contradictory to the text; but it is necessary for Sir William's theory that the kings of Gaur, of whom Devupal was one, should be the lords paramount of India. Sir William, when he had a theory, seems to have had eyes to see nothing but what made in its favour. An additional proof of the small kingdoms of Hindustan is found in the inscription (As. Res. i. 133, stanza xiii.) "The king of Gowr" (Bengal) "for a long time enjoyed the country of the eradicated race of Oothal" (Orixia,) "of the Hoons" (Huns,) "of humbled pride, of the kings of Draveer" (a country to the south of the Carnatic,) "and Goojar"

quently imposed, of banishment from one kingdom to another, proves the vicinity of different kingdoms.* The following is another instance in point: "If a lender of money says to a person, A debt due to me is outstanding in your hands, and that person denies the debt, if at that time the bond is not in the lender's hands, but should be in some other kingdom, then, until he brings the bond from such other kingdom, the suit shall not be determined." † In the code of Menu is a series of rules for behaviour to neighbouring princes; sufficiently proving, that Hindustan was in that state of subdivision which rendered these rules pertinent and useful. ‡ These articles, to which there is nothing whatsoever opposed, but the absurd fables of the Brahmens, constitute a body of proof, to which we may with sufficient confidence attach our belief. §

The degradation, produced by the despotism and priestcraft of the Hindus, extreme.

We have already seen in reviewing the Hindu form of government, that despotism, in one of its simplest and least artificial shapes, was established in Hin-

(Goozerat,) "whose glory was reduced, and the universal sea-girt throne." Another grant of land (Ib. p. 357) affords evidence to the same purpose: a number of kings are actually named in the royal grant. As. Res. iii. 48.

* See Gentoo Code, passim. † Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. iii. sect. 6. p. 106, 107.

‡ Laws of Menu, ch. vii. p. 154, 155. Even Robertson, though a firm believer in the universal monarchy, is forced to allow that it had not yet existed in the time of Alexander. "In the age of Alexander, though there was not established in it any powerful empire, resembling that which in modern times stretched its dominion from the Indus almost to Cape Comorin, it was even then formed into monarchies of considerable extent." Robertson's Disq. concerning ancient India, p. 21. But the times of Alexander, and times long antecedent, are the times fixed upon by the Brahmens, for this perpetually asserted, but never ascertained empire. To what modern times does Robertson allude? for he himself gives it as true information, that in the tenth century, there were four kingdoms in the north part alone of India. "The first was composed of the provinces situated on the Indus, and the rivers which fall into it; the capital of which was Moultan. The capital of the second kingdom was Canoge, which, from the ruins of it remaining, appears to have been a very large city. The third kingdom was Cachemire. Massoudi, as far as I know, is the first author who mentions this paradise of India, of which he gives but a short description. The fourth is the kingdom of Guzerate, which he represents as the greatest and most powerful; and he concurs with the two Arabian travellers, in giving the sovereign of it the appellation of Balhara." Ibid. Note xxxvii. p. 332.

§ The inconsistencies of the believers in the great empire of Hindustan are miserable. Mr. Maurice tells us that Bali, "if that name imply not rather a dynasty of princes than an individual monarch," [a shrewd suspicion] "was the puissant sovereign of a mighty empire, extending over the vast continent of India; that under Rama, the next in succession, there is every appearance of its having remained unbroken; that Judishter is generally acknowledged to have been the sovereign of all India." Maurice, Hist. ii. 511. Yet both Mr. Maurice and Sir W. Jones believe Rama to be the Raamah of scripture, the son of Cush, Genesis, ch. x. ver. 7, in whose days it was impossible that any considerable part of India could be peopled. See Sir W. Jones, As. Res. ii. 401, and Mr. Maurice, Hist. iii. 104. Bali, the Baal, and Bel, of other eastern

Book II. dustan, and confirmed by laws of Divine authority. We have seen likewise, that by the division of the people into castes, and the prejudices which the detestable views of the Brahmens raised to separate them, a more degrading and pernicious system of subordination was established among the Hindus, or at any rate the vices of that system were carried to a more destructive height, than among any other people. * And we have seen that by a system of priestcraft, built upon the most enormous, irrational, and tormenting superstition, that ever harassed and degraded any portion of mankind, their minds were enchained more intolerably than their bodies; in short that, despotism and priestcraft taken together, the Hindus, in mind and body, were the most enslaved portion of the human race. Sir William Jones, in his preface to the translation of the Institutes of Menu, says, that this code exhibits "a system of despotism and priestcraft, both indeed limited by law, but artfully conspiring to give mutual support, though with mutual checks." The despotism and priestcraft of the system were, it seems, too glaring to be mistaken or denied; but, in order to palliate the deformity, Sir William is betrayed to utter nonsense. A despotism, he says, limited by law; as if a despotism limited by law were not a contradiction in terms; what is limited by law, so far as so limited, being not a des-

nations, who is also said to have been the first king of Assyria, was not a name of any particular person, but a title assumed by many, and those of different nations. It is in fact a title of the sun. (See Bryant's Myth.) Judishter, too, it is remarkable, was the cotemporary of Rama, both being heroes in the war of the Mahabarat. For the performance of the Raisoo yug, it was not necessary, as they pretend, to conquer all princes, since at Judishter's yug, the father of Cansa, whom Creeshna, after the death of Cansa, seated on the throne of Mathura, was not conquered by Judishter. Nay, it is remarkable that this yug was celebrated while Judishter was yet a dependent upon Doorjoodhen, before the war of the Pandoos. Even after the war of the Mahabharat, when they assure us, for certain, that Judishter was king of all India, Ogur Sein, the grandfather of Creeshna, was reigning at Mathura; Creeshna and the Yadavas were all flourishing. See the Mahabharat, translated by Halhed; Maurice, Hist. of Ind. ii. 463.

* "In so far as the Hindu superstition tends to estrange mankind by creating artificial sources of mutual aversion and disgust; so far certainly does it counteract the real interests of society. Let it not be urged that the practical effects of the artificial separation of the Asiatics are not greatly felt in society; or that a Brahmin or Rajah will as readily supply the wants of the poorer classes as he would those of his own. The fact is otherwise; the Brahmin considers his order as in some measure a different race of beings; and imagines that the lower ranks are incapable of the same sensibility to suffering: he regards them as a race whose feelings are deadened by the meanness of their intellect, and therefore not entitled to the same share of compassion. That this is the idea of the princes and civil magistrates throughout India, their own conduct sufficiently evinces; hence the severity of their government, the rigour of their punishments, and their universal indifference to the comfort, and even the lives of their subjects." Tennant's Indian Recreations, i. 121.

potism. A priestcraft, he also says, limited by law: A law of which the priests themselves were the sole makers, and the sole interpreters! A despotism and a priestcraft, he says, with mutual checks. Yes, truly; it was the interest of the priestcraft to check the despotism in all encroachments on the priestcraft; and it was the interest of the despotism to check the priestcraft in all encroachments on the despotism: But who checked the despotism and the priestcraft in oppressing the people? Alas! no one. It was the interest of the despotism and the priestcraft to join together to uphold their common tyranny over the people; and it must be allowed that so commanding a motive had all the influence upon their conduct which it might be expected to have. What degree of sound reflection belonged to this remark of the splendid orientalist will still further appear by applying it to the Turks. *There* is a despotism and a priestcraft, limited, (if we may so abuse the term,) and still more strictly limited, by law; for the Moslem laws are more precise and accurate than those of the Hindus. *There*, too, the despotism and priestcraft check one another: But has all this prevented the Turkish despotism and priestcraft from being the scourge of human nature; the source of barbarity and desolation?

CHAP. X.

The despotism of the Hindus cruel and ferocious.

That the Hindu despotism was not practically mild, we have a number of satisfactory proofs. We have seen the cruelty and ferocity of the penal laws, itself a circumstance of the highest importance. "A thunderbolt," says the author of the Hetopadesa, "and the power of kings, are both dreadful! But the former expendeth its fury at once, whilst the latter is constantly falling upon our heads."* Some of the observations are so comprehensive, and pointed, as to afford the strongest evidence. "In this world," says the same celebrated book, "which is subject to the power of one above, a man of good principles is hard to be found, in a country, for the most part *governed by the use of the rod.*"† "Princes in general, alas! turn away their faces from a man endowed with good qualities."‡ "The conduct of princes, like a fine harlot, is of many colours: True and false; harsh and gentle; cruel and merciful; niggardly and generous; extravagant of expense, and solicitous of the influx of abundant wealth and treasure."§ "An elephant killeth even by touching, a servant even by smelling, a king even by ruling."|| All the general maxims of the Hindus

* Wilkins' Hetopadesa, p. 161.

† Ibid. p. 82.

‡ Ibid. p. 160.

§ Ibid. p. 166.

|| Ibid. p. 176. The following maxim, among many others in the book, is a proof of the idle and useless life of the rajahs who devolved all business upon their ministers, and wallowed in sensuality and sloth. "The sovereign being a vessel for the distribution of happiness, and not for the exe-

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import the extreme degradation of the great body of the people. "The assistance, O king, which is rendered to those of low degree, is like endeavouring to please bears. A low person should never be placed in the station of the great. One of low degree having obtained a worthy station seeketh to destroy his master."* "The Hindus," says Dr. Buchanan, in their state of independence, exacted deference from those under them with a cruelty and arrogance rarely practised but among themselves. A Nair was expected instantly to cut down a Tiar or Mucua, who presumed to defile him by touching his person; and a similar fate awaited a slave, who did not turn out of the road as a Nair passed."† In Sacontala, Dushmantu is represented as a king who possessed every virtue, and made happiness flourish as in the golden age. Yet we have a specimen of the justice and legality which prevailed during this happy reign, in the passage relating to the innocent fisherman. He was found by certain of the king's officers, offering to sale a ring with the king's name upon it. They instantly seize him, and drag him away to justice: all the while beating and bruising him; and loading him with opprobrious epithets. The victim of this brutal treatment offers only the most humble entreaties, making statement of the facts, and protestation of his innocence. Upon sight of the ring, the king acknowledges that he is innocent; and orders him a sum of money, equal in value to the ring. Of this reward he is obliged to resign a half to the very men who had abused him, "to escape," it is said, "the effects of their displeasure."‡

Sanguinary punishment for complaints against the magistrate.

The laws for guarding the authority of the magistrate exhibit a character of extreme severity, and indicate an habitual state of the most rigid domination. "If a man speaks reproachfully of any upright magistrate, the magistrate shall cut out his tongue, or, having confiscated all his effects, shall banish him the kingdom."§ By this law even the privilege of complaint was taken from the wretched

cution of affairs, the minister who shall bring ruin upon the business of the state is a criminal." (Ibid. p. 142.) The last article of the following character of a good minister is an abundant proof of the rapacious nature of the government; "A king should engage for his minister one who is a native of his own country; pure in all his ways and cleanly in his dress; not one who is an outcast, addicted to idle pleasures, or too fond of women; but one of good repute, who is well versed in the rules of disputation, is of a firm mind, and expert in raising a revenue." Ibid. p. 179. See also the Inscription respecting a Royal Grant, Asiat. Res. iii. 48.

* Wilkins' Hetopadesa, p. 242.

† Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, &c. ii. 410.

‡ Another remarkable circumstance. The fisherman informs the officers he gives them his present to purchase wine; on which they cry, "Oh! now thou art our beloved friend.—Good wine is the first object of our affection.—Let us go together to the vintners." Sacontala, act v.

§ Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. xv. sect. 2.

Hindu. The victim of oppression was bound, under ferocious penalties, to suffer in silence.

The following is a law by which every act of despotism is legalized. "If a magistrate, for his own good, hath passed any resolutions, whoever refuses to submit to such resolutions, the magistrate shall cut out that person's tongue."* If every resolution the magistrate chooses to pass for his own good, is, by the very circumstance of his passing it, obligatory under violent penalties, the state of the government is not doubtful.

"If a man makes complaint before the magistrate against the magistrate's counsellor, without any real fault in him, or performs any business or service for the magistrate's accuser, the magistrate shall put him to death."† Under the operation of this law, the magistrate had little to fear from accusation. There would be no remedy for any grievance; because the existence of any grievance could hardly ever be told. If the magistrate was willing to hear of his own misconduct, or that of his servants, in that case he might hear of it; where he was unwilling, in that case it was death.‡

Though all peaceable applications for the redress of grievances were thus precluded, any violence offered to the person of the magistrate, though far short of fatal, was punished in a manner which none but the most savage people ever endured. "If a magistrate has committed a crime, and any person, upon discovery of that crime, should beat and ill-use the magistrate, in that case, whatever be the crime of murdering one hundred Brahmins, such crime shall be accounted to that person; and the magistrate shall thrust an iron spit through him, and roast him at the fire."§

Most of the sovereigns of whom we have any information, described as mischievous.

The notices, afforded us of particular sovereigns, are exceedingly few. But, such as they are, most of them declare the misgovernment and cruelty of the individuals to whom they relate. "According to Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, Chandra-Gupta (I use the words of Mr. Wilford) had been in that prince's camp,

* Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. xv. sect. 2. † Ibid. xxi. 10.

‡ The self-abasement of the Hindus, before their kings, is decisive proof of a merciless government. "The sovereign, although but a child, is not to be despised, but to be respected as a man; or as a mighty divinity who presideth in human form." Wilkins' Hetopadesa, p. 117. "They performed prostration to their princes, *falling down with eight members*, as they expressed their abject and grovelling mode of approach." Ibid. note 137. "Plus un gouvernement est despotique, plus les ames y sont avilies et degradées; plus l'on s'y vante d'aimer son tyran. Les esclaves benissent à Maroc leur sort et leur Prince, lorsqu'il daigne lui-même leur couper le cou." Helvetius de l'Homme, i. 318.

§ Halhed's Gentoo Code, ch. xvi. sect. 1.

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and had been heard to say afterwards, that Alexander would have found no difficulty in the conquest of Prachi, or the country of the Prasians, had he attempted it, as the King was despised and hated too, on account of his cruelty."*

Hindus in authority prone to oppressiveness.

As the Hindu manners and character are invariable, according to their admirers; these admirers cannot consistently reject their present, as proof of their ancient behaviour; and all men will allow that it affords strong ground of inference. "It is a remark," says one of the best informed observers of Hindustan, "warranted by constant experience, that wherever the government is administered by Gentoos, the people are subject to more and severer oppressions than when ruled by the Moors. I have imputed this to intelligent Gentoos, who have confessed the justice of the accusation, and have not scrupled to give their opinions concerning it." The opinions of these Gentoos are as favourable to themselves as, to suit the occasion, they could possibly make them. "A Gentoo," say they, "is not only born with a spirit of more subtile invention, but by his temperance and education becomes more capable of attention to affairs, than a Moor; who no sooner obtains power than he is lost in voluptuousness; he becomes vain and lordly, and cannot dispense with satiating the impulses of his sensual appetites: whereas a Gentoo Prince retains in his Durbar the same spirit which would actuate him if keeping a shop." Mr. Orme adds, "Avarice is his predominant passion; and all the wiles, address, cunning, and perseverance, of which he is so exquisite a master, are exerted to the utmost in fulfilling the dictates of this vice; and his religion, instead of inspiring, frees him from the remorse of his crimes; for whilst he is harassing and plundering the people by the most cruel oppressions, he is making peace with the gods by denying nothing to their priests." Mr. Orme exhibits an impressive example. "The present King of Travencore (an Hindu prince whose dominions had never been subject to a foreign government) has conquered or carried war into all the countries which lay round his dominions, and lives in the continual exercise of his arms. To atone for the blood which he has spilt, the Brachmans persuaded him that it was necessary he should be born anew: this ceremony consisted in putting the prince into the body of a golden cow of immense value, where, after he had laid the time prescribed,

* Wilford, on the Chronology of the Hindus, Asiat. Res. v. 284. There is a passage in Quintus Curtius which would lead us to conclude that India was not greatly inhabited in the times of Alexander. Speaking of Alexander's march into the interior of India, after the overthrow of Darius, he says; "Ad magnam deinde, *ut in ea regione*, urbem pervenit." (Curt. lib. ix. cap. i.) Not a syllable escapes from this author indicative of a populous country. He styles the inhabitants, "Barbari—operum militarium rudes." Ibid. cap. viii. The names of the separate nations which Alexander found in India are numerous.

he came out regenerated and freed from all the crimes of his former life. The cow was afterwards cut up and divided amongst the SEERS who had invented this extraordinary method for the remission of his sins."* No testimony can be stronger to the natural tendency of the Hindu religion, and to the effects which their institutions are calculated to produce.†

* Orme, on the Government and People of Hindustan, p. 434, 435, 436. "Quelques missionaires, tels que le P. de Magistris, le Danois F. Schwartz, le P. Jean de Brito, dans une relation manuscrite que j'ai entre les mains, accusent les rois payens d'exercer des oppressions intolerables envers leurs sujets. M. Anquetil du Perron tâche de justifier les souverains. * * * Je pourrais demontrer avec une historique evidence que M. Anquetil ne connait pas l'Inde. * * * Il est certain qu'il se commettait de grands abus dans l'exercise de l'autorité royale, et je pense que ce fut là la principale cause de la chûte des rois de Maduré, de Maïssour, de Tanjaur, et de Marava. Quoique ces rois fussent tous payens, de la premiere noblesse, et indigénes, sans cesse ils se faisaient la guerre réciproquement, et presque tous vexaient le peuple." Voyage aux Indes Orientales par le P. Paulin, de S. Bartelemy, i. 87. M. Anquetil Duperron, in a note, (Ibid. iii. 365) falls into a curious coincidence with, and confirmation of, the above passage of Paulin, at the same time that he is controverting it:—"Le missionaire n'a pas lu l'histoire de l'Inde, n'est pas meme au fait de ce qui se passe tous les jours. Quoique le caractere propre de l'Indien soit la douceur, l'humanité, on voit encore dans cette contrée, comme ailleurs, des querelles entre les princes naturels Indiens, des querelles dans les familles; les chefs Marattes sont presque toujours divisés, et en guerres. Le Tanjaur, le Maduré, le Maissour, le Samorin, Narsingue, le Canara, offraient la même spectacle lorsque la puissance des Rajahs étoit dans sa vigueur; il en est de même de ceux de Bengale, du reste de l'Indoustan." Bernier, who had no theory on Indian affairs, but who displays more personal knowledge of the country than almost any other European, thus describes the Rajahs. Ces sortes de rois barbares n'ont aucune veritable generosité, et ne sont guere retenus par la foi qu'ils ont promise, ne regardant qu'à leurs interets presents, sans songer meme aux malheurs qui leur peuvent arriver de leur perfidie, et de leur brutalité. Revol. des Etats Mogol, p. 174. "The ryots have every reason to dread the prevalence of the Mahratta power; of that power, which yields them up to the tyranny and oppression of their chiefs; which affords no protection to its subjects; which is perpetually at war with its neighbours; and which has, in effect, laid waste the greatest part of Hindostan." Sir H. Strachey, Report as Judge of Circuit, Fifth Report of the Committee on India Affairs, 1810, p. 568, sect. 17. La politique de leurs princes doit tenir de leur gouvernement.—D'une main on les voit signer une traité, et de l'autre ils jurent la perte de celui avec lequel ils font alliance. Anquetil Duperron, Zendavesta, cxvii. "The annals of Persia," says Mr. Scott Waring, "contain little more than a uniform tale of wretchedness and misery, of murder and treachery; and the mind, wearied and disgusted with this uniformity of vice, is hurried away to a contemplation of similar causes and events." Tour to Sheeraz, p. 267.

† There can be no rational doubt that what by European eyes has been seen to be the detail of government, in the hands of the Hindus, though under Mogul principals, was a fair picture of what had been the detail of government under Hindu principals; administration in the hands of Mogul magistrates being, according to all testimony, less oppressive than administration in the hands of

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Hypothesis, of a number of small states subject to a great one.

Among other expedients for saving the favourite system, it has been maintained that the petty states and princes in Hindustan were but subordinate parts of one great monarchy, whose sceptre they acknowledged, and mandates they obeyed. There is no definable limit to gratuitous suppositions. If we are to be satisfied with opinions not only void of proof, but opposed by every thing of the nature of proof which we receive upon the subject, we may conjure up one opinion after another; and nothing except physical impossibility, or a defect of in-

Hindus. The same intelligent and unexceptionable witness, Mr. Orme, goes on to say: "Imitation has conveyed the unhappy system of oppression which prevails in the government of Indostan throughout all ranks of the people, from the highest even to the lowest subject of the empire. Every head of a village calls his habitation the Durbar, and plunders of their meal and roots the wretches of his precinct: from him the Zemindar extorts the small pittance of silver, which his penurious tyranny has scraped together: the Phousdar seizes upon the greatest share of the Zemindar's collections, and then secures the favour of his Nabob by voluntary contributions, which leave him not possessed of the half of his rapines and exactions: the Nabob fixes his rapacious eye on every portion of wealth which appears in his province, and never fails to carry off part of it: by large deductions from these acquisitions, he purchases security from his superiors, or maintains it against them at the expense of a war.—Subject to such oppressions, property in Indostan is seldom seen to descend to the third generation." Orme, on the Government and People of Indostan, p. 450, 451. The following is another stroke in the formation of the same picture. "The Havildar plunders the village, and is himself fleeced by the Zemindar; the Zemindar by the Phousdar; the Phousdar by the Nabob or his Duan. The Duan is the Nabob's head slave: and the Nabob compounds on the best terms he can make, with his Subah, or the throne.—Wherever this gradation is interrupted, bloodshed ensues." Ibid. p. 402. "In every city, and in every considerable town, is appointed a guard, directed by proper officers, whose duty it is to coerce and punish all such crimes and misdemeanours as affect the policy of that district, and are at the same time of too infamous or of too insignificant a nature to be admitted before the more solemn tribunal of the Durbar. These ministers of justice are called the Catwall; and a building bearing the same name is allotted for their constant resort. At this place are perpetually heard the clamours of the populace: some demanding redress for the injury of a blow or a bad name; others for a fraud in the commerce of farthings: one wants assistance to take, another has taken a thief: some offering themselves as bondsmen; others called upon for witnesses. The cries of wretches under the scourge, and the groans of expiring criminals, complete a scene of perfect misery and confusion. After these employments of the day, parties are sent from the Catwall to patrole and watch through the town by night. In such governments, where the superiors are lost to all sense of humanity, the most execrable of villainies are perpetrated by this institution, designed to prevent them. The Catwall enters into treaty with a band of robbers, who receive from hence the intelligence necessary to direct their exploits, and in return pay to it a stipulated portion of their acquisitions: besides the concessions necessary to secure impunity when detected, one part of the band is appointed to break into houses, another assaults the traveller upon the road, a third the merchant upon the rivers. I have seen these regulated villains commit murders in the face of day, with such desperate audacity as nothing but the confidence of protection could inspire." Ibid. p. 452, 453.

genuity, can set bounds to our affirmations. In the loose mode of thinking, or rather of talking without thinking, which has prevailed concerning Indian affairs, the existence of feudal institutions in modern Europe, has constituted a sufficient basis for the belief of feudal institutions in India; though it would have been just as rational to conclude, because the Saxon language forms the basis of most of the languages of Europe; therefore the Saxon language forms the basis of the language in India.

There are two modes in which the subordination of a number of petty princes to a great one may take place. The inferior states may exist merely as conquered, enslaved countries; paying tribute to a foreign government, obeying its mandates, and crouching under its lash. A second mode would be, where the inferior states were connected together by confederacy, and acknowledged a common head for the sake of unity; but possessed the right of deliberating in common upon common concerns. It may with confidence be pronounced that in neither mode is the supposed effect compatible with the state of civilization in Hindustan.

To retain any considerable number of countries in subjection, preserving their own government, and their own sovereigns, would be really arduous, even where the science of government is the best understood. To suppose it possible in a country where the science of government is in the state indicated by the laws and institutions of the Hindus, would be in the highest degree extravagant. Even the Romans themselves, with all the skill which they possessed, retained their provinces in subjection, only by sending thither their own governors and their own armies, and superseding entirely the ancient authorities of the country. The moderation of conquering, without seizing, is a phenomenon so rarely exemplified in the most civilized times, that to suppose it universal in India, is to make a supposition in contradiction to the known laws of human affairs, and even to particular experience. Wherever an Indian sovereign is able to take possession, he hastens to take it. Wherever he can make a plundering incursion, though unable to retain, he ravages and destroys. Now it sometimes happens that a neighbouring prince, too weak to prevent or chastise these injuries, endeavours to purchase exemption from them by a composition. This, in the language of the Mahrattas, who, in modern times, have been almost the only people in India in a situation to exact it, is called *Chout*, of which the standard is a fourth part of the revenues of the district liable to be over-run. It has in several instances, and these abundantly recent ones, been payed for certain districts by the British government itself, without the most distant idea of any lordship paramount in the

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Mahrattas. It is abundantly evident that this species of subordination, if subordination it can be called, never could have extended far; never could reach beyond the countries immediately contiguous to that from which the chance of mischief arose.

A confederation of princes similar to that which was exemplified in Germany, and which no combination of circumstances has elsewhere produced, is a supposition, still more opposed to experience. Of all the results of civilization, that of forming a combination of different states, and directing their powers to one common object, seems to be one of the least consistent with the mental habits and attainments of the Hindus.* It is the want of this power of combination which has rendered India so easy a conquest to all invaders; and enables us to retain, so easily, that dominion over it which we have acquired. Where is there any vestige in India of that deliberative assembly of princes, which in Germany was known by the name of the Diet? Where is there any memorial of that curious constitution by which the union of the German princes was preserved; or of those elections by which they chose whom among themselves should be placed at their head. That nominal homage which the Mahratta chiefs at present pay to the throne of Sevagee, is a temporary circumstance, entirely of a different nature. These chiefs are not subordinate princes, but revolted subjects, in a dismembered empire. There is among them no confederacy. When we are at war with Scindia, we are at peace with the Peshwa and Holkar; when we are at war with Holkar, we are at peace with the rest. They acknowledge a subordination to the primary seat of government, only because their subjects have been accustomed to look to it; and because they are not yet secure of their obedience.†

* They have always allowed themselves to be conquered in detail, just as the tribes of Gauls and Germans, by the Romans. Gaul, however, cost Julius Cæsar himself five years to subdue; and it several times carried fire and sword to the gates of Rome. The Gauls must have known much more of the art of war than the Hindus. See the fine generalship of Vercingetorix described by the conqueror himself in the 7th book of his commentaries; and analysed by Guischardt, Memoires Militaires sur les Grecs et les Romains, ch. xvi.—"The most remarkable of these new states were the Polygars of Chittledroog, Raidroog, Harponelly, Tarrikera, with many others of inferior note, whose united efforts might have opposed a respectable barrier to Mohammedan encroachment, if united efforts could be expected from restless savages, perpetually occupied by intestine quarrels." (Wilks' Hist. Sketches, p. 63.) Wilks says, (p. 23) that the Hindu character exhibits but few shades of distinction, wheresoever found. It follows, that no where is it far removed from the savage state.

† To some persons it may be of use to hear, that the sober good sense of Major Rennel makes him reject the theory of union. "History gives us the most positive assurances, that India was

The Hindus who have been subject to Mahomedans, less uncivilized than those who have not.

So much in opposition to evidence have those, who affirm the high state of civilization among the Hindus previous to their subjugation to foreigners, held fast their opinion, that wherever the Hindus have been found in a situation always exempt from the dominion of foreigners, they appear, and with an uniformity which admits of no exception, in a state of civilization inferior to those who have long been the subjects of a Mahomedan throne.*

A gross superstition never handed down from an enlightened, but a barbarous age.

It is in no quarter pretended, that the Hindu superstition was ever less gross than it now appears; that is, the most truly degrading and unnatural that ever existed among men. It is remarkable, that in any quarter it should not be recollected, that superstition necessarily gives way as civilization advances; that, powerful at an early age among the Greeks and Romans, it finally ceased to have almost any influence; † and that Goguet had long ago declared with philosophical truth, "we wanted no evidence to prove the ignorance and rudeness of the Greeks in the heroic times; their credulity and their respect for oracles are proofs, more than sufficient, to demonstrate that truth. This species of superstition has no force or dominion, but in proportion to the gross ignorance of the people: witness the savages, who do not undertake any thing till they have previously consulted their divines and their oracles." ‡

Seasons of calamity.

So many regulations are found in the Hindu codes of law respecting seasons of calamity; seasons when it is supposed that a great portion of the people are without the means of subsistence, that those dreadful visitations must have been very

divided into a number of kingdoms or states, from the time of Herodotus, down to that of Acbar." (Rennel's Mem. Introd. p. xxxii.)

* Witness, Nepaul, and the strong districts along the Malabar coast, where the reign of the Hindu princes had been not at all or very little disturbed. For an account of Nepaul, see the history of Col. Kirkpatrick's embassy; and of the Malabar coast, among other works, Voyage de P. Paulin; Sonnerat; and Anquetil Duperron; above all, the Journey of Dr. Buchanan, through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar.—" Mr. Wilford states, in the ninth volume of the Asiatic Researches, that the kings of Behar or Magadha were for many ages the sovereigns or lords-paramount of India. If such was the case, their descendants must have degenerated exceedingly; for at the period of the Mohammedan invasion, the Raja, instead of heading his army, in defence of his country and religion, shamefully absconded, leaving his capital, then a celebrated seat of Hindu learning (whence its name of Behar) so destitute, that it was taken by a detachment of 200 men, who put a number of the unopposing Brahmens to the sword, and plundered all the inhabitants." (Hist. of Bengal, by Charles Stewart, Esq. p. 40.) Mr. Stewart speaks with judgment. Every thing in the state of India, as it was originally found by the Mahommedans, bears testimony against the fiction of a great monarchy, great prosperity, and great civilization.

† " Quæ anus," says Cicero, " tam excors inveniri potest, quæ illa quæ quondam credebantur apud inferos portenta extimescat?" (De Nat. Deor. lib. ii. cap.2.)

‡ Goguet, Origin of Laws, part ii. book i. ch. iv. art. 8.

Book II.

frequent. From which soever of these two great causes, famine, or the ravages of war, the frequency of those calamities arose, it equally negatives the existence of good government and high civilization.*

Internal communication.

If we apply the reflection, which has been much admired, that if a man were to travel over the whole world, he might take the state of the roads, that is, the means of internal communication in general, as a measure of the civilization; a very low estimate will be formed of the progress of the Hindus. "In India," says Rennel, "the roads are little better than paths, and the rivers without bridges."† "In Malabar," says Dr. Buchanan, speaking of the wretched state of the roads, "even cattle are little used for the transportation of goods, which are generally carried by porters."‡ The Emperor, Shah Jehan, constructed certain roads in Bengal, which were celebrated as stupendous prodigies; but the remains of them, Dr. Tennant remarks, sufficiently manifest that they can never have been good, and that the admiration they excited proves nothing except the wretched condition of every thing under the name of road, which had been seen in India before.§ Another fact of much importance, is, that a Mahomedan sovereign was the first who established Choultries; that is, Caravanseras, or houses of reception for travellers upon the road; of which, till that period, they had no experience. "This fact," says Mr. Forster, "also recorded in Dow's history, is well known amongst the natives." ||

Riches of India.

Among the pretensions received without examination, that of enormous riches found in India, by the first Mahomedan conquerors, requires particular attention. If these accounts had not far exceeded all reasonable bounds, it would have been a matter of difficulty, to prove the falsehood of them; except to those who were capable of estimating one circumstance, in any state of society, by its analogy with the rest. As the amount, however, stated by those authors whose testimony has been adopted; by Ferishta, for example, followed by Dow; far exceeds the bounds not of probability only, but of credibility; and affords decisive evi-

* In all parts of India, where things have not been altered by the influence of the Mahomedan government, the Hindus are found collected in villages, not in detached habitations; "a custom," says Millar, (English Gov. i. 70,) "introduced by necessity in times of extreme barbarity and disorder."

† Rennel's Memoir, p. 6.

‡ Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, &c. ii. 434. "It is a fact, that there is not a road in the country made by Hindoos, except a few which lead to holy places." A View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos, &c. By the Rev. W. Ward, one of the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore, Introd. p. lviii.

§ Tennant's Indian Recreations, ii. 13, 14, 323.

|| Forster's Travels, i. 74.—Tennant's Indian Recreations, ii. 69.

dence of that Eastern exaggeration which in matters of history disdains to be guided by fact, the question is left free of any considerable difficulty.* These accounts refute themselves. We have, therefore, no testimony on the subject; for all that is presented to us in shape of testimony betrays itself to be merely fiction. We are left to our knowledge of circumstances, and to the inferences which they support. Now if the preceding induction, so fully embracing the circumstances of Hindu society, is to be relied on, it will not be disputed, that a state of poverty and wretchedness, as far as the great body of the people are concerned, must have prevailed in India, not more in the times in which it has been witnessed by Europeans, than the times which preceded. A gilded throne, or the display of gold, silver, and precious stones, about the seat of a court, is no invalidation of such an inference. To the discerning eye it is strongly the reverse. Only there where gold and silver are scarce, can the profuse display of them about the monarch's person, either gratify the monarch's vanity, or dazzle by its rarity the eyes of the multitude. Perhaps there are few indications more decisive of a poor country, and a barbarous age, than the violent desire of exhibiting the precious metals, and precious stones, as the characteristic marks and decorations of the chief magistrate.†

The science of political economy places the conclusion on the ground of demonstration. For the people to have been rich in gold and silver, these commodities must have circulated among them in the shape of money. But of gold and silver in the shape of money, no nation has more, than what is in proportion to its exchangeable commodities. Now that ever the people of Hindustan were profusely supplied with commodities, every thing in their manners, habits, government, and history, concur to disprove. There is, besides, a well established fact, which ascertains the impossibility of their having abounded in gold and silver. Their commodities were not exchanged by the medium of the precious metals. The traffic of India, as in the rudest parts of the earth, was chiefly a traffic of barter; and its taxes, as already seen, were paid in kind. It was not till the time of Akber that gold or silver was coined for circulation, in the principal part of India; antecedently to that period small pieces of copper being the only coin.‡ Up to

* See some observations on Dow, by Mr. Edward Scott Waring, Tour to Sheeraz, p. 15.

† Speaking of the Mohamedan governments in the Deccan, Col. Wilks says; "These princes had arrived at that stage of civilization in which gorgeous and awkward splendour covered the most gross political darkness." (Historical Sketches, p. 65.)

‡ See the Analysis of Tooril Mull's System of Finance, in British India Analysed, i. 191. These copper pieces were called pulsiah or feloos, sixteen of which were reckoned equal to a Tunkah of

the present hour, when the real signs of riches and civilization are but just beginning to be understood, nothing has been more common with rash and superficial travellers, than to set down lofty accounts of the riches of almost every new country to which they repaired.*

State of the military art.

As rude nations, still more than civilized, are incessantly harassed by the dangers, or following the gains of war, one of the first applications of knowledge is to improve the military art. The Hindus have, at no period, been so far advanced in knowledge, as even to be aware of the advantage of discipline, of regular and simultaneous movements; though upon this, in skilled warfare, almost every thing depends. "In the Hindu armies," says Francklin, "no idea of discipline ever existed."† "The rudeness of the military art in Indostan," says Mr. Orme,

base silver; a sort of coin, or rather medal, sometimes struck, at the pleasure of the king, not for use, but to make presents to foreign ambassadors, and others. "Trade must, therefore," says the author, "have been carried on chiefly by barter; the rents for the most part paid in kind."—In the Deccan, a gold and silver coin was known earlier; which the same author thinks must have been introduced by the intercourse of the Persians and Arabians, to whom the use of coin had been known nearly a thousand years before. (Ibid. p. 194.) See an instructive dissertation on this point in "Researches on India," by Q. Craufurd, Esq. i. 36—80. Yet this author, p. 80—84, is a firm believer in the great riches of India.

* Agatharchides gives the most magnificent description of the riches of the Sabians. "Their expense of living rivals the magnificence of princes. Their houses are decorated with pillars glistening with gold and silver. Their doors are crowned with vases, and beset with jewels; the interior of their houses corresponds in the beauty of their outward appearance, and all the riches of other countries are here exhibited in a variety of profusion." (See the account extracted and translated, in Vincent's Periplus, part i. p. 33. See also Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 778.) In the barbarous state of the ancient Russian court at Moscow, there was the highest degree of magnificence and splendour. The Earl of Carlisle, giving an account of his embassy says, that he could see nothing but gold and precious stones, in the robes of the Czar, and his courtiers.—The treasure of Sardanapalus was a thousand myriads of talents of gold, at the lowest estimation, 44,174,999,760*l.* (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 150; Athenæi Deipnosop. lib. xii.; Gibbon sur la Monarchie des Medes, Miscel. Works, 8vo. Ed. iii. 68.)—"What is said to be given by David (1 Chron. xxii. 14, 15, 16, and xxix. 3, 4, 5,) and contributed by his princes (xxix. 6, 7, 8,) toward the building of the temple at Jerusalem, if valued by the Mosaic talents, exceeded the value of 800,000,000*l.* of our money." (Prideaux, Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testament, i. 5. Edit. 5th.) The Arcadian who was sent ambassador to the court of the king of Persia, in the days of Agesilaus, saw through the glare of eastern magnificence. Ὁ δε Αντιοχος απηγγειλε προς τους μυριους, ὁτι βασιλευς αρτοκοπους, και οψοποιους, και οινοχοους, και θυρωρους παμπληθεις εχοι· ανδρας δε, ὁι μαχοιντ' αν Ελλησι, πανυ ζητων ουκ αν εφη δυνασθαι ιδειν. προς δε τουτοις, και το των χρηματων πληθος αλαζονειαν ὁι γε δοκειν ειναι εφη· επει και την ὑμνουμενην αν χρυσῆν πλατανον ουχ ἱκανην εφη ειναι τεττιγι σκιαν παρεχειν. (Xenophontis Græcorum, &c. lib. vii. sect. 1. near the end.)

† Francklin's Life of George Thomas, p. 103.

"can scarce be imagined but by those who have seen it. The infantry consists of a multitude of people assembled together without regard to rank and file."*

State of the medical art.

Even medicine and surgery, to the cultivation of which so obvious and powerful an interest invites, had scarcely, beyond the degree of the most uncultivated tribes, attracted the rude understanding of the Hindus. Though the leisure of the Brahmens has multiplied books, on astrology, on the exploits of the gods, and other worthless subjects, to such a multitude, "that human life," says Sir W. Jones, "would not be sufficient to make oneself acquainted with any considerable part of Hindu literature," † he yet confesses, there is "no evidence that in any language of Asia, there exists one original treatise on medicine, considered as a science." ‡ Surgery, says an author, who believes in the high civilization of the Hindus, is unknown among that people. In the case of gun-shot, or sabre wounds, all they did was to wash the wound, and tie it up with fresh leaves; the patient, during the period of convalescence, eating nothing but the water gruel of rice. §

* Orme, on the Government and People of Indostan, p. 420. The exquisite ignorance and stupidity of the Mysoreans in the art of war, while yet a purely Hindu people, is strongly remarked by Orme, i. 207. In the following description appears the simplicity of the fortification of Hindu towns: "A place that hath eight cose in length and breadth, and on the skirts of which, on all the four sides, is a ditch, and above the ditch, on all the four sides, a wall or parapet, and on all the four sides of it are bamboos, and on the east or north side thereof, a hollow or covered way, such place is called Nigher, or a city; in the same manner, if it hath four cose in length and breadth, it is called Gherbut, or a small city." Gentoo Code, ch. xiv. See also Motte's Journey to Orissa, As. An. Reg. i. 51, 67.—"The fortifications of places of the first order formerly consisted, and in many places still consist, in one or two thick walls, flanked with round or triangular towers. A wide and deep ditch is on the outside; but as the Hindus are unskilful in the construction of bridges, they always leave a causeway from the gate of the town over the ditch." The Abbé Dubois, p. 543.—See a curious testimony to the imperfection of the military art among the Mahrattas, (Broughton's Letters from a Mahratta Camp, p. 107—108); and another, still more remarkable, to the wretched pusillanimity of the Rajpoots, those boasted descendants of the supposed magnanimous Cshatriyas; a pusillanimity, which, according to Mr. Broughton, forfeits their title even to pity, while "possessing so many advantages, they voluntarily bend their necks to one of the most galling yokes in the world." Ibid. p. 133.

† Asiat. Res. i. 354. ‡ Ibid. iv. 159.

§ Craufurd's Sketches. Sir William Jones says, "We may readily believe those who assure us, that some tribes of wandering Tartars had real skill in applying herbs and minerals to the purpose of medicine;" the utmost pretended extent of the medical science of the Hindus. As. Res. ii. 40. See Tennant's Indian Recreations, for some important details, i. 357; Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, &c. i. 336.—"Medicine," says the last intelligent observer, "in this country has indeed fallen into the hands of charlatans equally impudent and ignorant." Ibid.

Book II.

Hindus compared,

In comparing them with other people, it cannot, in one word, be declared with which of the nations, more familiar to Europeans, the Hindus in point of civilization may be regarded as on a level; because, to those, whom they most nearly approach, while inferior, in some circumstances, they are superior, in others. Should we say that the civilization of the people of Hindustan, and that of the people of Europe, during the feudal ages, is not far from equal, we shall find upon a close inspection, that the Europeans were superior, in the first place, notwithstanding the vices of the papacy, in religion, and notwithstanding the defects of the schoolmen, in philosophy. They were greatly superior, notwithstanding the defects of the feudal system, in the institutions of government and in laws. Even their poetry, if the observance of nature, if the power of moving the affections, or even ingenuity of invention, be regarded as the marks of excellence, is beyond all comparison preferable to the poetry of the Hindus. In the art of war, that the Hindus have always been greatly inferior to the warlike nations of Europe, during the middle ages, it seems hardly necessary to assert.* In some of the more delicate manufactures, however, particularly in spinning,

With the Europeans in the middle ages:

" There are not indeed wanting several persons who prescribe in physic, play upon a variety of musical instruments, and are concerned in some actions and performances which seem at least to suppose some skill in nature or mathematics. Yet all this is learned merely by practice, long habit, and custom; assisted for the most part with great strength of memory, and quickness of invention." (Shaw's Travels, speaking of the people of Barbary, p. 263.) The good sense of Colonel Wilks has made that instructive writer use the following terms: " The golden age of India, like that of other regions, belongs exclusively to the poet. In the sober investigation of facts, this imaginary era recedes still farther and farther at every stage of the inquiry; and all that we find is still the empty praise of the ages which have past . . . . . If the comparative happiness of mankind in different ages be measured by its only true and rational standard, namely, the degree of peace and security which they shall be found collectively and individually to possess, we shall certainly discover, in every successive step towards remote antiquity, a larger share of wretchedness to have been the portion of the human race. . . . . . The force of these observations, general in their nature, is perhaps more strongly marked in the history of India than of any other region of the earth. At periods long antecedent to the Mohammedan invasion, wars, revolutions, and conquests, seem to have followed each other, in a succession more strangely complex, rapid, and destructive, as the events more deeply recede into the gloom of antiquity. The rude valour, which had achieved a conquest, was seldom combined with the sagacity requisite for interior rule; and the fabric of the conquered state, shaken by the rupture of its ancient bonds, and the substitution of instruments, clumsy, unapt, and misapplied, either fell to sudden ruin, or gradually dissolved." Historical Sketches of the South of India, by Lieut. Col. Mark Wilks, p. 1, 2.

* The barbarians from Germany and Scythia, quickly learned the discipline of the Roman armies, and turned their own arts against the legions. See Gibbon, vii. 377. The Hindus have never been able, without European officers, to avail themselves of European discipline.

weaving, and dyeing, the Hindus, as they rival all nations, so they no doubt surpass the attainments of the rude Europeans. In the fabrication, too, of trinkets; in the art of polishing and setting the precious stones, it is possible, and even probable, that our impatient and rough ancestors did not attain the same nicety which is displayed by the patient Hindus. In the arts of painting and sculpture, we have no reason to think that the Europeans were excelled by the Hindus. In architecture the people who raised the imposing structures which yet excite veneration in many of the ancient cathedrals, were not left behind by the builders of the Indian pagodas.* The agriculture of the Europeans, imperfect as it was, surpassed exceedingly that of the Hindus; for with the climate and soil of most of the countries of Europe, agriculture so imperfect as that of India, could not have maintained the population. In point of manners and character, the manliness and courage of our ancestors, compared with the slavish and dastardly spirit of the Hindus, place them in an elevated rank. But they were inferior to that effeminate people in gentleness, and the winning arts of address. Our ancestors, however, though rough, were sincere; but under the glosing exterior of the Hindu lies a general disposition to deceit and perfidy. In fine, it cannot be doubted that, upon the whole, the gothic nations, as soon as they became a settled people, exhibit the marks of a superior character and civilization to those of the Hindus.†

* The monastery of Bangor, demolished by Adelfrid, the first king of Northumberland, was so extensive, that there was a mile's distance from one gate of it to another, and it contained two thousand one hundred monks who are said to have been there maintained by their own labour. (Hume's England, i. 41.) "Les Etrusques, predecesseurs des Romains, et les premiers peuples de l'Italie sur lesquels l'histoire jette quelque lueur........ paroissent avoir devancé les Grecs dans la carriere des sciences et des arts, bien qu'ils n'aient pas pu, comme leurs successeurs, la parcourir toute entiere. Les poetes ont placé au milieu d'eux l'age d'or sous le regne de Saturne, et leurs fictions n'ont voilé qu' à demi la verité.—Comme nous ne savons pas même le nom des ecrivains Etrusques ou Tyrrheniens, et que ces peuples ne nous sont connus que par quelques fragmens d'historiens Grecs et Latins, ils resteront toujours enveloppés d'une grande obscurité. Cependant nous avons une indication de leur puissance, dans les murailles colossales de Volterra; de leur gout, dans les vases qui nous sont restés d'eux; de leur savoir, dans le culte de Jupiter Elicius, auquel ils attribuerent l'art qu'ils connurent et que nous avons retrouvés, d'eviter et de diriger la foudre." Simonde Sismondi, Hist. des Rep. Ital. Introd. p. iii. These Tuscans cannot have been advanced beyond the stage of semi-barbarism; and yet here are proofs of a progress in the arts, with which the Hindus have nothing to compare.—The Afghauns use a water mill for grinding their corn. "It is also used in the north of India, under the Sireenuggur hills; but, in general, no water-mills are known in India, where all grain is ground with the hand." Elphinstone's Caubul, p. 307.

† The Hindus are often found to be orderly and good servants at Calcutta, Madras, &c.

BOOK II.

With other nations of Asia.

No one can take an accurate survey of the different nations of Asia, and of their different ages, without remarking the near approaches they make to the same stage of civilization. This gives a peculiar interest and importance to the inquiry respecting the Hindus. There can be no doubt that they are in a state of civilization very nearly the same with that of the Chinese, the Persians, and the Arabians; who, together, compose the great branches of the Asian population; and of which the subordinate nations, the Japanese, Cochin-chinese, Siamese, Burmans, and even Malays and Tibetians, are a number of corresponding and resembling offsets.

The Chaldeans, Assyrians, Babylonians, and ancient Persians.

With regard to former ages, it is true that the religion and several circumstances in the outward forms of society, have been altered in Persia, since the days of Darius; but the arts, the sciences, the literature, the manners, the government, concur to prove, in a remarkable manner, the near approach of the

This is but a fallacious proof of civilization. Hear Lord Macartney in his account of Russia. "All the inhabitants of Siberia, Casan, and the eastern provinces of Russia, to the sea of Kamschatkah, who are not Christians, are confounded under the general name of Tartars. Many of these come to the capital in order to procure employment, either as workmen or domestics, and are exceedingly sober, acute, dextrous, and faithful." Barrow's Life of Lord Macartney, ii. 26. "Calmuck servants are greatly esteemed all over Russia, for their intelligence and fidelity." Mr. Heber's Journal, in Clarke's Travels in Russia, p. 241. "I recollect," adds Dr. Clarke, "seeing some of them in that capacity among English families in Petersburg. The most remarkable instance ever known of an expatriated Calmuck, was that of an artist employed by the Earl of Elgin, whom I saw (a second Anacharsis, from the plains of Scythia) executing most beautiful designs among the ruins of Athens. Some Russian family had previously sent him to finish his studies in Rome, where he acquired the highest perfection in design. He had the peculiar features, and many of the manners, of the nomade Calmucks." Ibid. The negroes, when properly treated, make faithful, affectionate, and good servants.—But it is more than doubtful whether the Hindus do in reality make those good servants we have heard them called. Dr. Gilchrist says (Preface to his Hindostanee Dictionary, printed at Calcutta, 1787, p. 27)—and Lord Teignmouth repeats, (Considerations, &c. on communicating to the Natives of India the Knowledge of Christianity, p. 82) "that he cannot hesitate about believing the fact—*that among a thousand servants of all descriptions whom he had trusted and employed, he had the luck to meet with one only whom he knew to be upright in his conduct.*" By the author of that interesting little book, entitled, Sketches of India, or Observations descriptive of the Scenery, &c. in Bengal, written in India, in the years 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, p. 13, we are told, that when you are travelling in India, "An object of attention, which must excite peculiar attention in every honourable mind, is the thefts and depredations which are apt to be committed at every bazar or market, and indeed whenever opportunity offers, both by your own servants and the boatmen. Astonishing as this may seem, it is an undoubted fact, that these people pillage every step they take; and, to escape the just indignation of the sufferers, shelter themselves under the name of their innocent master, to whom these poor wretches are often afraid to refer."

two periods to the same point of civilization. The ancient Persians, too, there is reason to believe, were placed in nearly the same state of society with the people whom they succeeded; the Chaldeans, Assyrians, and Babylonians. In contemplating, therefore, the state of Hindustan, curiosity is gratified to an extraordinary extent. As the manners, institutions, and attainments of the Hindus have been stationary for many ages, in beholding the Hindus of the present day we are beholding the Hindus of many ages past, and are carried back, as it were, into the deepest recesses of antiquity. Nor is this all: Of some of the nations, about which our curiosity is the most alive, and information the most defective, we acquire a practical, and what may be almost denominated a personal knowledge, by our acquaintance with a living people, who have continued on the same soil from the very times of those ancient nations, partake largely of the same manners, and are placed nearly at the same stage in the progress of society. By conversing with the Hindus of the present day, we, in some measure, converse with the Chaldeans and Babylonians of the time of Cyrus; with the Persians and Egyptians of the time of Alexander.

A judicious observer of Asiatic manners declares that "The leading customs of the various nations of Asia are similar, or but weakly diversified. When they sit, the legs are crossed or bent under them; they perform topical ablutions before and after meals, at which no knife or spoon is used, unless the diet be wholly liquid; they invariably adopt the like modes of performing natural evacuations." *

The account which Gibbon presents us, from Herodian, and Ammianus Marcellinus, of the art of war among the Persians, in the time of the Roman emperors, is an exact description of the art, as practised by the Persians and Hindus, and by most of the other nations of Asia at the present day. "The science of war, that constituted the more rational force of Greece and Rome, as it now does of Europe, never made any considerable progress in the East. Those disciplined evolutions which harmonize and animate a confused multitude, were unknown to the Persians. They were equally unskilled in the arts of constructing, besieging, or defending regular fortifications. They trusted more to their numbers than to their courage; more to their courage than to their discipline. The infantry was a half-armed, spiritless crowd of peasants, levied in haste by the allurements of plunder, and as easily dispersed by a victory as by a defeat. The monarch and his nobles transported into the camp the pride and luxury of

* Forster's Travels, ii. 135.

BOOK II.

the seraglio. Their military operations were impeded by a useless train of women, eunuchs, horses, and camels; and in the midst of a successful campaign, the Persian host was often separated or destroyed by an unexpected famine." *

In the system of Zoroaster, and that of the Brahmens, we find the same lofty expressions concerning the invisible powers; the same absurdity in the notions respecting the creation; the same infinite and absurd ritual; the same justness in many ideas respecting the common affairs of life and common morality; the same gross misunderstanding in others; but a striking resemblance between the two systems, both in their absurdities and perfections. The same turn of imagination seems to have belonged to the authors of both; and the same aspect of nature to have continually presented itself: This only must never be forgotten, that the deformities of the Hindu system are always the greatest.

The Persians, in the time of Cambyses, had judges, select sages, who were appointed for life; and whose business it was, according to pre-established laws, to terminate all disputes, and punish crimes. This, like similar circumstances in the state of the Hindus, presents part of the forms of a legal government. These judges, however, for whose sanction the king applied, by consulting them if he might perform an act, on which for fear of popular odium he hesitated to venture, gave a solemn opinion, *that for the king of the Persians it was law, to do whatsoever he pleased.* † "This *constitutional maxim,*" says Gibbon archly, "was not neglected as an useless and barren theory." ‡

The Chinese.

"Like Brimha, the Fo of the Chinese has various times become incarnate among men and beasts. Hence he is represented in his temples as riding upon dragons, rhinoceroses, elephants, mules, and asses; dogs, rats, cats, crocodiles,

* Gibbon, i. 342.

† Οἱ δὲ βασιλήιοι δικασταὶ κεκριμμένοι ἄνδρες γίνονται Περσέων, ἐς ὃ ἀποθάνωσι, ἤ σφι παρευρεθῇ τι ἄδικον μέχρι τούτων. οὗτοι δὲ τοῖσι δίκας δικάζουσι καὶ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται καὶ πάντα ἐς τούτους ἀνακέεται. εἰρομένου ὦν τοῦ Καμβύσεω, ὑπεκρίνοντο αὐτῷ οὗτοι........ τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποιέειν τὰ ἂν βούληται. Herodot. Hist. lib. iii. cap. xxxi. This, Sir William Jones would have said, is a despotism limited by law; and thus the government of the ancient Persians stood upon a foundation resembling that of the Hindus.

‡ Gibbon, Hist. Decl. and Fall, &c. vii. 304. Some ancient sculpture in the vicinity of Shahpoor in honour of Sapor the First, "represents a king, seated in state, amid a group of figures standing before him, one of whom offers two heads to the monarch's notice. If we wanted other evidence, this alone would mark the state of civilization to which a nation had advanced, that could suffer its glory to be perpetuated by a representation of so barbarous a character." Sir John Malcolm, Hist. of Persia, i. 254. No historical writings in ancient Persia: none in Hindustan.

and other amiable creatures whose figures he fancied and assumed. There are in some of these pagodas, a thousand of these monstrous statues, all most horribly ugly, and ill represented, and unlike any thing in heaven or earth, or the waters under the earth." *

Under the reign of credulity, it is instructive to mark the inconsiderateness of a reflecting writer. After many praises of the Chinese husbandry, such as we have often heard of the agriculture of the Hindus, Lord Macartney adds, "The plough is the simplest in the world, has but one handle, is drawn by a single buffalo, and managed by a single person without any assistance." † And Mr. Barrow says, "Two thirds of the small quantity of land under tillage is cultivated with the spade or the hoe, without the aid of draught cattle." ‡

Even of the principal route from Pekin to Canton, Lord Macartney remarks; "For horse and foot the road is excellent, but admits of no wheel carriages." § Mr. Barrow more explicitly declares, that except near the capital, and in some few places where the junction of the grand canal with navigable rivers is interrupted by mountainous ground, there is scarcely a road in the whole country that can be ranked beyond a foot path. || Even the grand canal itself was opened by the Tartar conqueror Gingis Khan, in the thirteenth century; and that solely with a view to convey the taxes, paid in kind, from the southern part of the empire to the capital, a great part of them having been always lost by the unskilfulness of Chinese navigation, when conveyed by sea." **

Like the Hindus, before the improvements introduced among them by the Moguls, the Chinese have no coin, above a small one of copper; and the taxes of that immense empire are paid in kind. ††

Lord Macartney remarks that the Chinese have no natural philosophy; no medical or chirurgical skill; that a fractured leg is usually attended by death. ‡‡

In the sciences and arts of the Hindus and Chinese there is manifested the nearest approximation to the same point of advancement. In respect to government and laws, the Chinese have to a considerable degree the advantage. As

* Lord Macartney's Journal, Barrow's Life of Lord Macartney, ii. 279. In reading this passage, one seems to be reading an account of Hindu religion, temples, and sculpture.

† Ibid. 357.

‡ Barrow's China, p. 585. A large portion of the country, wet, swampy ground, the rich alluvion of rivers, which might be easily gained; if the Chinese had but the skill. Ibid. p. 70, 83, 208, 533.

§ Barrow's Life of Lord Macartney, ii. 357.

|| Barrow's China, p. 513.

** Ibid. p. 43.

†† Ibid. p. 561, 499.

‡‡ Barrow's Life of Lord Macartney, ii. 363.

they were a busy people, however, and have no idle class, whose influence depends upon the wonder it can excite by pretended learning, they multiplied far less than the Hindus those false refinements which a barbarous mind mistakes for science.* Both have made greater progress in the refinement of the useful arts, than in the advancement of science. But in these too the Chinese appear to have the superiority; for though it may be doubted whether the Chinese manufacture of silk rivals in delicacy the cotton manufacture of the Hindus, the latter people have nothing to set in competition with the porcelain of the Chinese; and in the common works in wood and iron, the Chinese are conspicuously preferable. In the contrivance and use of machinery both are equally simple and rude. †

In the state of the fine arts, there is a striking resemblance between the two nations. " The architecture of the Chinese," says Mr. Barrow, " is void of taste, grandeur, beauty, solidity, or convenience; their houses are merely tents, and there is nothing magnificent in the palace of the emperor." ‡ Both nations were good at imitation. § Both were extremely defective in invention. In painting and sculpture they were ignorant of perspective, of attitude and proportion.

Even in manners, and in the leading parts of the moral character, the lines of resemblance are strong. Both nations are to nearly an equal degree tainted with the vices of insincerity; dissembling, treacherous, mendacious, to an excess which surpasses even the usual measure of uncultivated society. Both are disposed to excessive exaggeration with regard to every thing relating to themselves. Both are cowardly and unfeeling. Both are in the highest degree conceited of themselves, and full of affected contempt for others. Both are, in the physical sense, disgustingly unclean in their persons and houses. ||

* Lord Macartney remarks that the Chinese had a very limited knowledge of mathematics and astronomy, " although from some of the printed accounts of China one might be led to imagine that they were well versed in them." " Their affectation of the science of astronomy or astrology (for they have but one word in their language to express both,) induced them at a very remote period to establish a mathematical college or tribunal, the duty of which is to furnish to the nation an annual calendar, somewhat like our *Poor Robin's Almanack*, with lists of all the lucky and unlucky days of the year, predictions of the weather, directions for sowing and reaping, &c. This branch entirely belongs to the Chinese doctors, who are chosen for the purpose from among the most celebrated philomaths of the nation." Ibid. p. 481; See too Barrow's China, p. 284, 291, 292, 295, 323.

† Barrow's China, p. 311, 512. ‡ Ibid. p. 101—330. § Ibid. p. 306, 323.

|| Similar traces are found in the following character of the Persians, drawn by a recent ob-

CHAP. X.

The people of Bootan.

With respect to the inhabitants of another quarter of Asia, Turner, in his account of the embassy to Tibet, informs us, that of the Rajah of Bootan the deportment was exceedingly urbane, and his sentiments breathed that sort of humanity which seems to flow from the belief of the metempsychosis. "My food, said he, consists of the simplest articles; grain, roots of the earth, and fruits. I never eat of any thing which has had breath, for so I should be the indirect cause of putting an end to the existence of animal life, which by our religion is strictly forbidden." *

Though frequent ablutions are performed for religious purposes, the same author informs us that the people in their persons are extremely unclean. †

"Bootan presents to the view nothing but the most mishapen irregularities; mountains covered with eternal verdure, and rich with abundant forests of large and lofty trees. Almost every favourable aspect of them, coated with the

server, Mr. Scott Waring, Tour to Sheeraz. "Mean and obsequious to their superiors and to their equals, if they have a prospect of advantage; but invariably arrogant and brutal in their behaviour towards their inferiors; always boasting of some action they never performed, and delighted with flattery, though they are aware of the imposition. I have repeatedly heard them compliment a person in his hearing, or in the presence of some one who would convey this adulation to his ears; and the instant that he has departed, their praises have turned into abuse:" p. 101. "Not the least reliance is to be placed on their words or most solemn protestations." . . . . "They conceive it their duty to please; and to effect this, they forget all sentiments of honour and good faith." . . . . "The Persians have but a faint notion of gratitude, for they cannot conceive that any one should *be guilty* of an act of generosity, without some sinister motive:" p. 103. "Philosophers have held it for a maxim, that the most notorious liar utters a hundred truths for every falsehood. This is not the case in Persia; they are unacquainted with the *beauty* of *truth*, and only think of it when it is likely to advance their interests." . . . "The generality of Persians are sunk in the lowest state of profligacy and infamy; and they seldom hesitate alluding to crimes which are abhorred and detested in every civilized country in the universe." The following is an important observation. (Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Egypt, et la Perse, Par G. A. Olivier, v. 120.) "En Europe, il y a un espace immense entre les habitans des grandes villes et ceux des campagnes, entre l'homme bien élevé et celui qui ne l'est pas. En Perse, nous n'avons pas trouvé que cet espace fut bien grand: la classe pauvre des villes diffère tres-peu, pour l'esprit, les connaissances et les mœurs, de l'habitant des campagnes, et il n'y a pas non plus un grande différence, dans les villes, entre les riches et les pauvres. C'est presque partout la même conduite, la même allure, la même maniere de s'exprimer; ce sont les mêmes idées, et j'oserais presque dire la même instruction. Ici l'habitant des campagnes, celui-la même qui se trouve toute l'année sous la tente, et qui conduit ses troupeaux d'un pâturage à un autre, nous a paru plus delié, plus rusé, plus poli, plus instruit, que le cultivateur Européen un peu eloigné des grandes villes."

* Turner's Embassy to Tibet, book i. ch. iv. † Ibid.

Book II. smallest quantity of soil, is cleared and adapted to cultivation, by being shelved into horizontal beds; not a slope or narrow slip of land between the ridges lies unimproved. There is scarcely a mountain whose base is not washed by some rapid torrent, and many of the loftiest bear populous villages, amidst orchards, and other plantations on their summits and on their sides. It combines in its extent the most extravagant tracts of rude nature and laborious art." *

Yet they have no discipline in their armies. In their mode of warfare stratagem is more practised than open assault.†

The appearance of the capital Teshoo Loomboo was in a high degree magnificent, and together with the palace afforded proofs of a progress in the arts which vied with those of Hindustan and China.‡

Cochin-Chinese.

The inhabitants of the great Peninsula to the eastward of the Ganges, discover, as far as known, the uniform marks of a similar state of society and manners. The Cochin-Chinese, for example, who are merely a separate community of the Chinese race, appear by no means in civilization behind the Chinese and Hindus. A traveller from whom we have obtained a sensible though short account of some of the more striking phenomena, both physical and moral, informs us, that it is "one of the most fruitful in the world. In many parts," he says, "the land produces three crops of grain in the year. All the fruits of India are found here in the greatest perfection, with many of those of China. No country in the East produces richer or a greater variety of articles proper for carrying on an advantageous commerce, cinnamon, pepper, cardemoms, silk cotton, sugar, Agula wood, japan wood, ivory, &c." §

The following paragraph describes an important article of accommodation, of which no resemblance can be found in all China and Hindustan. "In this valley we passed through three or four pretty villages pleasantly situated, in which, as well as on other parts of the road, were public houses, where tea, fruits, and other refreshments are sold to travellers. At noon we alighted at one of them, and partook of a dinner, which consisted of fowls cut into small pieces, dressed up with a little greens and salt, some fish, &c." ||

* Turner's Embassy to Tibet, book ii. ch. ii. The agriculture is promoted by artificial irrigation, the water being conveyed to the fields through hollow cylinders, formed of the trunks of trees. Ibid. book i. ch. vi.

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid. book ii. ch. ii.

§ Narrative of a Voyage to Cochin-China in 1778 by Mr. Chapman, in the Asiat. An. Regist. for 1801, Miscellaneous Tracts, p. 85.

|| Ibid. p. 72. Of China, Mr. Barrow says, "There are no inns in any part of this vast em-

The appearance of the king's court was not only splendid but decorous; and even the little of the country which the travellers saw discovered to them large cities, with streets, laid out on a regular plan, paved with flat stones, and having well-built brick houses on each side.* CHAP. X.

Birmans. The people on the western side of the Peninsula, whether known by the name of Birmans, Peguans, Assamese, or Siamese, partake strongly of the Hindu character, and exhibit only a variation of the religion, laws, institutions, and manners, which prevail on the other side of the Ganges. The great difference consists in their having adopted the heresy, or retained the primitive faith of Buddha; and rejected the distinction of castes. But nothing appears among them which would lead to an inference of any inferiority in their progress towards the attainments of civilized life.

The Birmans, we are told by Symes, call their code generally Derma Sath or Sastra; it is one among the many commentaries on Menu. The Birman system of jurisprudence, he adds, is replete with sound morality, and in my opinion is

pire; or, to speak more correctly (for there are resting places,) no inhabited and furnished houses where, in consideration of paying a sum of money, a traveller may purchase the refreshments of comfortable rest, and of allaying the calls of hunger. The state of society admits of no such accommodation. What they call inns are mean hovels, consisting of bare walls, where, perhaps, a traveller may procure his cup of tea for a piece of copper money, and permission to pass the night; but this is the extent of the comforts which such places hold out." Barrow's China, p. 421. Such is the description of the Indian choultries; empty buildings, into which the traveller may retire, but into which he must carry with him every accommodation, of which he stands in need. "The Kans, or Caravanseras," says Volney, speaking of another Asiatic country, Syria, "afford only cells for the accommodation of travellers, with bare walls, dust, and sometimes scorpions. The keeper gives the lodger a key and a mat, and he must find every thing else himself." Travels in Egypt, &c. ii. 420. "In the inland towns and villages of Barbary, there is, for the most part, a house set apart for the reception of strangers, with a proper officer (the Maharak I think they call him) to attend it. Here persons are lodged and entertained, for one night, in the best manner the place will afford, at the expence of the community." Shaw's Travels, Pref. p. ii.

* Chapman's Voyage, ubi supra, p. 73, 76. Sir George Staunton says, Embassy of Lord Macartney, i. 389:" The Cochin-Chinese seemed sufficiently dexterous and attentive, though with scarcely any principles of science, to make, on any substances which promised to be of use or comfort to them in private life, such trials and experiments, as were likely to produce beneficial results. In the culture of their lands, and in the few manufactures exercised amongst them, they were not behind nations where the sciences flourish." "Though these people possessed not scientifically the art of reducing the metallic ore into the metal, they had attained the practice, for example, of making very good iron, as well as of manufacturing it afterwards, into match-locks, spears, and other weapons. Their earthenware was very neat. Their dexterity appeared in every operation they undertook:" p. 387.

Book II.

distinguished above every other Hindoo commentary for perspicuity and good sense. It provides specifically for almost every species of crime that can be committed, and adds a copious chapter of precedents and decisions, to guide the inexperienced in cases where there is doubt and difficulty. Trial by ordeal and imprecation are the only absurd passages in the book.*

"There is no country of the East," says the same author, "in which the royal establishment is arranged with more minute attention than in the Birman court; it is splendid without being wasteful, and numerous without confusion."†

Their literature appears to be as extensive and curious, as that of the Hindus. They have numerous, and copious libraries; the books, says Colonel Symes, "upon divers subjects; more on divinity than on any other; but history, music, medicine, painting, and romance, had their separate treatises."‡

Assamese.

Of the kingdom of Assam we possess not many accounts; but what we have yield evidence to the same effect. In the Alemgeernameh of Mohammed Cazim, is a description of Assam, which has been translated by Henry Vansittart, Esq. and presented to us in several publications. We are there told that the country, at least in many places, is "well inhabited, and in an excellent state of tillage; that it presents, on every side, charming prospects of ploughed fields, harvests, gardens, and groves."§

"As the country is overflowed in the rainy season, a high and broad causeway has been raised, for the convenience of travellers from Salagereh to Ghergong, which is the only uncultivated ground to be seen: each side of this road is planted with shady bamboos, the tops of which meet and are entwined."|| And this is more than seems to have been known in Hindustan, before the improvements introduced by the Mohammedan conquerors.

"The silks are excellent, and resemble those of China. They are successful in embroidering with flowers, and in weaving velvet, and tautband, which is a species of silk of which they make tents and kenauts."**

The bigotted and intolerant Mussulman, however, who finds no excellence

* Symes' Embassy to Ava, ii. 326.—The following, too, are abundantly similar to corresponding features in the character of the Hindus. The Birmans, in some points of their disposition, display the ferocity of barbarians, and in others all the humanity and tenderness of polished life. They inflict the most savage vengeance on their enemies. As invaders, desolation marks their track; for they spare neither sex nor age. But at home they assume a different character. Ibid.

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid. iii. 96.

§ See Description of the Kingdom of Assam, &c. Asiat. An. Register for 1800, Miscellaneous Tracts, p. 43.

|| Ibid. ** Ibid.

where he finds not his faith, discovers no qualities but evil ones in the minds of the Assamese. "They do not adopt," he says, "any mode of worship practised either by heathens or Mahomedans; nor do they concur in any of the known sects, which prevail amongst mankind. They are a base and unprincipled nation, and have no fixed religion; they follow no rule but that of their own inclinations, and make the approbation of their own vicious minds the test of the propriety of their actions."* Such are the distorted views, presented to an ignorant mind through the medium of a dark and malignant religion, of a people cultivating the ground to great perfection, and forming a dense population. Among other strokes of the vileness which he beheld in them, is the following: "The base inhabitants, from a congenial impulse, are fond of seeing and keeping asses, and buy and sell them at a high price."† Yet he speaks in lofty terms of the royal magnificence of the court. "The Rajahs of this country have always raised the crest of pride and vain glory, and displayed an ostentatious appearance of grandeur, and a numerous train of attendants and servants." And he expresses himself with mingled horror and admiration of the prowess and superiority of the Assamese in war. "They have not bowed the head of submission and obedience, nor have they paid tribute or submission to the most powerful monarch; but they have curbed the ambition, and checked the conquests, of the most victorious princes of Hindustan." Several armies from Bengal, which had been sent to conquer them, having been cut off, of some of which scarce even tidings had ever been received, "the natives of Hindustan consider them wizards and magicians, and pronounce the name of that country in all their incantations and counter-charms: they say, that every person who sets his foot there is under the influence of witchcraft, and cannot find the road to return."‡

The ancient Egyptians.

The admiration which the Greeks, no very accurate observers of foreign manners, expressed of the Egyptians, and which other nations have so implicitly borrowed at their hands, not a little resembles the admiration among Europeans which has so long prevailed with regard to the Hindus. The penetrating force of modern intelligence has pierced the cloud; and while it has displayed to us the state of Egyptian civilization in its true colours, exhibits a people who, standing on a level with so many celebrated nations of antiquity, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Arabians, correspond in all the distinctive marks of a particular state of

* See Description of the Kingdom of Assam, &c. Asiat. An. Register for 1800, Miscellaneous Tracts, p. 45.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 47, 48.

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society, with the people of Hindustan. The evidence has been weighed by a cool and dispassionate judge, in the following manner: "I see nothing," says the President Goguet, "in the Egyptians that can serve to distinguish them in a manner very advantageous; I even think myself authorized to refuse them the greatest part of the eulogies that have been always so liberally bestowed upon them. The Egyptians did invent some arts and some sciences, but they never had the ingenuity to bring any of their discoveries to perfection. I have exposed their want of taste, and I venture to say, of talent, in architecture, in sculpture, and in painting. Their manner of practising physic was absurd and ridiculous. The knowledge they had of geometry and astronomy was but very imperfect. Their discoveries are far enough from entering into any comparison with those which the Greeks made afterwards in those two sciences. In fine, the Egyptians have had neither genius, ardour, nor talent, for commerce, or for the marine and military art.

"As to civil laws, and political constitutions, the Egyptians had indeed some very good ones; but otherwise there reigned in their government a multitude of abuses and essential defects, authorized by the laws and by their fundamental principles of government.

"As to the manners and customs of this people, we have seen to what a height indecency and debauchery were carried in their religious feasts and public ceremonies. The public cult which a nation fixes to honour the Deity, bears the stamp of that nation's character. Neither was the morality of the Egyptians extremely pure; we may even affirm, that it offended against the first rules of rectitude and probity. We see that the Egyptians bore the highest blame of covetousness, of ill faith, of cunning, and of roguery.

"It appears to me to result from all these facts, that the Egyptians were a people industrious enough, but, as to the rest, without taste, without genius, without discernment; a people who had only ideas of grandeur ill understood; and whose progress in all the different parts of human knowledge never rose beyond a flat mediocrity; knavish into the bargain, and crafty, soft, lazy, cowardly, and submissive; and who, having performed some exploits to boast of in distant times, were ever after subjected by whoever would undertake to subdue them; a people again, vain and foolish enough to despise other nations without knowing them: Superstitious to excess, singularly addicted to judicial astrology, extravagantly besotted with an absurd and monstrous theology. Does not this representation sufficiently authorize us to say, that all that science, that wisdom,

and that philosophy, so boasted of in the Egyptian priests, was but imposture and juggling, capable of imposing only on people so little enlightened, or so strongly prejudiced, as were anciently the Greeks in favour of the Egyptians."*

The sagacity of Adam Smith induced him, at an early period of his life, to deny the supposed proof of any high attainments among those ancient nations, and to declare, though with hesitancy, his inclination to the opposite opinion.

The existence of despotism a proof of low civilization.

" It was in Greece, and in the Grecian colonies, that the first philosophers of whose doctrine we have any distinct account, appeared. Law and order seem indeed to have been established in the great monarchies of Asia and Egypt, long before they had any footing in Greece: Yet after all that has been said concerning the learning of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, whether there ever was in those nations any thing which deserved the name of science, or whether that despotism which is more destructive of leisure and security than anarchy itself, and which prevailed over all the East, prevented the growth of philosophy, is a question which, for want of monuments, cannot be determined with any degree of precision."† To leave the subject even in this state of doubt was but a com-

* Goguet, Origin of Laws, part iii. book vi. ch. ii. He adds, " I should be greatly tempted to compare this nation with the Chinese. I think a good deal of resemblance and conformity is to be perceived between one people and the other." Ibid. Had the Hindus been then as fully described as they are now, he would have found a much more remarkable similarity between them and the Egyptians.—Exaggeration was long in quitting its hold of Egypt. At the time of the Arabian conquest, in the seventh century, " We may read," (says Gibbon, ix. 446) " in the gravest authors, that Egypt was crowded with 20,000 cities or villages: *that*, exclusive of the Greeks and Arabs, the Copts alone were found, on the assessment, six millions of tributary subjects, or twenty millions of either sex, and of every age: *that* three hundred millions of gold or silver were annually paid to the treasury of the Caliph." He adds in a note, " And this gross lump is swallowed without scruple by d'Herbelot, Arbuthnot, and De Guignes. They might allege the not less extravagant liberality of Appian, in favour of the Ptolemies; an annual income of 185, or near 300 millions of pounds sterling, according as we reckon by the Egyptian or the Alexandrian talent." If this be wonderful, what is to be said of the lumps swallowed by the admirers of the Hindus? Voltaire remarks, " Que les Egyptiens tant vantés pour leurs lois, leurs connaissances, et leurs pyramides, n'avaient presque jamais été qu'un peuple esclave, superstitieux et ignorant, dont tout le merite avait consisté à elever des rangs inutiles de pierres les unes sur les autres par l'ordre de leurs tyrans; qu'en bâtissant leurs palais superbes ils n'avaient jamais su seulement former une voûte; qu'ils ignoraient la coupe de pierres; que toute leur architecture consistait à poser de longues pierres plates sur des piliers sans proportion; que l'ancienne Egypte n'a jamais eu une statue tolerable que de la main des Grecs; que ni les Grecs ni les Romains n'ont jamais daigné traduire un seul livre des Egyptiens; que les elemens de geometrie composés dans Alexandrie le furent par un Grec, etc. etc.... on n'aperçoit dans les lois de l'Egypte que celles d'un peuple très borné." Voltaire, Supplement à l'Essai sur les Mœurs, &c. Remarque Premier.

† Essay on the History of Astronomy, p. 27.

promise with popular opinion, and with his own imperfect views. The circumstances handed down to us, compared with the circumstances of other nations, afforded materials for a very satisfactory determination. The opinion by which he supports his disbelief of the ancient civilization of Asia is at once philanthropic and profound; That " despotism is more destructive of leisure and security, and more adverse to the progress of the human mind, than anarchy itself."

BOOK III.

THE MAHOMEDANS.

CHAP. I.

From the first Invasion of India by the Nations in the North, till the expulsion of the Gaznevide dynasty.

Chap. I.

AT the time when the nations of Europe opened their communication with India, by the Cape of Good Hope, the people whom we have now described had for a number of ages been subject to a race of foreigners. That subjection, though it had not greatly altered the texture of native society, had introduced new forms into some of the principal departments of state; had given the military command to foreigners; and had mixed with the population a proportion of a people differing from them considerably, in manners, character, and religion. The political state of India, at this time, consisted of a Mahomedan government, supported by a Mahomedan force, over a Hindu population.

The Hindus reduced under subjection to the Mahomedans.

It appears that the people of Hindustan have at all times been subject to incursions and conquest, by the nations contiguous to them on the north-west. The Scythians, that is, the rude nations on the east of Persia, conquered, we are told by Justin, a great part of Asia, and even penetrated as far as Egypt, about 1,500 years before Ninus, the founder of the Assyrian monarchy. And we know that in the vast empire of Darius Hystaspes as much of India was included, as constituted one, and that the most valuable, of his twenty satrapies. The exact limits of the Indian satrapy are unknown; but from the account which Herodotus gives of its tribute, far exceeding that of any of the rest, the extent of it cannot have been small. Major Rennel supposes that it may have reached as far as Delhi, and have included the whole of the Punjab, or country watered by the

The north-west provinces of India early subject to a foreign yoke.

Darius Hystaspes.

Book III. five branches of the Indus, together with Cabul, Candahar, and the tract of country which lies along the Indus to the sea.*

Alexander.

The conquests of Alexander the Great, which succeeded to those of the Persian monarchs, seem not to have extended so far in India, as the previous possessions of Darius; since his career was stopped on the banks of the Hyphasis, or modern Beyah, the last of the five branches of the Indus; whence returning to the Hydaspes, he passed down the Indus to the sea. Seleucus, the successor of Alexander in Upper Asia, not only received, but endeavoured to augment, the acquisitions made by that conqueror in India. He gained victories over Sandracottos, the sovereign of a people living on the Ganges. But, as he was recalled to the defence of another part of his dominions against Antigonus, he made peace with the Indian; and the limits established between them are not ascertained.†

Seleucus.

Bactria.

Among the kingdoms formed out of the vast empire of Alexander, by the dissensions of his followers, was Bactria. This district was part of that great range of country on the eastern side of Media and Persia, from the lake Aral to the mouths of the Indus, which the power of the Persian monarchs had added to their extensive dominions. The people of this intermediate region seem to have possessed an intermediate stage of civilization between the Tartar or Scythian tribes which bordered with them on the east, and the people of the Assyrian or Persian empire which was contiguous to them on the west. Among these people there is some reason for believing that the Bactrians were distinguished, and at an early period, by superior progress in the knowledge and other acquirements of civilized men. Among the numerous Zoroasters, with whom Persian story abounds, one is said to have been king of Bactria, cotem-

* Rennel's Geography of Herodotus, p. 305. The Major, who is here puzzled with a mistranslation of 600, for 360, corrects the hyperbolical statement of the amount of the tribute, though he doubts not it was great. Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 94, 95. It is by no means impossible, or perhaps improbable, that Cyrus subdued part of India. Herodotus, who knew India, says that his General, Harpagus, subdued one part of Asia, and he another, παν εθνος καταστρεφομενος, και ουδεν παριεις....... παντα τα της ηπειρου ὑποχειρια εποίησατο. Herodot. lib. i. cap. 147. Justin says that Cyrus, having reduced Asia, and *the East in general*, carried war into Scythia: lib. i. cap. 8. Xenophon says expressly, ηρξε δε και Βακτριων και Ινδων. Cyri Institut. lib. i. cap. i. The Persian historians describe the Persians, in the early ages, as chiefly occupied by wars in Turan and India.

† The notices relating to the conquests of Alexander and his successors in India are collected in Robertson's Disquisition concerning Ancient India, and Gillies' History of the World. Strabo and Arrian are the authorities from whom almost every thing we know of the transactions of the Greeks in India, is borrowed.

porary with Ninus; and to have invented magic; that is, to have been the object of admiration on account of his knowledge. Of the eastern nations added to the subjects of the Persian kings, the Bactrians were the nearest to India, and were only separated from it by that range of mountains, in which the Indus and the Oxus find their respective sources. Bactria as well as India were among the parts of the dominions of Alexander which fell to the share of Seleucus. In the reign, however, of his son or grandson, the governor of the Bactrian province threw off his dependence upon the Seleucidæ; and a separate Greek kingdom was erected in that country, about sixty-nine years after the death of Alexander. The Persian dominions in India seem to have shared the fate of Bactria, and to have fallen into the hands of the same usurper. The Greek sovereigns of Bactria became masters of an extensive empire; and assumed the proud title of *King of Kings;* the distinctive appellation of the Persian monarchs in the zenith of their power. They carried on various wars with India; and extended their conquests into the interior of the country. The limits of their dominions in that direction we have no means of ascertaining. One of those great movements in central or eastern Tartary, which precipitates the eastern barbarians upon the countries of the west, brought an irresistible torrent of that people across the Jaxartes, about 126 years before the Christian era, which, pouring itself out upon Bactria, overwhelmed the Grecian monarchy, after it had lasted nearly 130 years.*

About the same period that the successors of Alexander lost the kingdom of

* A curious history of the Greek kingdom of Bactria has been compiled by Bayer, entitled Historia regni Græcorum Bactriani. In this, and in Strabo, lib. xi. Diod. lib. xv. and Justin, lib. xli. the only remaining memorials of this kingdom are to be found. The progress of the barbarians by whom it was destroyed has been traced by De Guignes, Mem. de Literat. xxv. 17, and Hist. de Huns, *passim.* Herodotus says that those of the Indians, whose mode of life most resembled that of the Bactrians, were the most warlike of all the Indians, (lib. iii. cap. 102) which would seem to indicate a nearer affinity between the Hindus, and their Bactrian neighbours, than is generally supposed. There is some confusion however in this part of Herodotus, nor is it easy to know whether he means the people called Indians on the Euxine Sea, or those beyond the Indus, when he says they were like the Bactrians. He distinguishes them from the Indians living προς νοτου ανεμου, by saying they were contiguous to the city Caspatyrus and the Pactyan territory, and lying προς βορεου ανεμου (lib. iii. cap. 102) but (cap. 93 of the same book) he says that the Pactyan territory is contiguous to Armenia, and the countries on the Euxine Sea. Yet in another place (lib. iv. cap. 44) he says that Scylax setting out from the city Caspatyrus, and the Pactyan territory, sailed down the Indus eastward to the sea. And Rennel places Caspatyrus and Pactya towards the sources of the Indus, about the regions of Cabul and Cashmere. Rennel's Mem. Introd. p. xxiii. Rennel's Herodot. sect. 12.

Book III. 628.

Bactria, the misconduct of a governor in the distant provinces bordering on the Caspian Sea, raised up a military chief who excited the rude and turbulent inhabitants to revolt, and laid the foundation of the Parthian kingdom; a power which soon possessed itself of Media, and finally stripped the descendants of Seleucus of almost all that they possessed from the Tigris eastwards. The rebellion of the Parthians is placed about the year 256 before Christ; and the kings of Syria maintained from that time a struggling and declining existence, till they finally yielded to the power of the Romans, and Syria was erected into a province sixty-four years before the commencement of the Christian era.*

The descendants of the Parthian rebel, known under the title of the Arsacides, held the sceptre of Persia till the year of Christ 226. The possession of empire produced among them, as it usually produces among the princes of the East, a neglect of the duties of government, and subjugation to ease and pleasure; when a popular and enterprising subject, availing himself of the general dissatisfaction, turned the eyes of the nation upon himself, and having dethroned his master, substituted the dynasty of the Sassanides to the house of Arsaces. As usual, the first princes of this line were active and valiant; and their empire extended from the Euphrates to the Jaxartes, and the mountainous ridge which divided the kingdom of Bactria from the Scythians of the East. To what extent their power was carried over the ancient soil of the Hindus, does not appear; but it is more than probable that the territory west of the Indus, from the time when it was first established into a Persian satrapy, in the reign of Darius, owned no more the caste who sprung from the arm of the Creator. Bactria was numbered as one among the four provinces of the great Chosroes, who reigned from the year 531 of the Christian era to the year 571, and was denominated King of Persia and of India. The grandson of Chosroes, who was deposed in 628, may be considered as closing the line of the Sassanides; for, after a few years of tumult and distraction, the irresistible arms of the successors of Mahomet were directed toward Persia, and quickly reduced it under the power of the Caliphs.†

The Sassanides.

* What is known to us from the Greek and Roman authors, of the Parthian empire, is industriously collected in Gillies' Hist. of the World; from the oriental writers by D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. *ad verba* Arschak, Arminiah. See also Gibbon, i. 316.

† In Gibbon, vols. vii. viii. ix. the reader will find a slight sketch, correctly but quaintly given, of this portion of the Persian history. Gibbon's first object unfortunately was to inspire admiration of the writer; to impart knowledge of the subject only his second. The results of the Persian records (if such they may be called) are carefully collected in D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orient. under the several titles.

In the year 632, Caled, the lieutenant of Abubeker, entered Persia. In a few years the standards of the Faithful were carried to the furthest limits of Bactria, and pushing once more the shepherds of the East beyond the Jaxartes, rendered the empire of the Caliphs in that direction conterminous with the Persian monarchy in its proudest days.*

The possession of empire required, as usual, but a few generations to relax the minds of the successors of Mahomet, and render them as unfit as their predecessors for any better use of power, than the unrestrained indulgence of themselves in the pleasures which it commands.

The tribes of Tartar, or Scythian shepherds from the centre of Asia, unsettled, fierce, and warlike, had from the earliest ages proved dangerous and encroaching neighbours to the Eastern provinces of Persia. Pushed beyond the Jaxartes and Imaus, by Cyrus, and the more warlike of the successors of Cyrus, they were ever ready, as soon as the reign of a weak prince enfeebled the powers of government, to make formidable incursions, and generally held possession of the provinces which they over-ran, till a renewal of vigour in the government made them retire within their ancient limits. We are informed by Polybius that a tribe of *Nomades*, or shepherds whom he calls Aspasians, forced their way across the Oxus, and took possession of Hyrcania, even in the reign of Antiochus. We have already seen that a body of Tartars overwhelmed Bactria about 120 years before Christ. And about 100 years subsequent to the Christian era, a portion of the great nation of the Huns, who had been forced by a victorious tribe from their native seat behind the wall of China, penetrated into Sogdiana, the country between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, toward the shores of the Caspian Sea; and there established themselves under the titles of the Euthalites, Nephthalites, and White Huns. After these irruptions, the more vigorous of the princes of the Sassanian dynasty reduced Sogdiana, as well as Bactria, to occasional obedience; but without expelling the new inhabitants, and without acquiring any permanent dominion. In the cultivated provinces in which they settled, the savage Tartars acquired a degree of civilization; and when obliged to yield to the followers of Mahomed, felt so little attachment to their ancient religion, as immediately to recommend themselves to the favour, by adopting the faith, of their conquerors.†

* Gibbon, ix. 364; D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orient. *ad verb.*

† Polyb. Hist. lib. x.; M. de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii.; Gibbon's Roman Empire, iv. 367.

Book III.
813—1000.

The Taherites, Soffarides, and Samanides.

When the government of the Caliphs began to lose its vigour, a tribe of Tartars, originally situated in the Alti mountains, and known by the name of Turks, had acquired extraordinary power. They had in a series of wars subdued the neighbouring tribes, and extended their sway, that species of sway which it is competent to a pasturing people to exercise or to sustain, over a great portion of the Tartars of Asia.* When the military virtues of the Arabians sunk beneath the pleasures which flow from the possession of power, the Caliphs sought to infuse vigour into their effeminate armies, by a mixture of fierce and hardy Turks. Adventurers of that nation were raised to the command of armies, and of provinces; and a guard of Turkish soldiers was appointed to surround the person of the monarch. When weakness was felt at the centre of the empire; the usurpation of independence by the governors of the distant provinces was a natural result. The first, by whom this resolution was adopted, was Taher, Governor of Chorasan, the province extending from the Caspian Sea to the Oxus. He and his posterity, under the title of Taherites, enjoyed sovereignty in that province from the year 813 to the year 872. The son of a brazier, called in Arabian Soffar, who rose (a common occurrence in the East) through the different stages of military adventure, to be the head and captain of an army, supplanted the Taherites, and substituted his own family, called from their origin Soffarides, in the government of Chorasan and Transoxiana. The Soffarides were displaced by a similar adventurer, who established the house of the Samanides, after a period, according to the varying accounts, of either 34 or 57 years, from the elevation of the Brazier. The Samanides are celebrated by the Persian historians for their love of justice and learning; they extended their sway over the eastern provinces of Persia, from the Jaxartes to the Indus, and reigned till after the year 1000 of the Christian era.†

The Taherites, the Soffarides, and Samanides usurped only the eastern provinces of the empire of the Caliphs, the provinces which, being the nearest to the turbulent and warlike tribes of shepherds, and most exposed to their incursions, were of the least importance to the sovereigns of Persia. Three adventurers, brothers, called, from the name of their father, the Bowides, rose to power in the provinces extending westward from Chorasan, along the shores of the Caspian

* The rise and progress of the power of the Turkish horde may be collected from Abulghazi, Hist. Genealogique des Tatars; De Guignes, Hist. des Huns; and D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. Mr. Gibbon, vii. 284, throws a glance at the leading facts.

† See D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. *ad verb. Thaher, Soffar,* et *Saman;* Gibbon, x. 80; De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, i. 404—406.

sea, about the year 315 of the Hegira, or 927 of Christ. This dynasty consisted of seventeen successive and powerful princes, who reigned till the year 1056. They conquered the provinces of Gilan, Mazenderan, Erak, Fars, Kerman, Khosistan, Ahvaz, Tabarestan, and Georgian; and rendered themselves masters of the Caliphs, to whom they left only a shadow of authority.*

The Ghaznevides.

About the year of Christ 967, Subuctagi, a servant of the Samanides, was appointed governor of the Indian province of Candahar, or Ghazna, as it is called by the Persian writers; from the name of the capital Ghizni. Having raised himself from the condition of a Turkish slave to such a degree of power as made it dangerous to recall him from his government, he left it to his son Mahmood, who asserted his independence; and founded the dynasty of the Ghaznevides. Mahmood subverted the throne of the Samanides, reduced to a shadow the power of the Bowides, and reigned from the Tigris to the Jaxartes. He also made extensive conquests towards the south; and as he was the first who in that direction bore the crescent beyond the furthest limits of the Persian empire, and laid the foundation of the Mahomedan thrones in India, we are now arrived at the period when the Mahomedan history of India begins.†

Mahmood.

The northern provinces of India, Cabul, Candahar, Multan, and the Punjab, appear, from the days of Darius Hystaspes, to have followed the destiny of Bactria, Chorasan, and Transoxiana, the eastern appendages of Persia, and, excepting some short intervals, to have been always subject to a foreign yoke. Even the White Huns, who established themselves in Sogdiana, on the river Oxus, and in Bactria, about the end of the first century of the Christian era, advanced into India, and in the second century were masters as far as Larice or Guzerat.‡ Mahmood was already master of the dominions of the Samanides, and of all the eastern provinces that had occasionally owned allegiance to the Persian throne; when he first, says the Persian historian, "turned his face to India." This expedition, of which the year 1000 of the Christian era is assigned as the date, seems to have been solely intended to confirm or restore the obedience of the governors who had submitted to his father, or been accustomed to obey the masters of eastern Persia; and few of its particulars have been thought worthy of

Invades India.

* D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. *ad verb.* Buiah.

† D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. *ad verb.* Sebecteghen, Mahmoud, Gaznaviah; Ferishta, by Dow, i. 41, 2d Ed. in 4to.

‡ The origin and progress of the Indo-Scythæ are traced in D'Anville sur l'Inde, p. 18, 45, and 69, &c. His authorities are drawn from Dionys. Perieget. 1088, with the Commentary of Eustathius, and Cosmas, Topograph. Christ. lib. ix.

Book III. 1004—1011.

record. He renewed his invasion the succeeding year; and proceeded so far as to alarm a prince who reigned at Lahore; a city, on one of the most eastern branches of the Indus, which gave its name to a small kingdom. This prince, called by the Persian historians Jeipal, or Gepal, met him, with his whole army, and was defeated. It was, according to the same historians, a custom or law of the Hindus, that a prince, twice defeated by Mahomedan arms, was unworthy to reign; and as this misfortune had happened to Jeipal, who had formerly yielded to Subuctagi, he resigned the throne to his son Anundpaul, and burnt himself alive in solemn state.*

In the year 1004 Mahmood again marched into India to chastise, for defect of duty, a tributary prince on the Indus. His presence was still more urgently required the following year; when the king of Multan revolted, and was joined by Anundpaul. Mahmood was met by Anundpaul as he was descending through the pass in the intervening mountains. Anundpaul was conquered and obliged to fly into Cashmere; when the king of Multan endeavoured, by submission, to save what he could. As Mahmood had received intelligence that a body of Tartars had invaded his northern provinces, he was the more easily softened; and leaving Zab Sais, a Hindu who had embraced the Mahomedan religion, his lieutenant, or governor in India, marched to repel the invaders.†

During this expedition against the Tartars, Zab Sais revolted; resumed the Brahminical faith; and was on the point of being joined by a confederacy of Rajahs, or Hindu sovereigns, when Mahmood hastened back to India, took Zab Sais unprepared, and made him prisoner for life; after which, the season being far advanced, he returned to Ghizni. Early, however, in the following spring, some movements of Anundpaul recalled him to India, when the princes of Oogeen, Gualior, Callinger, Kanoge, Delhi, Ajmere, the Guickwars, and others, joined their forces to oppose him. A general battle was fought, in which the Ghiznian monarch prevailed. He then reduced the fort of Nagracote or Nagarcote; and, having plundered the temple of its riches, very great, as we are told, returned to his capital. As the king of Multan still continued refractory, Mahmood returned to that province in the following year, and, taking the Rajah prisoner, carried him to Ghizni, where he confined him for life.‡

"In the year 402,§ the passion of war," says the historian, "fermenting in

* Ferishta, (apud Dow, Hist. of Hindost. i. 40—42;) D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. *adverb.* Mahmoud.

† Ferishta, ut supra, p. 42—44; D'Herbelot, ut supra.

‡ Ferishta, ut supra, p. 47—50; D'Herbelot, ut supra.

§ Viz. of the Hegira; 1011 A.D.

1018.

the mind of Mahmood," he resolved upon the conquest of Tannasar or Tahnesir, a city about thirty coss north-west from Delhi; the seat of a considerable government; famous for its sanctity and subservience to the Brahmenical religion. Having taken Tannasar, and demolished the idols, he marched to Delhi; which he quickly reduced; and thence returned with vast riches.*

Two years afterwards, he drove from his dominion the king of Lahore, and overran Cashmere, compelling the inhabitants to acknowledge the prophet.

In the beginning of the year 1018, the Sultan (Mahmood was the first on whom that title was bestowed) with a large army, raised chiefly among the tribes who possessed, or bordered upon, the northern provinces of his empire, marched against Kanoge, the capital of a kingdom, situated on the Ganges, about 100 miles south-east from Delhi.† "From the time of Gustasp, the father of Darab, to this period, this city (says the Persian historian) had not been visited by any foreign enemy; three months were necessary to complete the march between this kingdom and the capital of Mahmood; and seven mighty streams rushed across the intervening space." The conqueror having with much difficulty forced a passage through the mountains, by the way of Cashmere, arrived at Kanoge, before the Rajah was prepared for resistance. Placing his only hopes in submission, he threw himself upon the mercy of the invader. The magnitude and grandeur of the city is celebrated in poetic strains by the Persian historians. Mahmood, remaining but three days, proceeded against a neighbouring prince, inhabiting a city called Merat; thence to another city, on the Jumna, named Mavin, and next to Muttra, which is still a city of considerable extent, at a small distance from Agra. This last city was full of temples and idols, which Mahmood plundered and destroyed; and from which, according to the usual story, he obtained incredible treasure. Several other forts and Rajahs being subdued, Mahmood returned from his eighth expedition into India, laden, we are told, with riches; and began to adorn and improve his capital. He built a mosque, so beautiful and magnificent, that it was called the *Celestial Bride*, and "struck every beholder with astonishment and pleasure. In the neighbourhood of this mosque he founded an university, which he furnished with a vast collection of curious books, in various languages; and with natural and artificial curiosities. He appropriated a sufficient fund for the maintenance of the stu-

* Ferishta, ut supra, p. 51—53; D'Herbelot, ut supra.

† It may be necessary once for all to state, that in this sketch of Mahomedan history, the distances are given generally as in the native historians. Their very inaccuracies (here they do not mislead) are sources of information.

Book III. 1024.

dents, and the learned men who were appointed to instruct the youth in the sciences." *

Mahmood's ninth expedition in 1021, was for the purpose of protecting the Rajah of Kanoge, who now held the rank of one of his dependants. The Rajah of Callinger, a city in the province of Bundelchund, situated on one of the rivers which fall into the Jumna, was the most guilty of the assailants. As the Rajah avoided Mahmood in the field, he plundered and laid waste the country, and, this done, returned to his capital.

Here he had not reposed many days, when he was informed that two districts on the borders of Hindustan refused to acknowledge the true prophet, and continued the worship of lions. † The zeal of the religious sultan immediately took fire. Having speedily brought to reason the disrespectful provinces he marched to Lahore, which he gave up to pillage. According to custom, it afforded enormous riches. Mahomedan governors were established in this and several other districts of Hindustan.

The twelfth expedition of the Ghiznian monarch was undertaken in the year 1024. He had heard not only of the great riches and supposed sanctity of the temple of Sumnaut, but of the presumption of its priests, who had boasted that other places had yielded to the power of Mahmood, by reason of their impiety; but if he dared to approach Sumnaut, he would assuredly meet the reward of his temerity. Mahmood, having arrived at Multan, gave orders to his army to provide themselves with water and other necessaries for crossing a desert of several days' march, which lay between this city and Ajmere. The Rajah and people of Ajmere abandoned the place at his approach. They were invited to return, and experience the clemency of the victor; but not complying, beheld their country desolated with fire and sword. Arrived at Sumnaut, which was a strong castle, situated on the promontory of Guzerat, near the city of Diu, ‡ washed on three sides by the sea, Mahmood met with a more serious resistance than any which he had yet encountered in Hindustan. Not only did the priests

* D'Herbelot, ut supra; Ferishta, p. 56—60. Ferishta says, that the taste of the sovereign for architecture being followed by his nobles, Ghizni soon became the *finest* city in the East, Ibid. p. 60. So that the grandeur, and riches, and beauty, he so lavishly ascribes to some of the Hindu cities, get an object of comparison, which enables us to reduce them to their true dimensions. The architecture of the Mahomedans was superior to that of the Hindus.

† This incorrect expression, which refers to the fourth avatar, shows the carelessness and ignorance of Ferishta and the Persian historians, in regard to the Brahmenical faith.

‡ D'Herbelot, misled by some of the Persian historians, makes Sumnaut the same with the city of Visiapore in Deccan. Biblioth. Orient. *ad verbum* Soumenat.

1028.

and guardians of the temple defend it with all the obstinacy of enthusiasm and despair; but a large army collected in the surrounding kingdoms was brought to its defence. Having triumphed over all resistance, the religious sultan entered the temple. Filled with indignation at sight of the gigantic idol, he aimed a blow at its head, with his iron mace. The nose was struck from its face. In vehement trepidation the Brahmens crowded around, and offered millions,* to spare the god. The Omrahs dazzled with the ransom ventured to counsel acceptance. Mahmood, crying out that he valued the title of breaker, not seller of idols, gave orders to proceed with the work of destruction. At the next blow, the belly of the idol burst open: and forth issued a vast treasure of diamonds, rubies, and pearls; rewarding the holy perseverance of Mahmood, and explaining the devout liberality of the Brahmens. After this Mahmood took vengeance on the rajahs who had confederated to defend the temple, and reduced all Guzerat to his obedience. It is said that he was so captivated with the beauty of the country, the richness of the soil, and the salubrity of the climate, that he conceived the design of making it the place of his residence, and resigning Ghizni to one of his sons. Diverted from this design by the counsels of his friends, he placed a Hindu governor over the province, and after an absence of two years and six months returned to Ghizni. A people whom the translator of Ferishta calls the Jits, afterwards better known under the name of Jaats, who inhabited part of the country bordering on the Indus, southward from Multan, either failed in respect, or gave molestation, as he marched from Guzerat. Returning in the same year to chastise them, he defeated 4,000 or 8,000 (so wide are the accounts) of their boats, launched on the river to defend an island to which, as the place of greatest safety, they had conveyed the most valuable of their effects, and the most cherished of their people.† This was the last of the exploits of Mahmood in India, who died at Ghizni in the year 1028. Mahmood, the son of Subuctagi the Turkish slave, is one of the most celebrated of eastern princes. He was supposed to possess in the highest perfection almost every royal virtue. He patronized learning, and encouraged the resort of learned men. Ferdosi, the author of the Shah Namah, the most celebrated poem of the East, was entertained at his court.

* Ferishta says "some crores of gold." Dow says in a note, at the bottom of the page, "ten millions," which is the explanation of the word crore. Mr. Gibbon says rashly and carelessly, that the sum offered by the Brahmens was *ten millions sterling*. Decl. and Fall, x. 337.

† Ferishta *apud* Dow, Mahmood I.; D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Mahmoud.

Book III. 1028—1035. Musaood.

After a short contest between Mahommed and Musaood, the sons of Mahmood, Musaood mounted the throne of Ghizni, and the eyes of Mahommed were put out. Musaood entered India three times, during the nine years of his reign; and left the boundaries of the Ghaznevide dominions there in the situation nearly in which he received them. His first incursion was in the year 1032, when he penetrated by the way of Cashmere; and his only memorable exploit was the capture of the fort of Sursutti, which commanded the pass. In 1034, he sent an army which chastised a disobedient viceroy. And in 1035, he marched in person to reduce Sewalik, a kingdom or rajahship lying at the bottom of the mountains near the place where the Ganges descends upon the Indian plains. He assailed the capital, of great imputed strength; took it in six days; and found in it incredible riches. From this he proceeded against the fort of Sunput, a place about forty miles distant from Delhi on the road to Lahore, the governor of which abandoned it upon his approach, and fled into the woods. He proposed to march against another prince, called Ram; but Ram, understanding his intentions, endeavoured to divert the storm, by gifts and compliments, and had the good fortune to succeed. Musaood was recalled from India to oppose an enemy, destined to render short the splendour of the house of Ghizni.

During several centuries, the movements westward of the hordes of Turkmans had been accumulating that people upon the barriers of the Persian empire. In the reign of Mahmood, three brothers, sons of Seljuk, solicited permission to pass the Oxus, with their flocks and herds, and to enjoy the unoccupied pastures of Chorasan. Mahmood, disregarding the advice of his best counsellors, granted their request. The example once set, the number of Tartars in Transoxiana and Chorasan continually increased. During the vigilant and vigorous reign of Mahmood, the Turks behaved so much like peaceable subjects, that no complaint against them seems to have been raised. But in the days of his son and successor Musaood, the inhabitants of Chorasan and Transoxiana complained that they were oppressed by the strangers, and Musaood at last resolved to drive them back from his dominions. Togrul Beg, however, the son of Michael, the son of Seljuk, offered himself as a leader and a bond of union to the Turks; opposed Musaood; triumphed over him in the field; rendered himself master of the northern provinces of his empire, and established the dynasty of the Seljukides. Having baffled the power of the Sultan of Ghizni, Togrul found nothing remaining to oppose to him any serious resistance, from

the Oxus to the Euphrates; he extinguished the remaining sparks of the power of the Bowides; and took the Caliph under his protection. Togrul was succeeded by his nephew Alp Arslan, and the latter by his son Malek Shah; both celebrated warriors, who pushed the limits of their empire beyond the Euphrates and the Jaxartes, and made deep inroads upon the Roman provinces and the Tartar plains. The provinces of Zabulistan or Candahar, of Segistan or Seistan, and Cabul, with the provinces in India beyond the Hydaspes, were all that at last remained to the Ghaznevides.

Musaood returning from the defeat which, deserted by his troops, he had sustained at the hand of the Turkmans; and hastening to India to recruit his forces, was deposed by a mutiny in the army, and his brother Mahommed, whose eyes he had put out, was placed upon the throne. Modood, the son of Musaood, who had been left by his father with an army at Balke marched against Mahommed, whom he dethroned. Modood made some efforts against the Seljukians, and for a time recovered Transoxiana. But the feebleness and distraction now apparent in the empire of the Ghaznevides encouraged the Rajah of Delhi, in concert with some other rajahs, to hazard an insurrection. They reduced Tannasar, Hassi the capital of Sewalik, and even the fort of Nagracote. The Rajahs of the Punjab endeavoured to recover their independence; and the Mahommedan dominion was threatened with destruction.

In the year 1049 Modood died; and a rapid change of princes succeeded, violently raised to the throne, and violently tumbled down from it. His son Musaood, a child of four years old, was set up by one general; and after a nominal reign of six days, gave place to Ali, the brother of Modood, who was supported by another. Ali reigned about two years, when he was dethroned by Abdul Reshid, his uncle, son of the great Mahmood. Tugril, governor of Segistan, rebelled against Reshid, and slew him after reigning one year. Tugril himself was assassinated after he had enjoyed his usurpation but forty days. Feroch-Zaad, a yet surviving son of Musaood, was then raised to the throne, who, dying after a peaceable reign of six years, was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim.

Ibrahim reigned a period of no less than forty-two years. After he had terminated his disputes with the dangerous Seljukians, by resigning to them all the provinces they had usurped of the Ghaznevide empire, he directed his ambition towards India. An army which he dispatched into that country is said to have reduced to his obedience many places which had not yet yielded to the Moslem Ibrahim.

Book III. 1080.

arms. In the year 1080, he marched in person; and by the successful attack of several places of strength, added the territory they protected to his dominions.* Against the house of Seljuk, now reigning over Persia, Chorasan, and Bucharia, the latter comprehending the ancient provinces or kingdoms of Bactria, Sogdiana, and Transoxiana, he found protection chiefly by intermarriages and alliance.

Ibrahim was succeeded by his son Musaood, who enjoyed a peaceable reign of sixteen years. With the exception of one expedition, under one of his generals, who penetrated beyond the Ganges, India remained unmolested by his arms. But as the Indian provinces now formed the chief portion of his dominions, Lahore became the principal seat of his government.

His son Shere, says the Persian historian, "placed his foot on the imperial throne;" but within a year was assassinated by his brother Arsilla. Byram, one of the brothers of Arsilla, made his escape; and fled to the governor of Chorasan, who was brother to the king of Persia, and to his own, and Arsilla's mother. By the assistance of this prince, his uncle, who marched with an army to his support, he dethroned Arsilla, and assumed the reins of government, which had been held by the usurper for three years.

Byram.

Byram, or Bahram, was twice called into India, by the disobedience of the governor of Lahore, who aspired to independence. But he had no sooner settled this disturbance, than he was called to oppose the governor of another of his provinces, whose rebellion was attended with more fatal consequences. A range of mountainous country, known by the name of the mountains of Gaur, occupies the space between the province of Chorasan and Bactria on the west and north, and the provinces of Segistan, Candahar, and Cabul on the south. The mountaineers of this district, a wild and warlike race, had hardly ever paid more than a nominal obedience to the sovereigns of Persia. The district, however, had been included in the dominions of the Sultans of Ghizni; and had not yet been detached by the Seljukian encroachments. In the days of Byram, a descendant of the ancient princes of the country, Souri by name, was governor of the province. Finding himself possessed of power to aim at independence, he raised an army of Afghauns, such is the name (famous in the history of India) by which the mountaineers of Gaur are distinguished, and chased Byram from his capital of Ghizni. Byram, however,

* Ferishta mentions a city to which he came (the place not intelligibly marked,) the inhabitants of which came originally from Chorasan, having been banished thither with their families, for rebellion, by an ancient Persian king. See Ferishta, Dow, i. 117.

1184.

having collected and recruited his army, marched against his enemy, and aided by his subjects of Ghizni, who deceived and betrayed their new master, gained a complete victory, and put the Gaurian to a cruel death. The power which he gained was but of short duration. Alla, the brother of Souri, who succeeded him in his usurped dominion, hastened to repair his loss. Byram was defeated in a decisive battle, and fled towards India; but sunk under his misfortunes, and expired, after a languid, but gentle reign of thirty-five years.

Chusero.

He was succeeded by his son Chusero, who withdrew to India, and made Lahore his capital. This prince cherished the hopes of recovering the lost dominions of his house from the Gaurian usurper, by aid from his kinsman, the king of Persia; and collected an army for that purpose; but at this moment a fresh horde of Turkman Tartars rushed upon the Persian provinces, and inundated even Cabul and Candahar, from which the Gaurians were obliged to retire. The Turks, after two years' possession, were expelled by the Gaurians. The Gaurians were again defeated by the arms of Chusero, and yielded up the temporary possession of Ghizni to its former masters. Chusero continued to reside at Lahore, and, having died after a reign of seven years, was succeeded by his son Chusero the Second.

Fall of the Ghaznevides.

Mahommed, brother to the Gaurian usurper, pursued the same ambitious career. He soon rendered himself master of the kingdom of Ghizni or Candahar; and not satisfied with that success, penetrated even into India; over-ran Multan, with the provinces on both sides of the Indus; and advanced as far as Lahore. After an uninteresting struggle of a few years, Chusero was subdued; and in the year 1184 the sceptre was transferred from the house of Ghizni to the house of Gaur. The same era which was marked by the fall of the Ghaznevides, was distinguished by the reduction of the house of Seljuk. The weakness and effeminacy which, after the vigour and ability of the founders of a new dynasty, uniformly takes place among the princes their successors, having relaxed the springs of the Seljukian government, the subordinate governors threw off their dependence; and a small portion of the dominions of Malek now owned the authority of Togril his descendant.

CHAP. II.

From the Commencement of the first Gaurian Dynasty to that of the second Gaurian or Afghaun Dynasty.

Book III.
1190.
Mahomed.

MAHOMED left the government of India, after the defeat and death of Chusero, in the hands of a viceroy, and returned to Ghizni. After an absence of five years, he marched towards Ajmere; and, having taken the city of Tiberhind, is said to have been on his way back, when he heard that the Rajahs of Ajmere and Delhi, with others in confederacy, were advancing with a large army to relieve the city which he had just taken and left. He turned and met them a little beyond Tannasar. Having incautiously allowed his army to be surrounded by superior numbers, he was defeated, and, being severely wounded, escaped with great difficulty from the field of battle. He took such measures as the moment allowed to secure his provinces and forts, and hastened to Gaur.

After little more than a year, he was prepared to return to India with a formidable army of Turks, Persians, and Afghauns. The combined Rajahs had consumed their time in the siege of Tiberhind, which had resisted them for one year and one month. No fewer, it is said, than 150 kings, with their armies, amounting, by "the lowest and most moderate account, to 300,000 horse, 3,000 elephants, and a great body of infantry," met him on the former field of battle. The Rajahs sent him an insulting proposal, that he might be permitted to march back unmolested, if he had the prudence to decline the combat. Mahomed had learned wisdom from experience. Sending an humble answer, that he was only the servant of his brother, bound to execute his commands; and praying for time to learn the will of his master, he filled the Rajahs, and their enormous camp, with an ill-grounded and intemperate presumption. While they were spending the night in revelling and joy, Mahomed crossed the river with his army, and fell upon them before the alarm was spread. The extent of the camp was so great, that a part of the army had time to form itself and advance to cover the flight. Mahomed immediately drew off his troops to meet them. Forming a strong reserve of his chosen horse, he ordered the rest of his army, drawn up in four lines, to receive the enemy calmly. The first line, having discharged its missile weapons, was made to withdraw to the rear; the

next, coming in front, discharged in like manner its weapons, and in like manner gave place to another. By this stratagem were the enemy held in play, "till the sun was approaching the west," when Mahomed, placing himself at the head of his reserve, rushed upon the fatigued and now presumptuous multitude; who were immediately thrown into the greatest disorder, and "recoiled, like a troubled torrent, from the bloody plain."

Shortly after this event Mahomed returned to Ghizni, leaving the fruits of the victory to be gathered and secured by his favourite General Cuttub. The events of this man's life, though far from strange in the East, involved extraordinary changes of condition and fortune. In his childhood, he was brought from Turkestan to Nishapore, the capital of Chorasan, and there sold for a slave. It happened that the master by whom he was bought had the disposition to give him education, and that the quickness of his parts enabled him to profit by this advantage. The death of his patron, however, exposed him once more to the chance of the market; which fortunately assigned him to Mahomed the Gaurian. His intelligence and assiduity attracted in time the notice of the Prince. He advanced by gradual accessions of favour, till he rose to be Master of the Horse. Even misfortune, though he lost a detachment of men, and was taken prisoner by the enemy, did not lose him the kindness of Mahomed; or interrupt the career of his promotion.

Cuttub improved, with diligence and ability, the advantages which his master had gained in India. He reduced the surrounding districts; took the fort of Merat; and invested Delhi. The garrison ventured to meet him in the field. He vanquished them; and, surmounting all opposition, obtained possession of the place.

Mahomed returned to India in 1193. Cuttub was received with the highest marks of distinction; and being honoured to command the van of the army, he conquered the Rajah of Benares; where Mahomed destroyed innumerable idols, and obtained, of course, incalculable riches. The whole country submitted, to the confines of Bengal.

Upon the return of Mahomed to Ghizni, Cuttub was declared his adopted son, and confirmed in the government of India. By various expeditions, he chastised repeatedly the refractory Rajahs of Ajmere and Guzerat; took the cities of Calinger and Kalpy, with their respective territories; and at last made himself master of the forts of Biana and Gualior.

In the year 1202, Mahomed was excited to try his fortune for a share in the dismemberment of the Seljukian empire. Among the provinces of which the

Book III. 1206. governors had thrown off their dependance upon the Seljukian princes, that of Karisme, on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea, had risen to the rank of an independent kingdom, under a race of princes known by the name of the Karismian dynasty. Against Tacash, the reigning sovereign of this kingdom, Mahomed led an army. But Osman, a Tartar chief, who had assumed the rank of sovereign, in another part of Transoxiana, and had Samarcand for his capital, marched to the assistance of Tacash; Mahomed sustained a total defeat; and was fain, by a great ransom, to purchase return to his own country. Intelligence of his defeat was to his servants the signal for revolt. His slave Ildecuz, having assumed supremacy in his capital of Ghizni, refused him admittance. He continued his route to Multan, where another of his servants took arms against him. Being joined by many of his friends, he gave the traitor battle, and obtained the victory. He next collected such of his troops as were in the contiguous provinces of India, and marched back to Ghizni, where the rebellious slave was delivered up by the inhabitants.

At the same time with the other rebellious attempts to which his defeat by the Karismians had given birth, a tribe of Indians inhabiting the country about the sources of the Indus, from the Nilab or western branch of that river, upwards to the Sewalic mountains, called by the Persian historian Gickers, and by him described as a people excessively rude and barbarous, who put their female children to death, attempted the recovery of their independence, and proceeded towards Lahore. Mahomed had no sooner recovered his capital than he marched against them; and Cuttub at the same time advancing from Delhi, they were attacked on both sides, and speedily subdued. Mahomed was returning to Ghizni, when he was murdered in his tent by two Gickers, who penetrated thither in the night.

Cuttub. The death of Mahomed, who left no children, produced a contest for the succession, and a division of the empire. Mamood, his nephew, retained Gaur, of which he was governor. Eldoze, another governor, took possession of Candahar and Cabul; and Cuttub claimed the sovereignty of India. Eldoze marched against him; but was met and conquered. Cuttub, following up his victory, proceeded to Ghizni, where he was crowned. He now resigned himself to sloth and indulgence. Eldoze, who had retired to Kirma, his former province, obtained intelligence of this degeneracy, and of the disgust to which it had given birth. He raised an army, and surprised Cuttub, who withdrew to India; and made no effort for the recovery of Ghizni; but is celebrated for having governed his Indian dominions with great justice and moderation. During his adminis-

tration, Bahar and Bengal were added to the Mahomedan dominions.* He died only four years after the death of Mahomed, in 1210. Tacash, the Karismian, who had extended his sway over almost the whole of Persia, shortly after marched against Eldoze, and added Ghizni, with all the possessions of the Gaurides, as far as the Indus, to his extensive empire.

Cuttub was succeeded by his son Aram; who proved unequal to the task of reigning. Multan and Sind were seized upon by one chief; Bengal by another; and in almost every province the standard of revolt was raised or preparing to be raised; when the Omrahs of Delhi invited Altumsh, the son-in-law of Cuttub, and governor of Budaoon, now the country of the Rohillas, to ascend the throne. The reign of Aram scarcely completed a year.

Altumsh.

Altumsh, like Cuttub, had been a slave from Tartary; but, being remarkable for the beauty of his person, was thought by his master worthy of a good education. He was sold to Cuttub for a large sum, and appointed master of the chase. He rapidly made his way to great favour; was at last married to the daughter of his sovereign; and declared his adopted son.

Altumsh ascended not the throne in perfect tranquillity. Several of Cuttub's generals aspired to improve their fortune by resistance; and Eldoze, being driven from Ghizni by the arms of the Karismian monarch, made an effort to procure for himself a sceptre in India. But Altumsh prevailed over all his opponents; and reigned from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Ganges.

This prince died in 1235, and was succeeded by his son Feroze; who appearing a weak and dissolute prince, subservient to the cruel passions of his mother, was soon deposed; and Sultana Rizia, the eldest daughter of Altumsh, was raised to the throne.

Sultana Rizia.

It is a rare combination of circumstances which, in the East, places sovereign power in the hands of a woman. Rizia possessed manly talents and great virtues. The idea, however, of the weakness of her sex encouraged the presumption of her deputies in the various provinces. She contended with success against more than one rebellious and usurping governor. But her difficulties continually increased; and at last a combination of the Omrahs set up her brother Byram, as a competitor for the throne. She was still able to meet the rebels with an army. But the Turkish or Tartarian mercenaries in her brother's pay were an overmatch for her Indian troops. She was conquered and put to death, after a reign of three years and six months.

* Hist. of Bengal, by Charles Stewart, Esq. sect. iii.

Book III. 1250. Byram II.

Byram the second, nursed in pleasure, and a stranger to control, was a weak, imprudent prince. The jealousies which he felt towards the great men in his court, he sought to relieve by assassination. His vizir, having escaped an intended blow, found means to regain his confidence; and being placed at the head of an army against the Moguls, he matured the dissatisfaction of the Omrahs, and, turning the army of Byram against himself, dethroned and killed him, about two years after he had ascended the throne.

It was during this reign that the Moguls, destined to erect in India the greatest empire it had ever seen, first penetrated into that country. Gingis, the chief of a tribe of Tartars, distinguished by the name of Moguls, who roamed with their flocks and herds on the northern side of the wall of China, formed, by talents and good fortune, one of those combinations, among different tribes of Tartars, which more than once within the period of history had been witnessed before; and never without extensive revolutions and conquests. Partly by force, partly by intimidation, partly by hopes of sharing in the advantages of conquest, Gingis, about the year 1210, was acknowledged as Khan, by all the shepherd hordes from the wall of China to the Volga. The presumption and pride of two such elevated neighbours as the emperor of China, and the new sovereign of Tartary, could not fail to kindle the flames of war. Innumerable squadrons of Tartars surmounted the unavailing rampart which the Chinese had in former ages raised to exclude them. Pekin was taken; and the northern provinces of China were added to the empire of Gingis.

About the same time a quarrel arose on the opposite confines of the Khan. Mahomed was now king of Karisme, which from a revolted province had grown into the seat of a great empire, extending from the borders of Arabia to those of Turkestan. The monarch of so many provinces, which prided themselves in their riches and the acquirements of civilized life, made light, it seems, of the power of him who ruled over multitudes indeed, but of men who had no riches except their cattle, and no cities except their camps. An injury done to some of the subjects of Gingis, for which all reparation was haughtily refused, first drew upon western Asia the fury of his arms. Mahomed crossed the Jaxartes to meet his enemy in the plains of Turkestan, with no less, it is said, than four hundred thousand men. But these were encountered by seven hundred thousand Tartars, under Gingis and his sons, who in the first battle, which was suspended by the night, laid one hundred and sixty thousand Karismians dead upon the field.

After this fatal blow, Mahomed expected to arrest the progress of the victor,

by throwing his troops into the frontier towns. But the arms of Gingis were irresistible; the places of greatest strength were obliged to surrender; and Karisme, Transoxiana, and Chorasan, soon acknowledged the sovereignty of the Mogul. He was withdrawn by the wishes of his troops from the further prosecution of his conquests in the West, and died in the year 1227; but left sons and grandsons to copy the deeds of their progenitor. In the year 1258, the conquest of Persia was consummated; and the last remains of the power of the Caliphs and Seljukians, trampled in the dust.

It was but an incursion which, in the year 1242, the Moguls, during the reign of Byram II., made into India. They plundered the country as far as Lahore, and then retreated to Ghizni.

Musaood.

Upon the fall of Byram, the men in power thought proper to take from his prison Musaood, the son of Feroze, the late king, and set him upon the throne. In the second year of his reign, an army of Mogul Tartars made a descent into Bengal, by the way, says Ferishta, of Chitta and Tibet.* They met, we are told, with a total defeat. On the following year, however, another army of the same people crossed the Indus; but Musaood marching against them in force, they were pleased to retire. Musaood, however, in a reign of four years had disgusted his nobles by his vices; and made them bold by his weakness. They combined to call Mamood his uncle to the throne, and Musaood was thrown into prison for life.

Mamood II.

Mamood II., upon the death of his father Altumsh, had been consigned to a prison; but there exhibited some firmness of mind, by supporting himself with the fruits of his industry, in copying books; while he often remarked that "he who could not work for his bread did not deserve it." He was released by his predecessor Musaood, and received the government of a province; in which he acted with so much vigour and prudence, that the fame of his administration recommended him to the Omrahs, as the fittest person to cover, with his power and authority, their rebellious enterprise.

* This fact; the passage of an army from Tartary, through Tibet into Bengal (if real) is of no small importance. Ferishta gives us no further intelligence of the place; and it is in vain to inquire. Chitta may perhaps correspond with Kitta or Kitay, or Catay, which is one of the names of China, but is also applied by the Persian historians to many parts of Tartary; to the country, for example, of the Igoors; to the kingdom of Koten, south from Cashgar, &c. See D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. articles *Igurs, Cara Calhai, Tarikh Khatha, Kholan.*—Mr. Stewart, (See Hist. of Bengal, p. 62) says that the invasion which is here spoken of by Ferishta was an invasion of Orissians only, not of Moguls.

Book III.
1265.

The infirm administration of the preceding princes had introduced much disorder into the kingdom. The tribes of Hindus, known by the name of Gickers, a more active and enterprising race than the general body of their countrymen, had been guilty of many acts of insubordination and violence, toward the Mahomedan government and people, in the provinces near the Indus. One of the first enterprises of Mamood, was to chastise this people; many thousands of whom he carried away into captivity. Of the Omrahs, who had received *jagheers*, or estates in land, many declined or refused to furnish their quota of troops for the army; though it was for the maintenance of those troops, that the estates, says Ferishta, were given. The chiefs who infringed this condition were carried prisoners to Delhi; and their sons, or other relations, gifted with the estate. Some places of strength in the country lying between the Jumna and the Ganges, were taken. A governor on the Indus, who had rebelled, was reduced to obedience and received into favour. Shere, the king's nephew, viceroy of Lahore and Multan, expelled the Moguls from Ghizni, and once more annexed that kingdom to the Indian part of the Gaurian empire. Mamood fell into the error of disgusting his Omrahs, by pampering a favourite; but recovered his authority by sacrificing, with a good grace, the author of his danger. A fresh army of the Moguls crossed the Indus in the year 1257; but retired upon the approach of Mamood. In the following year, an ambassador, from Hallacu, the grandson of Gingis, who had just completed the conquest of Persia, arrived at Delhi. The grandest possible display of the power and wealth of the empire seems to have been studied upon this occasion. To meet the representative of the conqueror before whom Asia trembled, the vizir went out at the head of 50,000 foreign horse, two hundred thousand infantry in arms, two thousand elephants of war, and three thousand carriages of fireworks. With this magnificent escort, the ambassador was conducted to the royal presence; all the officers, dignitaries, and dependants of the empire, in gorgeous attire, surrounding the throne. This appears to have been a message of peace; since nothing of importance occurred, till the death of the Shah, which happened in the year 1265.

This prince carried to the throne that contempt of pleasure and show, and that simplicity of manners, which he had learned in his adversity. "Contrary," says Ferishta, "to the custom of princes, he kept no concubines. He had but one wife, whom he obliged to do every homely part of housewifery; and when she complained one day, that she had burned her fingers in baking his bread, desiring he would allow her a maid to assist her, he rejected her request, with saying—that he was only a trustee for the state, and that he was determined not

to burthen it with needless expences. He therefore exhorted her to persevere in her duty with patience, and God would reward her in the end.—As the emperor of India never eats in public, his table was rather that of a hermit, than suitable to a great king. He also continued the whimsical notion of living by his pen. One day, as an Omrah was inspecting a Coran, of the emperor's writing, before him, he pointed out a word, which he said was wrong. The king, looking at it, smiled, and drew a circle round it. But when the critic was gone, he began to erase the circle and restore the word. This being observed by one of his old attendants, he begged to know his Majesty's reason for so doing; to which he replied, that he knew the word was originally right, but he thought it better to erase from a paper, than to touch the heart of a poor man, by bringing him to shame."

Mamood died without leaving any sons; and his vizir, Balin, who even in his life time engrossed the principal share of power, without opposition mounted the throne. Balin was originally a Turk, of Chitta, of the tribe of Alberi. He was taken, when very young, by the Moguls who over-ran his country, and sold to a slave-merchant who carried him to Bagdat. The master into whose hands he fell, learning that he was a relation of Altumsh, who then reigned at Delhi, proceeded with him to that city, and presented him to the monarch, who received him gladly, and liberally rewarded his conductor. Balin.

A brother of Balin had already made his way to the court of Delhi, and was considerably advanced in the road of favour and power. The young adventurer improved his advantages; and rapidly ascended the ladder of promotion. He took an active part in all the revolutions which placed so many successors on the throne. In the reign of Musaood he was raised to the dignity of lord of requests; and in that of Mahmood obtained the vizarit.

The reign of Balin was severe; but vigilant, clear-sighted, and consistent. He punished disobedience with rapidity and cruelty; but he distinguished talents with care, and rewarded services with discernment and generosity. The fame of his government made his alliance be courted, even by the Mogul sovereigns who reigned over Tartary and Persia.

"He expelled," says Ferishta, "all flatterers, usurers, pimps, and players, from his court; and being one day told, that an Omrah, an old servant of the crown, who had acquired a vast fortune by usury and monopoly in the bazaar or market would present him with some lacks of rupees, if he would honour him with one word from the throne; he rejected the proposal with great disdain, and said, What must his subjects think of a king who should condescend to hold dis-

Book III. 1270.

course with a wretch so infamous." As freedom of bargain respecting interest on loans is exceptionable on principles of superstition alone, Balin was possibly mistaken in his instance, without being incorrect in his rule. The association of the king with persons infamous by their vices, sheds moral depravity among the people, except in that proportion exactly in which it sheds contempt upon the throne.

The generosity of Balin made his court the resort and asylum of the various princes, whom the arms of Gingis and his successsors had rendered fugitives from their kingdoms. More than twenty of these unfortunate sovereigns, from Tartary, Transoxiana, Chorasan, Persia, Irac, Azarbijan, Persia proper, Roum, and Syria, among whom were two princes of the race of the Caliphs, had allowances assigned them from the revenues of Balin, with palaces, which took their names from their possessors; and were on all public occasions admitted to the presence and throne of their benefactor. The most learned men from all Asia, accompanying their respective princes, or seeking the same asylum, were assembled at Delhi. "And the court of India," says the historian, "was, in the days of Balin, reckoned the most polite and magnificent in the world. All the philosophers, poets, and divines, formed a society every night, at the house of the prince Shehid, the heir apparent to the empire. Another society of musicians, dancers, mimicks, players, buffoons, and story-tellers, was constantly convened at the house of the emperor's second son Kera, who was given to pleasure and levity. The Omrahs followed the example of their superiors, so that various societies and clubs were formed in every quarter of the city."

The hills to the south-east of Delhi were inhabited by Hindus, who acted the part of banditti and plunderers; and advanced, in numbers resembling an army, sometimes to the very walls of the capital. Balin ordered operations against them; and they were massacred without mercy. The soldiers, who carried hatchets for the purpose, cut down, to the distance of one hundred miles, the woods to which the robbers retired. The cleared space proved excellent land; and was speedily peopled; the inhabitants being protected from the mountaineers by a line of forts, erected at the bottom of the hills.

The Shah gave considerable employment to his army, in bridling the wild inhabitants of the mountains, near the centre of his dominions; but he rejected the advice of his counsellors, to regain the distant provinces of Malwa and Guzerat, which had asserted their independence from the time of Cuttub; wisely observing, that the cloud of Moguls, now gathered on his northern frontier, presented an object of more serious and anxious regard.

His accomplished and philosophical son, Mahomed Shehid, was appointed viceroy of the northern provinces, to hold in check those dangerous neighbours. And he assembled around him the men, most eminent for thought or action, whom the Asiatic world at that time contained.

State of Persia.

Argunu, the grandson of Hallacu, who subdued Persia, and the fourth in descent from Gingis, now filled the throne of Persia; and another descendant of that renowned conqueror, by name Timur, ruled over the eastern provinces from Chorasan to the Indus. In revenge for some former checks, as well as desire for extension of empire, Timur invaded India with a large army in 1283. They were met by the Indian prince, and battle was joined. Both leaders displayed the talents of great generals; but Mahomed at last prevailed, and the Moguls betook themselves to flight. Mahomed joined in the pursuit. He had just halted in order to return; when, with only five hundred attendants, he was surprised by a party of the enemy; and, being overpowered by superior numbers, was slain defending himself to the last. The army and the empire were filled with grief at his fall.

While the son was engaged in his arduous defence of the empire against the Moguls, the father was employed in subduing a dangerous rebellion in Bengal. Tughril, governor of that rich and powerful province, had executed an expedition against the rajahs of Jagenagur, a province bounded on the north by Bengal, and on the east by Orissa. Succeeding, and obtaining great treasure, he began to feel himself too great for a subject; delayed remitting the Emperor's share of the plunder; and hearing that Balin was sick, and too ill to survive, raised the red umbrella, and assumed the title of king. Balin ordered the Governor of Oude to assume the office of Subahdar of Bengal, and, with an army which he committed to his command, to march against the rebel. The new Subahdar was defeated; and Balin was so enraged that he bit his own flesh, and commanded the general to be hanged at the gate of Oude. Another of his generals whom he sent to wipe off this disgrace had no better success; when Balin, deeply affected, resolved to take the field in person. Tughril, hearing of his approach, thought proper to elude the storm, by retiring. He intended to remain in Jagenagur, till the return of the Shah; and then to resume the command of the province. With some difficulty Balin procured intelligence of his route. An exploring party, at last, discovered and surprised his camp, when Tughril fled and was killed. Balin inflicted sanguinary punishment on his adherents.

But the death of his great and hopeful son was a blow to the heart of Balin, to which no success could yield a remedy. Oppressed, at once, with grief, with

Book III. 1285.

business, and with old age (he was now in his eightieth year), he languished for a short time, and expired; appointing his grandson, by the deceased Mahomed, his successor. Kera,* however, the second son of Balin, was governor of Bengal, the most affluent province of the empire; and the Omrahs, respecting his present power, more than the will of their deceased master, raised his son Kei Kobad to the throne.

Kei Kobad.

Kei Kobad was in his eighteenth year, handsome in his person, of an affable and mild disposition, and not slightly tinctured with literature. His mother was a beautiful princess, daughter of the emperor Altumsh. "He delighted," says his historian, "in love, and in the soft society of silver-bodied damsels with musky tresses." He adds; "When it was publicly known that the king was a man of pleasure, it became immediately fashionable at court; and, in short, in a few days, luxury and vice so prevailed, that every shade was filled with ladies of pleasure, and every street rung with music and mirth. The king fitted up a palace at Kilogurry, upon the banks of the river Jumna; and retired thither to enjoy his pleasures undisturbed, admitting no company but singers, players, musicians, and buffoons."

The father of Kei Kobad remained contented with his government of Bengal. But Nizam ul Dien, who became the favourite minister of the young Shah, conceived hopes, from the negligence of his master, of paving for himself a way to the throne. He proceeded to remove the persons whose pretensions were likely to obstruct his career. The many acts of cruelty and perfidy, of which he was the cause, shed discredit upon the government. The father of Kei Kobad saw the danger; and forewarned his son. But the prince could not attend to business, without sacrificing pleasure. He found it, therefore, more agreeable, to repose upon the minister, and neglected the advice. Kera, alarmed for his own fate, as well as that of his son, thought it adviseable to second his advice with his presence, and his presence with an army. This was construed an act of hostility; and the Shah marched out from Delhi, at the head of an army, to oppose his father. The father, either conscious of his inferiority in point of strength, or unwilling to proceed to the last extremity, requested an interview. This was dreaded by the minister, who endeavoured to blow up the vanity and presumption of the young monarch to such a pitch, that he might hear of nothing but a battle. Kera was not easy to be repulsed; and renewed his application, by a letter, full of parental expostulation and tenderness. The heart of the young

* Ferishta. Mr. Stewart says, that in his MSS. the name is Bagora.

prince was corrupted, but not yet thoroughly depraved. He could not resist the letter of his father; and Nizam, no longer able to defeat the interview by direct, endeavoured to elude it by artificial means. He prevailed upon the prince, as sovereign, to insist upon the first interview; in hopes, that Kera would refuse. Kera was not a slave to points of ceremony; and readily consented to repair to the imperial camp; where the son was prepared to display his insolence at even his father's expense. The throne was set out with the greatest pomp and ceremony; and Kei Kobad ascending, commanded that his father should three times kiss the ground. At the first door, the aged prince was ordered to dismount; and when he came in sight of the throne to perform the abject obeisance of the east; the mace-bearer at the same time calling out, according to custom, "The noble Kera to the king of the world sends health!" The father, whose heart was full, was no longer able to restrain his tears. Upon sight of his father in tears, the young prince forgot his insolence, and rushing from the throne, threw himself upon his face at his father's feet, and implored his forgiveness.*

The presence and admonitions of Kera made an impression upon the mind of Kei Kobad, which it was too soft to retain. "When he arrived at Delhi," says Ferishta, "the advice of his father, for a few days, seemed to take root in his mind. But his reformation was not the interest of the minister." He accordingly plied him with pleasure in all the shapes in which it was known to have the greatest influence on his mind. The most beautiful and accomplished women whom it was possible to procure were made to present themselves to him at all the most accessible moments, and invention was exhausted to find an endless variety of modes to surprise and captivate the prince with new combinations of charms. The most exquisite musicians, dancers, players, buffoons, were collected to fill up the intervals left vacant by love.

The hatred, however, which the success, the presumption, and insolence of the minister had engendered in his fellow courtiers; or the suspicions and fears which, at last, though tardily, were excited in the breast of the sovereign, cut short the days and the machinations of Nizam ul Dien. He was taken off by poison. The authority of the king did not long survive. His intemperance in the haram brought on a stroke of palsy; which disabled him in one side, and distorted his countenance. All attention was then absorbed by the scramble for power. Every Omrah of popularity set up his pretensions. The friends of the royal family brought out the son of Kei Kobad, a child of three years old, and

* Mr. Stewart has greatly softened the account of the insolence of Kei Kobad.

Book III. 1289.

set him upon the throne. He was supported by the Tartars; a body of whom, as mercenaries, were generally kept by the Indian sovereigns whom they became the common instruments of setting up and pulling down. On the present occasion, the Tartars had a formidable body of competitors. Of the Afghauns, or mountaineers of Gaur and Ghirgistan, on the frontiers of Persia, a tribe named Chilligi * made war and depredation their business; and usually, in great numbers, served, as mercenaries, any power which chose to employ them. An adventurer of this tribe, of the name of Mallek, who subsisted by his sword, rose to distinction in the army of Balin; and left his talents and his fortune to his son Feroze, who, at the time of the illness of Kei Kobad, was one of the chief Omrahs, and commanded a province. He was joined by the Chilligi mercenaries, who attacked, and cut to pieces the Tartars. There was no longer any obstruction. Kei Kobad was killed upon his bed after a reign of little more than three years. Such was the termination of the Gaurian, or rather of the first Gaurian dynasty; and such the commencement of the Afghaun, or second Gaurian dynasty, in the year 1289. At the time of this revolution, Cubla, the grandson of Gingis, sat on the throne of Tartary and China; another of his descendants on that of Persia; and a third possessed a kingdom in Transoxiana, and those provinces to the north-west of the Indus, which constituted the original dominions of the house of Ghizni.

End of the first Gaurian dynasty.

* It is written Khuliji by Major Stewart.

CHAP. III.

From the Commencement of the second Gaurian Dynasty, to the Commencement of the Mogul Dynasty.

FEROZE was seventy years of age when he became the master of the kingdom. He was a man of intelligence; and though guilty of cruelty and injustice in acquiring or establishing his throne, he sought to distinguish himself by the justice, and also the popularity, of his administration. "For that purpose," says his historian, "he gave great encouragement to the learned of that age; who, in return, offered the incense of flattery at the altar of his fame." CHAP. III. 1289. Feroze.

Chidju, however, a prince of the royal blood, nephew of the late Balin, and a nabob or governor of a province, obtained the alliance of several chiefs, and marched with an army towards Delhi. Feroze placed himself at the head of his army, and sent forward his son with the Chilligi cavalry. The prince encountered the enemy, and obtaining an advantage, took several Omrahs prisoners, whom he mounted upon camels with branches hung round their necks. When Feroze beheld them in this state of humiliation, he ordered them to be unbound, gave a change of raiment to each, and set an entertainment before them; repeating the verse, "That evil for evil it was easy to return; but he only was great who could return good for evil." In a few days Chidju was taken prisoner, and sent to the king; but instead of death, which he expected, received a pardon, and was sent to reside at Multan on a handsome appointment for life. To the Omrahs of the Chilligi, displeased at so much lenity, Feroze replied, "My friends, I am now an old man, and I wish to go down to the grave without shedding blood."

The mind of this prince, however, did not, it seems, distinguish sufficiently between lenity and relaxation. The police of the empire was neglected; and robbery, murder, insurrection, ever ready to break loose in India, diffused insecurity over the nation. The Omrahs of the Chilligi "began," says Ferishta, "to lengthen the tongue of reproach against their sovereign." The design was conceived of raising one of themselves to the throne; the project was even dis-

Book III. 1291.

cussed at an entertainment, at which they were assembled; but one of the company privately withdrew and informed the emperor, who immediately ordered them to be arrested and brought before him. It occurred to one of them to represent the affair as a drunken frolic, and the words as the suggestion of intoxication. The prince was pleased to accept the apology; and dismissed them with a rebuke. He was not so lenient to a Dirvesh, or professor of piety, who by the appearance of great sanctity, and by the distribution of great liberalities to the poor, the source of which no one could discover, acquired immense popularity; and on this foundation aspired, or was accused of aspiring, to the throne. Though little or no evidence appeared against him he was cruelly put to death.

With his expiring breath, the holy Dirvesh cursed Feroze and his posterity; nature was thrown into convulsions upon the death of the saint; and from that hour the fortunes of Feroze were observed to decline. His eldest son was afflicted with insanity which no power of medicine could remove. Factions and rebellions disturbed his administration. In the year 1291, Hindustan was invaded by a prince of the house of Gingis, at the head of 100,000 Moguls; and though Feroze engaged them, and obtained the advantage, he was glad to stipulate for the departure of the invaders by consenting to let them retreat unmolested.

First Mahomedan invasion of Deccan.

In this reign occurred an event of great importance in the history of Hindustan; the first invasion of the Deccan by Mahomedan arms. Deccan means the south; and is applied in a general manner to the kingdoms and districts included in the southern portion of India. It does not appear that the application of the name was ever precisely fixed. It has been commonly spoken of as indicating the country south of the Nerbudda river, which falls into the Gulf of Cambay at Baroach; but as the Patan or Mogul sovereignties hardly extended beyond the river Kistna, it is only the country between those two rivers which in the language of India commonly passes under the name of Deccan.

Alla, the nephew of Feroze, was Nabob or Governor of Corah, one of the districts in the Doab, or country lying between the Ganges and Jumna. Having distinguished himself in a warfare with some rajahs who bordered on his province, he was gratified by the addition to his government of the province of Oude. His first success appears to have suggested further enterprise. He solicited and obtained the consent of Feroze to extend his empire over the Hindus. Having collected such an army as his resources allowed, he marched directly, by the shortest route, against Ramdeo, one of the rajahs of Deccan, whose capital

was Deogur, now Dowlatabad.* Alla met with no inconsiderable resistance; but finally prevailed; and exacted heavy contributions (exalted by the pen of Oriental history into incredible sums) as the price of his return. He retreated many days through several hostile and populous kingdoms; the governments of which were too weak or too stupid to offer any obstruction to his march. CHAP. III. 1298.

Feroze was not without uneasiness upon intelligence of the ambitious adventure of Alla; and of the great addition to his power which the vastness of his plunder implied. He rejected, however, the advice of his wisest counsellors to take previous measures for the securing of his authority and power; and resolved to repose on the fidelity of his nephew. He was even so weak as to permit Alla, on feigned pretences, to entice him to Corah, where he was barbarously assassinated, having reigned only seven years and some months.

Alla made haste to get into his power the family of Feroze; of whom all who were the objects of any apprehension were unrelentingly murdered; and the rest confined. He had scarcely time, however, to settle the affairs of his government, when he learned that the Mogul sovereign of Transoxiana had invaded the Punjab with an army of 100,000 men. An army, commanded by his brother, was sent to expel them. A battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Lahore, in which the Indians were victorious, and the Moguls retreated. The successful general was sent into Guzerat, which he quickly reduced to the obedience of the Shah. Alla.

The Moguls returned the following year in much greater force; and marched even to the walls of Delhi, to which they laid siege. Alla at last collected his army, and gave them battle. Though his success was not decisive, the Moguls thought proper to retreat.

The king's arbitrary maxims of government, and the odious manner in which he arrived at the supreme command, engendered disaffection; and during the first years of his reign he was harassed by perpetual insurrections and rebellions. He applied himself, however, with industry and intelligence, to the business of government; and though his administration was severe and oppressive, it was regular and vigorous, securing justice and protection to the body of the people. His education had been so neglected that he could neither read nor write; but

* Written Deogire, by Col. Wilks, and declared to be the Tagara of Ptolemy. The author of the Tibcat Nasiri says, that Alla left Corah on pretence of a hunting party, and passing through the territories of many petty rajahs, too feeble to think of opposing him, he came upon Ramdeo by surprise. Ferishta, i. 231. The proofs of the division and subdivision of India into a great number of petty states, meet us at every step in its authentic history.

Book III. 1306.

feeling the disadvantages under which his ignorance laid him, he had firmness of mind to set about the work of his own instruction even upon the throne; acquired the inestimable faculties of reading and writing; made himself acquainted with the best authors in the Persian language; invited learned men to his court; and delighted in their conversation.

In 1303, he projected another expedition into Deccan by the way of Bengal, but was recalled by a fresh invasion of the Moguls of Transoxiana; who advanced as far as Delhi, but retreated without sustaining a battle. After their departure, he resolved, by an augmentation of his army, to leave himself nothing to fear from that audacious enemy. But reflecting that his revenues were unequal to so great a burden, he resolved to reduce the soldiers' pay. Reflecting again, that this would be dangerous, while the price of articles continued the same, he ordered all prices to be reduced a half; by that means, says Ferishta, with an ignorance too often matched in more instructed countries, "just doubling his treasures and revenue." The Moguls were not discouraged by frequency of repulse. The armies of the king of Transoxiana twice invaded Hindustan in 1305, and were twice defeated by Tughlic, the general of Alla.

In the following year the design against Deccan was renewed, and prosecuted with greater resources. Cafoor, a slave and eunuch, his favourite, and, it was said, the instrument of his pleasures, was placed at the head of a grand army, and marched towards the south. He first "subdued the country of the Mahrattors,* which he divided among his Omrahs" and then proceeded to the seige of Deogur. Ramdeo endeavoured to make his peace by submission; and having agreed to pay a visit to the emperor at Delhi, and to hold his territories as a dependency, he was dismissed with magnificent presents, and his dominions were enlarged.

The division of Deccan, known by the name of Telingana, is supposed to have extended, along the eastern coast, from the neighbourhood of Cicacole on the north, to that of Pulicat on the south; and to have been separated on the west from the country known by the name of Maharashtra, or by contraction Mahratta, by a line passing near Beder, and at some distance east of Dowlutabad, to the river Tapti. †

* This is the first mention which we find of any of the tribes to whom the term Mahrattor, or Mahratta, is applied, by the Moslem historians. From this statement, we can only conjecture, that some district in Deccan, inhabited by the description of Hindus to whom this name was applied, was overran, and nominally parcelled out by Cafoor.

† Wilks, Hist. of Mysore, p. 6.

Alla was on his march against the Rajah of Warunkul, one of the princes of this district, in 1303, when he was recalled by another invasion of the Moguls. He made, indeed, a part of his army proceed in the expedition, for the purpose of reducing the fort of Warunkul, a place of great strength, and, by repute, of immense riches; but the project failed. In 1307, Cafoor was ordered to march into Telingana by the way of Deoghur, and lay seize to Warunkul. Warunkul was taken by assault, after a siege of some months.* The Rajah made his peace, by sacrificing largely to the avarice of his conquerors, and accepting the condition of a tribute.

The more Alla tasted of the plunder of Deccan, the more he thirsted for additional draughts. In 1310, Cafoor was sent on a more distant expedition. He marched by Deoghur; and penetrating as far as Carnatic, took the Rajah prisoner and ravaged his kingdom. According to the historians, he returned with such wealth as no country ever yielded to a predatory invader.† Nor did he remain long at Delhi before he persuaded the Shah to send him once more into Deccan; where he ravaged several countries, and sent the plunder to Alla. This prince had ruined his constitution by intemperance in the seraglio; and felt his health in rapid decline. He sent for Cafoor from Deccan, and complained to him of the undutiful behaviour of his wife and his son. Cafoor, whose eyes had already turned themselves with longing to the throne, contemplated the displeasure of the emperor against his family as a means for realizing his most extravagant hopes. He prevailed upon Alla to throw his two eldest sons, and their mother, into prison; and to put to death several of the chiefs by whom his pretensions were most likely to be opposed. When things were in this train, Alla expired in the year 1316, in the twenty-first year of his reign.

The time was not yet come when Cafoor deemed it expedient to declare himself king. He produced a testament, genuine or spurious, of the late prince, in which he appointed Omar, his youngest son, then seven years of age, his successor, and Cafoor regent. The first act of Cafoor's administration was to put out the eyes of the two eldest of the sons of Alla: But there was a third, Mubarick, who escaped, till a conspiracy of the foot guards put the regent to death, only thirty-five days after the decease of his master. The reins of

Mubarick.

* The neighbouring Rajahs, says Ferishta, hastened to the assistance of the Rajah of Warunkul; another proof of the division into petty sovereignties.

† Besides several *chests*, of jewels, pearls, and other precious things, the gold alone amounted to about one hundred millions sterling. Colonel Dow thinks this not at all incredible: Hist. of Hindost. i. 276: and Col. Wilks (Hist. of Mysore, p. 11) seems to have little objection.

Book III. 1321. government were immediately put into the hands of Mubarick; but he thought proper to act in the name of his young brother, already upon the throne, for the space of two months, till he had gained the Omrahs. He then claimed his birth-right; deposed his brother; according to the Asiatic custom, put out his eyes; and sent him for life to the fort of Gualior.

Mubarick was a man of vicious inclinations, and mean understanding. He for a moment sought popularity, by remitting the more oppressive of the taxes, and relaxing the reins of government; but the last so injudiciously, that disorder and depredation overran the country.

The reduction of the revolted Guzerat was one of the first measures of Mubarick. The enterprise, being entrusted to an officer of abilities, was successfully performed.

The Rajahs in the Deccan yielded a reluctant obedience; which, presuming on their distance, they imagined they might now, without much danger, suspend. Mubarick, in the second year of his reign, raised a great army, and marched to Deoghur; where not finding much resistance, he did little more than display his cruelty, in the punishment of those, who, charged with enmity or disobedience, fell into his hands.

Among the favourites of Mubarick was Hassen, formerly a slave, and according to Ferishta, the son of a seller of rags in Guzerat. This man was an instrument of the pleasures of the Shah; and upon his accession to the throne had been honoured with the title of Chusero, and raised to the office of vizir. Finding nothing more to perform in the region of Deoghur, Mubarick placed Chusero at the head of a part of the army, and sent him on an expedition against Malabar, while he himself returned with the remainder to Delhi.

The vices of Mubarick, and of his government, became daily more odious. He was the slave of every species of intemperance, and void of every humane or manly quality, which could procure the indulgence of mankind to his faults. Conspiracy succeeded conspiracy, and one insurrection another; till Chusero, beholding the contempt in which his master was held, believed he might shed his blood with safety, and place himself upon his throne. The reputation and plunder derived from the success of his expedition to Malabar,* had added greatly to his power. He made use of his influence over the mind of the emperor to fill with his creatures the chief places both in the army and the state. In the year

* According to Wilks, what is here called Malabar was not the district which is now called by that name, but the hilly belt along the summit of the Ghauts, from Soonda to Coorg. Hist. of Mysore, p. 10.

1321, he conceived himself prepared for the blow; when in one night Mubarick and his sons were destroyed. CHAP. III. 1323.

On mounting the throne Chusero assumed the title of Nasir ul dien, or defender of religion; a cause which has seldom been associated with that of government, except for the purpose of covering its abuses; and Chusero, it seems, was aware that for his government such a covering was required. Chusero.

He put to death, without remorse, a great multitude of persons in the service of Mubarick; all those from whom he imagined that he had any thing to fear; and distributed the offices of government among his creatures. "The army," says Ferishta, "loved nothing better than a revolution; for they had always, upon such an occasion, a donation of six months' pay immediately advanced from the treasury:" so exactly does military despotism resemble itself, on the banks of the Tiber, and those of the Ganges.

But though Chusero met with no opposition in ascending the throne; he did not long enjoy his kingdom in peace.

Ghazi was governor of Lahore; and though, for the sake of securing him to his interests, Chusero had bestowed high office and rank upon his son Jonah, Jonah made his escape from Delhi, and joined his father at Lahore.

Ghazi dispatched circular letters to the Omrahs; exerted himself to raise forces; and was joined by several of the viceroys with their troops. Chusero dispatched an army to subdue the rebellion; but the soldiers of Ghazi were hardened by frequent wars with the Moguls; those of Chusero were enervated by the debauchery of the city. They were broken at the first onset; and the confederates marched with expedition to the capital. Chusero was ready to receive them with another army. Though betrayed and deserted in the action by a part of his troops, he maintained the conflict till night; when he made a fruitless endeavour to fly with a few of his friends. Deserted by his attendants, and dragged from his lurking place, he met the fate which he would have bestowed.

The Omrahs hastened to pay their respects to the victor; and the magistrates of Delhi presented to him the keys. Mounting his horse, he entered the city, and arriving at the gates of the palace, he addressed the people. "O ye subjects of this great empire! I am no more than one of you, who unsheathed my sword to deliver you from oppression, and rid the world of a monster. If, therefore any of the royal line remains, let him be brought, that we, his servants, may prostrate ourselves before his throne. If not; let the most worthy of the illustrious order be elected among you, and I shall swear to abide by your choice." But the people cried out, with vehemence, that none of the royal family remained

Book III. 1323. alive; and that he, who had protected the empire from the Moguls, and delivered it from the tyrant, was the most worthy to reign. He was then seized, and by a sort of violence placed upon the throne; the people hailing him "King of the World."

Tuglick. Tuglick is the name, by which the new emperor chose to be distinguished. It was the name of his father, who is understood to have been a slave in the service of Balin. His mother was of the tribe of Jaats.

After appointing the instruments of his government, the first care of Tuglick was to secure his northern frontier against the formidable incursions of the Moguls; and so judiciously did he station his force, and erect his forts, that he was not once molested by those invaders during his reign.

This being accomplished, he sent his son Jonah into the Deccan to chastise the Rajah of Warunkul, who, during the late disorders, "had withdrawn his neck from the yoke of obedience." Jonah, with the usual ease, hardly meeting with any resistance, over-ran the Hindu kingdoms; leaving every where behind him the cruel marks of imperial vengeance and avarice. After a few efforts in the field, the Rajah of Warunkul shut himself up in his strong-hold, and was besieged. From the strength of the place, the siege was a work of time; during which sickness, and along with sickness, desire to return, and from that desire opposed, disaffection, spread themselves in the Mahomedan army. Several of the Omrahs withdrew with their troops; when the Prince, no longer able to continue the siege, retreated first to Deoghur, and thence to Delhi. The army was recruited with great expedition, and he marched again in a few months towards Warunkul, which soon yielded to his arms. Many thousands of the Hindus were put to the sword; and the Rajah and his family were sent to Delhi. Appointing Omrahs to the government of Telingana, he marched against Cuttack, where he gained some advantages, and then returned by the way of Warunkul to Delhi.

Tuglick, receiving complaints of great oppression against his officers in Bengal, appointed Jonah governor of Delhi, and marched toward that province with an army. Nazir, the grandson of the emperor Balin, had possessed the viceroyalty of Bengal, since the death of his father. He advanced to meet the Emperor with submission and presents; and was confirmed in his government. Jonah, with the nobles of Delhi, went out to meet his father with rejoicings upon his return. A wooden house was hastily erected to entertain him. When the entertainment was concluded, and the emperor was about to proceed, the Omrahs hurrying out to be in readiness to attend him, the roof suddenly fell in, and

crushed him with several of his attendants; whether by the contrivance of Jonah, by the fault of the building, or a stroke of lightning, was variously conjectured and believed. He reigned but four years and some months, with the reputation of a wise and excellent prince.

Mahomed III.

Jonah mounted the throne by the title of Mahomed III.; and began his reign with acts of liberality and beneficence. He distributed profuse gifts, and made magnificent appointments. This prince was a compound of heterogeneous qualities. He was generous to profusion; a lover of literature, in which he had made considerable acquirements; he was not only temperate but austere in his manner of life, and an attentive performer of acts of religion; he had no regard, however to justice, or to humanity; he was cruel and vindictive as a man; oppressive and tyrannical as a ruler. His plans proceeded on the supposition, that the happiness or misery of his subjects was a matter of indifference; and when their disaffection began to afford him uneasiness, their misery seemed to become an object of preference and a source of gratification. He displayed however no contemptible talents in supporting himself against the hatred and detestation of mankind.

Immediately upon his accession he directed his attention to the further subjugation of the Deccan; but more, it would appear, with a view to plunder than to permanent dominion. His generals appear to have over-run a large portion of its more accessible parts. He reduced the Carnatic; and in the hyperbolical language of Ferishta, spread his conquests to the extremity of the Deccan, and from sea to sea.

He adopted frantic schemes of ambition. He raised an army for the conquest of the kingdom of Transoxiana and Chorasan, and another for the subjugation of China. Previous to the grand expedition against China, 100,000 horse were sent to explore the route through the mountains, and to establish forts to the confines of China. The horse did, we are told, penetrate to the frontiers of China, but were met with an army which they durst not oppose; and the rains, covering with water the roads and the plains, obstructed their retreat. They perished through fatigue, famine, and disease; and scarcely a man survived to describe the disaster. The inaccurate and uninstructive genius of Oriental history gives us no information respecting the track which this ill-fated army pursued.

The expense of Mahomed's government led him to oppress his subjects by increase of taxes. To this great cause of misery and discontent, he added others by injudicious schemes of finance. " The King," says Ferishta, " unfor-

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tunately for his people, adopted his ideas upon currency, from a Chinese custom of using paper upon the emperor's credit, with the royal seal appended, for ready money. Mahomed, instead of paper, struck a copper coin, which, being issued at an imaginary value, he made current by a decree throughout Hindustan.' This produced so much confusion and misery, and so completely obstructed the collection of the revenue, that Mahomed was obliged to recall his debased coin; and individuals acquired immense fortunes by the ruin of many thousands, the general misery of the people, and the impoverishment of the sovereign.

Being called into Deccan, to suppress an insurrection raised by his nephew, whom he ordered to be flead alive, and in that condition carried, a horrid spectacle, around the city; he took a fancy to the situation of Deoghur, resolved to make it his capital, by the name of Dowlatabad, and to remove thither the inhabitants of Delhi. This caprice he carried into execution; unmoved by the calamities that were to fall upon the individuals; and unable to foresee the alienation in the minds of men to which the sight and the reports of so much unnecessary evil must of necessity expose him. "The emperor's orders," says the historian, "were strictly complied with, and the ancient capital left desolate."

The provinces, one after another, began now to rebel. The Governor of Multan set the example. Scarcely was he subdued when Bengal broke into insurrection. This too the vigour of Mahomed quickly reduced. He was thence summoned by disturbances in Telingana, where he lost great part of his army, by a plague, then raging at Warunkul. But what, to the mind of Mahomed, was of more importance than the lives of half the inhabitants of Hindustan; he himself was afflicted with the tooth-ach. He even lost a tooth. This he commanded to be buried with solemn pomp, and a magnificent tomb was erected over it.

Calamity in every shape assailed the wretched subjects of Mahomed. Such was the excess of taxation, that in many parts, particularly in the fertile country between the Jumna and the Ganges, the cultivators fled from their fields and houses, and preferred a life of plunder and rapine in the woods. From this, and from unfavourable seasons, famine raged about Delhi, and the neighbouring provinces; and multitudes of people perished from want. A chief of the Afghauns came down from the mountains, and plundered the province of Multan. The fierce tribes of Hindus, called by Ferishta Gickers, were combined by a leader, and ravaged the Punjab and Lahore.

Mahomed, struck at last with the calamities of his reign, had recourse to

religion for a cure. He sent a splendid embassy to Mecca, that, his coronation being confirmed by the successor of the prophet, the blessing of Heaven might rest upon his throne.

The Rajahs of Telingana and the Carnatic formed a confederacy; and within a few months expelled the Mahomedans from every place in the Deccan, except Dowlatabad.

Even the Viceroy of Oude rebelled. But the Emperor, marching against him with expedition, brought him quickly to his feet. Contrary to his usual practice, Mahomed pardoned the offender, and even restored him to his government; declaring that he would not believe in his guilt; and ascribing his transgression to a temporary delusion, which the malice and falsehood of others had produced.

An effort was made to regain what had been lost in Deccan, and governors and troops were dispatched to the different districts; who in the way of plunder performed considerable feats. But in the mean time disturbances of a new description broke out in Guzerat. Of the mercenary troops, composed of Tartars, Afghauns, and other hardy races from the North, in which consisted a great proportion of the armies of the Mahomedan emperors of Hindustan, a considerable number, during some ages, had been Moguls. Of these it would appear that a considerable body had been sent to keep in check the turbulent inhabitants of Guzerat. They began now to commit depredations, and to set the power of Mahomed at defiance. Mahomed resolved to punish and extirpate them. The presence of the emperor, and their fears made them withdraw from Guzerat; but they retired into Deccan; and took Dowlatabad by surprise. Mahomed allowed them little time to make an establishment. They ventured to meet him in battle; when they were partly slain and partly dispersed. Before he could take the city; fresh disturbances arose in Guzerat. Leaving an Omrah to push the reduction of Dowlatabad he hastened to the new insurgents. An army of no inconsiderable magnitude opposed him. He carried on his operations with vigour, and once more prevailed. But in the mean time the Moguls in Deccan, gathering strength upon his departure, defeated his General, and pursued his troops toward Malwa. He resolved to march against them in person. But the settlement of Guzerat was an arduous and a tedious task. Before it was concluded, he fell sick, and died in the year 1351, after a reign of twenty-seven years.

Origin of the Mahomedan kingdoms in Deccan.

His death was propitious to the Moguls in Deccan; and afforded time for laying the foundation of a Mahomedan empire, which rose to considerable power,

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and preserved its existence for several centuries. Upon seizing Dowlatabad, the rebel chiefs agreed to elect a sovereign; when their choice fell upon Ismael, an Afghaun, who had been commander of a thousand in the imperial army. Among the insurgents, was a military adventurer of the name of Hussun. Wonderful things are recorded of his predestination to power; as usual in the case of those who, from a degraded station, rise to great command over the hopes and fears of mankind. He was an Afghaun slave or dependent of a Brahmen, who professed astrology in Delhi. The Brahmen gave him a couple of oxen to cultivate a piece of waste ground near the city, as means of a livelihood; where his plough turned up a treasure. He informed the Brahmen; and the Brahmen, equally conscientious, or equally cautious, the emperor. The Emperor, struck with the honesty of Hussun, bestowed upon him the command of one hundred horse. The Brahmen told him, that he saw by the stars, he was destined to greatness, and stipulated that, when king of Deccan, he would make him his minister. Hussun offered his services to the first commander who was sent into Deccan, joined the insurgents; and when Ismael was chosen king, he was decorated with the title of Zuffeir Khan; and received a large jaghire for the maintenance of his troops.

After Mahomed was summoned from Deccan, by the new disturbances in Guzerat, and after his general was obliged to raise the siege of Dowlatabad, Zuffeir Khan marched with twenty thousand horse against Beder, a city on the Godavery, nearly a hundred miles north-west from Golconda, and about the same distance west from Warunkul. This had been the seat of a Hindu rajahship; it was at this time a station of one of the imperial generals. Zuffeir Khan, obtaining the assistance of the Rajah of Warunkul, who sent him fifteen thousand men; and being reinforced with five thousand horse, detached to his assistance by the new king of Dowlatabad, engaged and defeated the army of Mahomed. Returning, with glory and plunder, he was met, before reaching the capital, by the king; who could not help observing, that more attention was paid to the general than to himself. Making a merit of what would soon be necessity; and taking the pretext of his great age, he proposed to retire from the cares of government, and recommended Zuffeir Khan as successor. The proposition was applauded; and the slave or peasant Hussun, mounting the new throne by the style and title of Sultan Alla ad dien Hussun Kongoh Bhamenee, became the founder of the Bhamenee dynasty. Koolburga, or Culberga, which had been the place of his residence, he named Ahssunabad, and rendered it the capital of the Deccanee empire.

Sultan Alla was not unmindful of his ancient master; from whose name he

added the term Kongoh, and according to some authorities, that of Bahmenee, Brahmen being so pronounced, to his royal titles. He invited Kongoh from Delhi; made him lord of the treasury; and in his edicts associated the name of the Brahmen with his own. Hussun lived, after the acquisition of royalty, eleven years, two months, and seven days; having in that time reduced to his obedience all the regions in Deccan which had ever acknowledged the sway of the emperors of Delhi. He governed with wisdom and moderation, and died at Koolburga, in the year 1357, and the sixty-seventh year of his age.*

CHAP. III. 1351—1389.

Upon the death of the emperor Mahomed, his nephew Feroze, whom he recommended for his successor, was in the imperial camp; and without difficulty mounted the throne. The nerves of the state were relaxed by mis-government; and it displayed but little vigour during the days of Feroze. The governor of Bengal aspired to independence; and the emperor, after several efforts, being unable to reduce him to obedience, was forced to content himself with a nominal subjection.† Feroze, however, employed himself with laudable solicitude, in promoting agriculture, and the internal prosperity of his dominions. He lived till the age of ninety years; twenty-eight of which he spent upon the throne. He is celebrated in history for having constructed fifty great aqueducts or reservoirs of water; forty mosques; thirty schools; twenty caravanseras; an hundred palaces; five hospitals; one hundred tombs; ten baths; ten spires; one hundred and fifty wells; one hundred bridges; and pleasure gardens, without number.

Feroze.

Mahomed, a son of Feroze, had received the reins of government from his father, when the weight of them began to press heavily upon his aged hands. A conspiracy, however, of the Omrahs, had, after a time, obliged him to fly from the throne; and Feroze made Tuglick, his grandson, successor. Tuglick was a friend to pleasure; and slenderly provided with talents. He made an effort to get into his power Mahomed, his uncle, who had been chased from the throne; but Mahomed threw himself into the fort of Nagracote, which, for the present,

Tuglick.

* A circumstantial history of the Bahmenee sovereigns was composed by Ferishta; and to Jonathan Scott we are indebted for an instructive translation of it. The above sketch of the origin of the Bahmenee dynasty is drawn partly from Ferishta's Deccan, translated by Scott; partly from his History of Delhi, translated by Dow. The facts are very shortly mentioned, or rather alluded to, by Lieut.-Col. Mark Wilks, (Historical Sketches of the South of India, ch. i.;) where the reader will also find all that research has been able to procure of Hindu materials, and all that sagacious conjecture has been able to build upon a few imperfect fragments of the history of the ancient Hindu governments in the south of India.

† Such is the account of Ferishta. Mr. Stewart, (Hist. of Bengal, sect. iv.) follows other authorities, who represent Bengal as now erected into a Mahomedan kingdom, perfectly independent.

Book III. 1396.

it was deemed inexpedient to attack. The emperor, meanwhile, inspired so little respect, that Abu Becker, his cousin, in danger from his jealousy, found himself able to hurry him to his grave. By means of some Omrahs, he corrupted the imperial slaves; who assassinated their master, after he had reigned but five months.

Abu Becker. Abu Becker was hardly more fortunate. Some of the Mogul mercenaries, in the imperial service, conspired against him, and invited Mahomed from Nagracote, to place himself at their head. Mahomed succeeded; and Abu Becker resigned his life and his throne, one year and six months after the death of Tuglick.

Mahomed. In the reign of Mahomed, the Mahrattors (Mahrattas) again appear in the field. They were soon brought to submission; and Narsing their prince waited upon the emperor at Delhi. The six years of this emperor were chiefly employed in subduing or anticipating the insurrections of the provincial Omrahs or governors, from whom he enjoyed scarce an interval of repose. His son Humaioon, who succeeded, was seized with a fatal disorder, and survived his father not many days.

Mahmood. The Omrahs, after high dispute, at last raised Mahmood, an infant son of the late Mahomed, to the throne. The distractions in the empire increased.

Three of the most powerful Omrahs of the court, Mubarick, Ekbal, and Sadit, fell into deadly feuds. The emperor having left the capital, with the army commanded by Sadit; Mubarick, fearing the resentment of Sadit, shut the gates of the city. The emperor was constrained to abandon Sadit, before he was allowed to re-enter his capital and palace. Joined by his sovereign, Mubarick, the next day, marched out and gave battle to Sadit, but was worsted and forced back into the city. As the rains had commenced, Sadit was obliged to lead his army into quarters. He immediately sent for Nuserit, a prince of the blood, and set him up in opposition to Mahmood, by the name of Nuserit Shah. A conspiracy soon threw Sadit into the hands of Mubarick, who put him to death. But a strong party adhered to Nuserit; and a most destructive contest ensued between the partisans of the rival kings. The balance continued nearly even for the space of three years, during which every species of calamity oppressed the wretched inhabitants. Some of the distant Subahdars looked on with satisfaction, contemplating their own elevation in the depression of the imperial power. But in the year 1396, Mahomed Jehangheer, the grandson of Timur, or Tamerlane, having constructed a bridge over the Indus, invaded Multan. The governor, who already regarded the province as his own, opposed him with no contemptible force;

but was overcome, and resigned Multan to the conqueror. In the mean time the Omrah Ekbal obtained and betrayed the confidence of Nuserit, whom he obliged to fly to Paniput. He opened a deceitful negociation with the Emperor, under cover of which he surprised and slew Mubarick. All power now centred in Ekbal; and the emperor was converted into a cipher. In this situation were affairs at Delhi, when intelligence arrived that Timur himself had crossed the Indus. CHAP. III. 1396.

The birth of Timur or Tamerlane, was cast at one of those recurring periods, in the history of the Asiatic sovereignties, when the enjoyment of power for several generations, having extinguished all manly virtues in the degenerate descendants of some active usurper, prepares the governors of the provinces for revolt, dissolves the power of the state, and opens the way for the elevation of some new and daring adventurer. At no preceding period, perhaps, had these causes enervated the powers of government over so great a part of Asia at once, as in the times of Tamerlane. The descendants of Gingis had formed their immense conquests into three great kingdoms; of which Persia was one; the intermediate regions of Transoxiana, Chorasan, Bactria, and Zabulistan or Candahar, and Cabul, lying between Persia and Tartary, were the second; and Tartary itself, or rather Tartary and China in conjunction, the third. The dynasties of the race of Gingis, in all these several kingdoms, had been in possession of power so long, as now to display the effects which possession of power in Asia invariably produces. The reigning sovereigns had every where given themselves up to the vices which are the natural growth of the throne; the viceroys of the provinces despised their authority; and weakness and distraction pervaded the empire. About thirty years before the birth of Timur, the kingdom of Persia had undergone a species of dissolution; almost every province, under a rebel governor, had been erected into an independency, and the whole divided into a number of petty states. From nearly the same period, the kingdom of Zagatai, (this was the intermediate sovereignty, so called from that son of Gingis whose lot it became), had been contended for by a succession of usurpers. The Mogul throne of Tartary and China had been less violently agitated, but was greatly reduced in power. Into what confusion and weakness the Afghaun empire of Delhi had fallen, we have seen in sufficient detail. Timur.

Timur was born forty miles to the south of Samarcand, in the village of Sebzar, where his fathers, enjoying the rank or command of a toman of horse, had possessed a local authority for some generations. Timur had, from a tender age, been involved in the warfare of a distracted period; and by his courage,

Book III.
1396.

activity, and address, had at five and twenty fixed upon himself the hopes and esteem of a large proportion of his countrymen. Amid the other calamities which had fallen upon the kingdom of Zagatai or Samarcand, upon the breaking up of the government of the descendants of Gingis, the Tartars of Cashgar had been incited, by the apparent weakness of the state, to invade the country, where they now oppressed and massacred the wretched inhabitants. Timur stood forward as the deliverer of his country; but when the day for action arrived, the chiefs who had promised to support him betrayed their engagement, and he was constrained to fly to the desert with only sixty horsemen. Timur run every sort of danger, and endured every sort of hardship, for several months, during which he led the life of a fugitive or outlaw. By degrees, however, he collected a party of well tried adherents. The soldiers of fortune, the most adventurous of the youth, gathered around him. He harassed the Tartars by daring, yet cautious onsets; whence he increased his reputation and multiplied his followers. After a series of struggles, the invaders were finally driven from Transoxiana. But it was not till the age of thirty-four, and after a course of strenuous and fortunate activity, that he was raised by the general voice to the undivided sovereignty of his native country.

Placed on the throne of Samarcand, the eye of Timur perceived the situation of the neighbouring countries. The provinces or kingdoms which had become detached from the house of Zagatai; Karisme, and Chorasan, first tempted his restless ambition; and some years were spent in adding these important conquests to his dominion. The contiguous provinces of Persia; Mazenderan and Segistan, to which was added Zabulistan, the grand southern or Indian district of the kingdom of Zagatai; next employed his conquering arms. These enterprises successfully terminated, he passed into Fars, the Persia proper; into Persian Irac, and Aderbijian, the conquest of which he completed in two years. The princes or usurpers of the provinces Shirvan and Gilan sent to make their submissions, and to promise obedience. At Shiraz, in the year 1386, he received intelligence, that Toktamish Khan, a Tartar chief, whose authority was acknowledged throughout the region known to the Persians under the title of Desht Kapshak, north of the Caspian, had made incursion into Transoxiana. He flew to repel the invader; and the desire of chastising Toktamish was the primary cause of the conquests of Timur in Turkestan. He followed his enemy into regions, void of houses, where the men fled before him. When far driven to the north, they were at last constrained to fight; and the army of Timur, after severe suffering, repaid itself by a complete victory,

1397.

which compelled Toktamish, with his remaining followers, to take shelter in the mountains on the western side of the Caspian Sea. From this enterprise, the victor returned to complete the conquest of Persia. He drove from the city of Bagdad, the last prince in Persia of the house of Gingis; he conquered the whole of Mesopotamia; pushed his way into Tartary through mount Caucasus, to chastise anew the insolence of Toktamish, who had passed Derbend and made an inroad in Shirvan; and, having settled these extensive acquisitions, was, in 1396, prepared to carry his army across the Indus.

Timur proceeded from Samarcand, by the city of Termed, and passing a little to the eastward of Balk, arrived at Anderob, a city on the borders of that stupendous ridge of mountains which separates Hindustan from the regions of the north. The difficulties of the passage were not easily surmounted; but every thing yielded to the power and perseverance of Timur. He descended to the city of Cabul; whence he marched towards Attock, the celebrated passage of the Indus; and in the year 1397, commenced his operations against Mubarick, who governed the frontier provinces of the empire of Delhi. Mubarick betook himself to a place of strength, and resisted the detachment sent to subdue him; but on the approach of the conqueror with his whole army, fled, with his family and treasure. The attention of Timur was now called to the situation of his grandson, who had invaded Hindustan the preceding year. The solstitial rains had forced him to draw his army into Multan, after it had suffered much from the season; and no sooner was he enclosed within the city, than the people of the country invested it, preventing supplies. Mahomed was reduced to the greatest distress, when his grandfather detached a body of horse to support him, and soon after followed with his whole army. He ravaged Multan and Lahore, putting the inhabitants of several of the cities which presumed to offer any resistance indiscriminately to the sword. Without further delay, he directed his march towards Delhi, and encamped before the citadel.

On the seventh day, though unlucky, Ekbal, and his ostensible sovereign, marched out to engage him. But the enervated troops of Delhi scarcely bore to commence the action with the fierce soldiers of the north; and Timur pursued them with great slaughter to the walls of Delhi. Ekbal, and Mahmood, fled from the city in the night, the sovereign towards Guzerat, the minister towards Birren; upon which the magistrates and omrahs of the city tendered their submissions; and opened the gates. In levying the heavy contributions imposed upon the city, disputes arose between the Moguls of Timur and the inhabitants; when blood began to flow. One act of violence led on to another, till the city

Book III. 1413.

was involved in one atrocious scene of sack and massacre, which Timur (authorities differ) was either careless to prevent, or pleased to behold.

Timur remained at Delhi fifteen days, and arrested the progress of conquest in Hindustan. Having received the submissions of several omrahs, the governors or subahdars of provinces, and confirmed them in their commands, he marched in a northern direction, over-running the country on both sides of the Ganges, till he reached the celebrated spot where it issues from the mountains. He then advanced along the bottom of the hills to Cabul, and thence proceeded to Samarcand.

Delhi remained in a state of anarchy for two months after the departure of the Moguls. It was then entered by the pretended emperor Nuserit, with a small body of horse. Ekbal, however, by means of some Zemindars, was still able to dislodge him, and recovered the Dooab or country between the rivers, which, with a small district round the city, was all that now acknowledged the sovereign of Delhi. The governors or subahdars of the provinces all assumed independence, and adopted royal titles. Lahore, Dibalpore [Punjab], and Multan, were seized by Chizer; Canoge, Oude, Corah, and Jionpoor, by Shaja Jehan, then styled the king of the East; Guzerat, by Azim; Malwa, by Delawir; and the other departments, by those who happened in each to have in their hands the reins of government. Ekbal made some efforts, but attended with little success, to extend his limits. He received Mahmood, who fled from the disrespectful treatment bestowed on him by the governor or king of Guzerat; but compelled him to live on a pension, without claiming any share in the government. At last he came to blows with Chizer, the powerful usurper of Multan and Lahore; when he was defeated, and lost his life in the action. Mahmood then recovered a small remainder of the power which once belonged to the Shahs of Delhi; but knew not how to employ it either for his own or the public advantage. Nothing but the struggles and contests which prevailed among the usurpers of the provinces prevented some one of them from seizing his throne, and extinguishing his impotent reign in his blood; when dying of a fever, in the year 1413, "the empire fell," says Ferishta, "from the race of the Turks [or Tartars], who were adopted slaves of the emperor Mahomed Gauri, the second of the race of the sovereigns of India, called the dynasty of Gaur." * An Omrah, who happened to be in command at Delhi,

* The two dynasties of Gaur are what is spoken of occasionally by the Oriental historians under the title of the Afghaun and Patan government of India; Afghaun and Patan, as also Abdauly,

presumed to mount the vacant throne; but Chizer, with the troops and resources of Multan and Lahore, found little difficulty in throwing him down from his rash elevation. CHAP. III. 1420.

In the short period which intervened since the departure of Timur from Delhi, that conqueror had settled the affairs of Persia; reduced Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor; defeated Bajazet the Turkish emperor on the plains of Galatia; and prepared a vast expedition against China, which he was conducting through the plains and across the mountains of Tartary, when he fell sick, and died, in the year 1405, leaving his vast empire to his son Shiroch. Chizer.

Chizer, it seems, was of the race of the prophet. His father had been adopted as the son of a great Omrah, who was governor of Multan, in the reign of Feroze. Upon the death of this Omrah and his son, the father of Chizer succeeded as Subahdar of Multan, and from him the government descended to his son. At the time when Timur arrived in India, he was involved in difficulties, through the power of a neighbouring chief; and had the prudence, or good luck, to solicit the protection of the conqueror, who confirmed him in the government of Multan, and added to it several other important provinces.

Chizer affected to decline the title of sovereign; pretending that he held the government of India only as the deputy of Timur, in whose name he ordered the coin to be struck, and the instruments of government to be expedited. By this expedient, we are told, he obviated the jealousies and competition of the Omrahs, many of whom would have regarded their claim to the throne as preferable to his own. Chizer governed with considerable abilities; and the people again tasted the fruits of peace and protection under his reign. He made but little progress in re-annexing the revolted provinces to the empire of Delhi. He reigned however, from the furthest branch of the Indus, to the extremity of the Doab; and from the Cashmere and Himaleh mountains to the latitude of Gualior.

After a reign of seven years and some months his death transferred the government to Mubarick his son. Mubarick was early involved in a contest with the Gickers, who, under a leader of the name of Jisserit, continued to molest the Punjab and Lahore during the whole of his reign. The Hindu tribes in the hill country of Mewat, to the south of Delhi; those also in the hill country to the north of Budaoon or Rohilcund, gave him at various periods no little disturbance. A war was at one time kindled between him and the governor who had Mubarick.

and several others, being names, applied to the whole or a part of the people who inhabit the chain of mountains from Herat, to the mouths of the Indus.

1

Book III. 1446.

usurped the provinces lying eastward from Delhi, and was then known by the title of the King of the East. Coming however to a drawn battle, the two sovereigns were contented ever after to leave each other in peace. A rebellious slave, in the northern provinces, drew him into a contest with the Moguls of the empire of Samarcand; the rebel having invited the Viceroy of Shiroch who resided at Cabul, to come to his assistance. The Moguls were defeated in battle and repelled. Mubarick, however, in consequence of a conspiracy, headed by the Vizir, was shortly after assassinated, in the fourteenth year of a reign, during which he had displayed considerable talents for government, and more than usual attention to justice and humanity.

Mahomed.

The Vizir placed Mahomed, a grandson of Mubarick upon the throne, expecting to govern the kingdom in his name, or in time to appropriate the shadow as well as the substance of command. But the Omrahs were disgusted with his pretensions, and levied war; which enabled or compelled the king to rid himself by assassination of his domineering minister. The Omrahs returned to obedience; and the king, after making a parade of his power in a progress through several of the provinces, returned to Delhi, and resigned himself to pleasure. The temper of the times was not such as to permit a negligent hand to hold the reins of government with impunity. The Omrahs in the distant governments began immediately to prepare for independence. Beloli Lodi, the governor of Serhind, a town on the Sutledge, or eastern branch of the Indus, made himself master of Lahore, of the greater part of the Punjab, and the country eastwards as far as Paniput, within a few leagues of Delhi. Beloli retired before the imperial army, but preserved his own entire; and re-occupied the country as soon as the troops of Mahomed returned. Another Viceroy, who had become independent in Malwa, and assumed the title of its King, marched against the feeble sovereign of Delhi, who saw no hopes of safety, but in calling the rebel Beloli to his aid. An indecisive action was fought; and the monarchs of Delhi and Malwa, both suffering from their fears, hasted to quiet their minds by huddling up an adjustment; but Beloli attacked in its retreat the army of Malwa, which he plundered and deprived of its baggage. He was dispatched by Mahomed against Jisserit the Gicker chief, who still harassed the northern provinces. But Beloli made his own terms with the plunderer; and returned to besiege Delhi. It held out however so long, that for the present he abandoned the enterprise. Mahomed shortly after died, his power reduced to a shadow, after a reign of twelve years and some months.

In the same year, viz. 1446, died Shiroch, son of Timur, and Emperor of

the Moguls. Upon his death the vast empire of Timur, which had yet remained entire, underwent division. The eldest son of Shiroch, the famous Ulug Beg, inherited the imperial titles, and the dominion of Western Tartary or Transoxiana. The eldest son of Basinker, another of the sons of Timur, possessed himself of Chorasan, Candahar, and Cabul. The second son of Basinker held possession of the Western Persia. And Abul Kazem, the third of Timur's sons, become sovereign of Georgia, and Mazenderan.

Alla. Alla, the son of Mahomed, mounted the throne of Delhi, honoured now with the obedience of little more than a few of the contiguous districts. Alla showed no talents for government; and after a few years, being attacked by Beloli, resigned to him the throne, upon condition of receiving the government of Budaoon, where he lived and died in peace.

Beloli. Beloli was an Afghaun, of the tribe of Lodi, which subsisted chiefly by carrying on the traffic between Hindustan and Persia. Ibrahim, the grandfather of Beloli, a wealthy trader, repaired to the court of Feroze at Delhi; and acquired sufficient influence to be entrusted with the government of Multan. When Chizer succeeded to the same command, he made the son of Ibrahim master of his Afghaun troops; and afterwards bestowed upon him the government of Serhind. Beloli was not the son of the governor of Serhind, but of another of the sons of Ibrahim. Beloli, upon the death of his father, repaired to his uncle at Serhind, and so effectually cultivated his favour, that he received his daughter in marriage, and his recommendation to succeed him in his government. But Ibrahim left a brother Feroze, and a son Cuttub, who disputed the pretensions of the son-in-law of the governor of Serhind. Beloli was the most powerful and adroit; and of course the successful competitor. The rest, however, excited against him the Emperor of Delhi. His country was attacked and over-run. But Beloli kept his army together, and speedily recovered his territory, when the imperial troops were withdrawn. By activity, valour, and skill, something was daily added to the power of Beloli; by indolence, effeminacy, and folly, something was daily detached from the power of the sovereign of Delhi; till Beloli was able to measure strength with him, on more than equal terms, and finally to seat himself on his throne.

The mother of Beloli was smothered, while pregnant, under the ruins of a falling house. Her husband, opening her body, saved the infant, afterwards emperor of Hindustan. It is related that when Beloli was yet a youth, in the service of his uncle, a famous Dirvesh, whom he had gone to visit, suddenly cried out with enthusiasm, Who will give two thousand rupees for the empire of

BOOK III.
1500.

Delhi? Beloli had but one thousand six hundred rupees in the world. But he sent his servant immediately to bring them. The Dirvesh, receiving the money, laid his hand upon the head of Beloli, and gave him salutation and blessing as the king of Delhi. Ridiculed by his companions as a dupe, Beloli replied, that if he obtained the crown it was cheaply purchased; if not, still the benediction of a holy man was not without its use.

Those Omrahs, who regarded their own pretensions to the throne as not inferior to those of Beloli, were disaffected. A party of them joined Mahmood, who held the usurped sovereignty of Bahar, and the country towards Orissa; and was called king of Jionpoor, the city, at which he resided, on the banks of the Goomty, about 40 miles from Benares. The victory which Beloli gained over their united forces established him firmly on his throne.

Beloli made a progress through his unsettled provinces, confirming or removing the several governors, as he supposed them affected to his interests. He was not long suffered to remain in peace. Between him and the rival sovereign of Jionpoor, or the East, an undecisive war was carried on during the whole of his reign. The advantage, partly through force and partly through treachery, was, upon the whole, on the side of Beloli, who at last drove the king of the East from Jionpoor, and severed from his dominions the district to which it belonged. In his declining years Beloli divided the provinces of his empire among his sons, relations, and favourites; and died at an advanced age, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign. He was a modest sovereign; and when reproved by his friends for showing so little of the prince, "It was enough for him," he replied, "that the world knew he was king; without his making a vain parade of royalty."

Secunder.

The partition which Beloli made of his dominions had no tendency to prevent those disputes about the succession, which are so frequent in the East; but neither, perhaps, did it augment them. A strong party of the Omrahs declared for Secunder, one of the younger sons of Beloli; and after some struggle of no great importance he was seated firmly on the throne. The usual measures were pursued for placing the provinces in a state of obedience; and Secunder was stimulated to endeavour the restoration of some of the districts which for several reigns had affected independence on the throne of Delhi. The tranquillity, however, of an empire, which had been so long distracted, was not easily preserved; and Secunder was perpetually recalled from the frontiers of his kingdom, to anticipate or to quell insurrections within. He waged notwithstanding a successful war with the king of the East, who had been driven from Jionpoor by the father, and was now driven from Bahar by the son. But he found himself un-

equal to a war for the recovery of Bengal, to the confines of which he had once more extended the empire of Delhi; and that important province still remained in the hands of the usurper. Secunder reigned, with the reputation of abilities and of no inconsiderable virtue, for twenty-eight years and five months, and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim.

CHAP. III. 1525.

Ibrahim.

Ibrahim had personal courage, and was not altogether destitute of talents; but he was a violent, capricious, unthinking prince; and quickly lost the affections and respect of his subjects. One of his maxims was, "that kings had no relations; for that all men equally were the slaves of the monarch." This, though perfectly constitutional doctrine in the East, was a language which had now become unusual to the proud Omrahs of the falling throne of Delhi. Ibrahim was involved in an uninterrupted struggle with rebellion; against which, however, he maintained himself, during a space of twenty years. His empire was then invaded by Baber, a descendant of the great Timur, who in 1525 deprived him at once of his throne and his life.

CHAP. IV.

From the Commencement to the Close of the Mogul Dynasty.

Book III. 1525. Origin of the Mogul dynasty.

UPON the death of Shiroch, the son of Timur, and the division of the dominions of that conqueror among his descendants, quarrels and war ensued; the weakness and vice, which are the usual attendants upon long inherited sovereignty, weakened the unsteady powers of Asiatic government; and in a few years the great empire of Timur was in a state of dissolution. The Turks, who had penetrated into western Asia, and who, under Bajazet, received a dreadful overthrow by the arms of Timur, no sooner felt the weakness of government in the hands of his successors, than they pressed upon the nearest provinces, and at an early period were masters of Mesopotamia. Ismael was a disgraced servant of Jacob Beg, the eighth in the Turkish dynasty of the white sheep. Pursuing the career of a military adventurer, he collected around him a number of those daring characters, so numerous in the turbulent and unsettled countries of the East, whose business it is to seek a livelihood by their sword; and after a period, spent in subordinate plunder, he conceived himself sufficiently strong to attack in the year 1500 the governor, or king (for he now affected independance) of the province of Shirvan. After the conquest of Shirvan, Ismael successively made himself master of Tauris, Media, Chaldea, Persia, and became the founder of the dynasty of the Sophis, who held the sceptre of Persia for a number of generations.

On the eastern side of the Caspian, Shaïbek Khan, a chief of the Usbeks or Tartars of Desht Kipshak, entered Transoxiana, at the head of his horde, in the year 1494. In the course of four years, he rendered himself master of all Transoxiana and Chorasan; the last of which was however wrested from the Usbecks, by the arms of Ismael Sophi, in the year 1510.

Baber was the grandson of Abu Seid, the king of Zagatai; and Abu Seid was the son of Mahomed, the grandson of Timur, through Miran Shah. The dominions of Abu Seid were at his death divided among his sons. Ali became king of Cabul; Ahmed, king of Samarcand; Ahmer, king of Indija and Firgana; and Mahmood, king of Kundiz and Buducshan. Baber was the son of Ahmer, king of Indija and Firgana; a district surrounded by mountains, lying between

Samarcand and Cashgar. He succeeded his father, while yet very young, in the year 1493; and was immediately involved in a war with his uncles, desirous to profit by his youth and inexperience. Baber maintained himself against them with varying fortune, sometimes reduced to the lowest ebb, at other times borne on a flowing tide; till the arrival of Shaïbek, the Tartar.* Shaïbek, after a struggle, which was strenuously supported by Baber, swept the posterity of Timur from Transoxiana and Chorasan. Baber was compelled to retire towards Cabul; where the son of his uncle Ali had been dethroned by his Omrahs, and the greatest anarchy prevailed. The weak resistance opposed to Baber, in Cabul, he had means to overcome, and became master of that province in the year 1504. After spending some years in contending with the enemies who disputed with him the possession of Cabul and resisted his efforts for obtaining Candahar, he was fired with the hopes of recovering his paternal dominions, Ismael Sophi having defeated and slain his enemy, Shaïbek. In the year 1511 he marched towards Bochara, of which, after some resistance, he made himself master. His next object was Samarcand, which surrendered upon his arrival. His ambition was to make this celebrated capital of the great founder of his house the place of his residence; and he appointed Nasir, his brother, governor of Cabul. But he had not enjoyed, above nine months, this coveted throne, when the Usbecks, under the successor of Shaïbek, returned from the desert, and Baber, after an unavailing struggle, was forced back to Cabul.

CHAP. IV.

1525.

Baber had not spent one year in re-establishing his authority in Cabul, when information received of the weakness at Delhi inspired him with hopes of indemnifying himself in the south for the possessions which he had been constrained to relinquish in the north. In the year 1519 he took possession of all the countries on the further side of the Blue River, one of the branches of the Indus. He overran a part of the Punjab, levying contributions; and after chastising the Gickers, who had molested him in his progress, he returned to Cabul. Before the end of the same year, he renewed his march into Hindustan, and intended to reduce Lahore; but was interrupted by news from the northern side of the mountains which separate Bochara from Cabul, that a district there, of which he still retained possession, had been invaded by the Tartars of Cashgar. The following year, the conqueror was recalled, after he had made some progress in the invasion of Hindustan, by intelligence that Cabul itself was assailed by the people of Candahar. Baber resolved to complete the conquest of this neighbouring country,

* By Ferishta, as translated by Dow, he is called Shabiani, ii. 100.

Book III. 1530. before he again led out his armies to regions more remote. The vigour of the king of Candahar, who held out for three years, procured, so long, a respite to the kings and Omrahs of Hindustan; or rather afforded three additional years for the exercise of their mutual hostilities, and the oppression of the wretched inhabitants. But in the year 1523, Candahar being at last reduced, Baber rendered himself master of Lahore and the Punjab. The next year, beginning to feel the seducements of luxury and ease, he contented himself with directing his troops in Hindustan to march against Delhi. But they were attacked and overthrown. In 1525 Baber resolved to repair this misfortune by his presence. Ibrahim marched out to defend his capital with an army as much inferior in bravery, as it was superior in numbers. It was speedily routed, Ibrahim was slain in battle, Baber entered Delhi, and, mounting the throne of the Afghauns or Patans, began the Mogul dynasty in Hindustan.

Baber.

Great efforts were still demanded for the reduction of the provinces, the Omrahs of which being Afghauns, and expecting little favour under a Mogul monarch, held out, and even formed themselves into an extensive and formidable confederacy, setting a son of the late Secunder, as sovereign, at their head. Baber's principal officers, alarmed by the resistance which it seemed necessary to overcome, combined in offering him advice to return. The king, declaring that he would relinquish such a conquest only with his life, displayed so formidable a spirit of resolution and perseverance, that in a short time the confederacy began to dissolve. Many of the Omrahs, who were the weakest, or whose territories were the most exposed, came over to Baber, and entered into his service. At last a great battle was fought, which Baber with difficulty won, but which gave him so decided a superiority, that his enemies were no longer able to meet him in the field. Having reduced the provinces which latterly paid obedience to the throne of Delhi, he advanced against the Omrahs of the East, who for a length of time had affected independence. He had scarcely, however, conquered Bahar, when he fell sick and died, in the year 1530.

Humaioon.

Humaioon succeeded to the throne of his father, but was not long suffered to enjoy it in peace. His brother Camiran, in the government of Cabul, formed a resolution of seizing upon the Punjab; and Humaioon was fain to confer upon him the government of all the country from the Indus to Persia, on condition of his holding it as a dependency. Mahmood, too, the son of the Emperor Secunder, whom the confederated Omrahs had placed at their head, was again joined by some chiefs, and kindled the flames of war in the eastern provinces. A victory gained by the Emperor extinguished all immediate danger in that quarter. But

Shere Khan, the regent of Bahar, refused to give up the fortress of Chunar. A conspiracy was formed in favour of Mahomed, a prince of the race of Timur; and Bahadur, king of Guzerat, was excited to hostilities by the protection which Humaioon afforded to the Rana of Chitore. Bahadur was unequal to his enterprise; the war against him was pushed with activity and vigour, and he lost entirely the kingdom of Guzerat. Humaioon was now in favour with fortune; from Guzerat he marched to the eastern provinces, and reduced Chunar. Having gained the passes, he then entered Bengal; the government of which had recently been usurped, and its sovereign expelled, by the enterprising Shere. He took possession of Gour, then the capital of the province; and there resided for several months; but, his troops suffering from the humidity of the climate, and his two brothers now aspiring openly to his throne, he was compelled to proceed towards Agra, which he and his father had made the seat of government. In the mean time, Shere, though he had been defeated, was not subdued. He made himself master of the strong fortress of Rhotas, after he had been obliged to retire from Gour; and he now threw himself in the way of Humaioon, whose presence was urgently required in another part of his empire. Humaioon, threatened with detention, if nothing worse, desired accommodation. After a negotiation, it was agreed that the government of Bahar and Bengal should be conferred upon Shere, paying a slight tribute, in acknowledgment of dependence. The chance of finding the camp of the Emperor unguarded, under the negligence inspired by the prospect of peace, was one among the motives which led Shere to open the negotiation. The perfidy succeeded; and Humaioon, having lost his army, was constrained to fly.

He repaired to Agra, and was joined by his brothers, whose united strength was no more than sufficient to defend them against Shere, the Afghaun. But their conflicting interests and passions defeated every scheme of co-operation. The army with which Humaioon marched out to meet the assailant was overthrown; the capital no longer afforded him a place of refuge; he fled from one place to another, subject at times to the greatest hardships; and was at last obliged to quit the kingdom, and seek an asylum in Persia, where he was hospitably and honourably entertained.

The grandfather of Shere, the new sovereign of Hindustan, came from the district of Roh * in the mountains of Afghaunistan, in quest of military employ-

* This district, which gave its name to the Rohillas, a people considerable in the history of British India, is said by Major Stewart, on his Persian authorities, to have been the original seat of the Afghauns, whose mountainous country (Roh signifies a mountainous country; and Rohillas,

Book III. 1536—1554.

ment, in the reign of Beloli, and entered into the service of an Omrah of the court. His son Hussun followed the Subahdar, who acquired the title of King of the East; and rose to considerable rank in his service. Ferid, the son of Hussun, received the name of Shere, which signifies lion, from killing with his own hand, in the presence of the King or Governor of Bahar, an enormous tiger which rushed from a thicket. When this monarch died, and his son, a minor, succeeded him, the government of Bahar rested chiefly in the hand of Shere; and a short time elapsed, when the young prince, having made his escape, left the name as well as the power of sovereign to the usurper. He had just accomplished the conquest of Bengal, when Humaioon, returning from Guzerat, invaded his dominions.*

Immediately after his victory, Shere assumed the imperial title of Shah, and exerted himself with great activity in reducing the provinces to his obedience. His mandates ran from the furthest branch of the Indus, to the Bay of Bengal; a more extensive dominion than for some ages had belonged to any sovereign of Hindustan. Besieging one of the strongly situated forts, which abound in India, he was killed by an accidental explosion of gunpowder, when he had reigned five years in Hindustan. What can be said of few sovereigns, even in still more enlightened ages, he left various monuments of public beneficence to prolong the memory, and the love, of his short administration. He built caravanseras at every stage, from the Nilab, or furthest branch of the Indus, to the shores of Bengal; he dug a well for the refreshment of the traveller at every two miles; he ordered that all travellers without distinction of country or religion should at every stage be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expense; he had trees planted along the roads to shelter the travellers against the violence of the sun; he established post-horses, the first in India, for the more rapid conveying of intelligence to government,† and for the accommodation of trade and correspondence; even the religious comfort of the traveller was not neglected; a number of magnificent mosques were erected along the road, and priests appointed for the performance of devotional services.

Shere left two sons, of whom the youngest, being with the army, was pro-

mountaineers or highlanders) extended, according to the same authorities, in length from Sewad and Bijore to the town of Sia, in Bukharest, and in breadth from Hussin to Rabul. Stewart's Bengal, p. 127.

* What relates to Bengal, in these transactions, is extracted minutely by Mr. Stewart, (Hist. Bengal, sect. 5.)

† This is a stage of civilization to which the Hindus had not arrived.

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claimed as king. A struggle, as usual, ensued, for the possession of the throne; a feigned accommodation was made up between the brothers; war again quickly broke out; the eldest lost a battle, from which he fled, and disappearing was never heard of more. The youngest remained emperor, by the name of Selim. The Omrahs, however, or Subahdars of the provinces, who never neglected an opportunity that promised a chance of independence, rebelled in several quarters. In some instances they were not without difficulty subdued. After several years spent in reducing his dominions to order and obedience, Selim was roused from his dreams of future tranquillity, by intelligence that the exiled emperor Humaioon was on his way from Persia with an army for the recovery of Hindustan. Selim prepared for action with vigour. But Humaioon, instead of advancing, retired. Selim, shortly after, was seized with a violent distemper; and died suddenly, in the tenth year of his reign.

He left a son to succeed him; but only twelve years of age. There was a nephew to the late emperor Shere, by name Mubarick, whose sister was mother of the young prince. Mubarick assassinated the boy in the arms of his mother, three days after he had been proclaimed as king.

Mahomed was the name which Mubarick thought proper to use upon the throne. Vice, profusion, and folly, the attributes of his character and administration, lost him speedily the respect of his people, and the obedience of his Omrahs. His brother Ibrahim raised an army, from which Mahomed fled to the eastern provinces, leaving Ibrahim to assume the style of royalty at Delhi. This was not all. Ahmed, another nephew of the emperor Shere, laid claim to the sovereignty in Punjab, assumed the name of Secunder Shah, and marched towards Agra. Ibrahim met him, and was defeated. Ibrahim was attacked on the other side, by the vizir of Mahomed, and after several turns of fortune, fled to Orissa. Secunder took possession of Agra and Delhi, while Mahomed was engaged in a war with the governor of Bengal; in which at first he was prosperous, but finally stript of his dominions and life.

In the mean time, Secunder was summoned to oppose the exiled emperor Humaioon, who had now a second time returned for the recovery of his throne.

When Humaioon made his escape into Persia, Tamasp the son of Ismael, second of the Sophis, ruled from beyond the Euphrates, to the furthest boundary of Transoxiana. The governor of the province which first afforded shelter to Humaioon received him with distinction; and he was conveyed with the respect which seemed due to his rank and misfortunes, to the presence at Ispahan. He was treated by Tamasp as a sovereign; and his misfortunes excited the compas-

Book III. 1536—1554.

sion of a favourite sister of the king, and of several of his counsellors. At their instigation an army of ten thousand horse was entrusted to Humaioon; with which he advanced towards Candahar, still governed, together with Cabul, by one of his rebellious brothers. After an obstinate resistance, the city of Candahar fell into his hands, and the rest of the province submitted. Jealousy and dissatisfaction soon sprung up between him and the Persian commanders. But various Omrahs of the country now joined him with their troops; and, marching to Cabul, he was joined by the second of his rebellious brothers, and several other chiefs. Cabul was in no situation to resist; and his hostile brother fled to Bicker, a wild and desert province towards the mouth of the Indus, governed by a relation. When Cabul was subdued, Humaioon crossed the mountains to the north, for the purpose of reducing Buducshan, that district of the Mogul kingdom of Transoxiana which had remained united to the dominions of Baber. In the mean time his brother returned from Bicker, and in the absence of Humaioon and his army obtained possession of Cabul. Humaioon hastened from Buducshan, gave battle to his brother's army, routed it, and laid siege to Cabul. His brother, seeing no hopes of success, fled from the city by night, and made his way to Balk, where he received assistance from the governor, marched against Humaioon's new conquest of Buducshan, and expelled his governor. Humaioon left him not to enjoy his acquisition in peace; he marched against him, and, forcing him to submit, treated him with lenity and respect. Humaioon next involved himself in hostilities with the Usbeks of Balk, over whom at first he gained advantages, but at last was routed, and obliged to retreat to Cabul. In this retreat he was deserted by his perfidious brother, whom he had recently spared. Some of the chiefs of his army wrote to that deserter, that if he could attack the army of Humaioon, they would betray him in the action. Humaioon was accordingly defeated; and obliged to fly towards Buducshan, leaving Cabul a third time to his foe. Being joined, however, by the second of his brothers, who now repaid by great services his former demerits; and by several other chiefs; he was speedily in a condition to march again to Cabul with a force which his brother was by no means able to withstand. After some resistance the brother was obliged to fly; and though he continued for several years to raise up disturbance, he was no longer able to endanger the sovereignty of Humaioon.

That prince, though now in possession of part of his ancient dominions, aware of the distractions which prevailed in the rest, and invited by the inhabitants of Agra and Delhi, paused at the thought of invading Hindustan. At first he was able to raise an army of only fifteen thousand horse. With that he

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began to advance towards the Indus, where he was joined by his veterans from Candahar. The governors of Punjab and Lahore fled before him; and those countries were regained without a contest. Secunder detached an army, which advanced towards the Sutledge. But the general of the advanced division of the army of Humaioon surprised the camp of Secunder in the night, and entirely dispersed the troops. This disaster made Secunder hasten with his main army to meet the enemy; a great battle was fought under the walls of Serhind, in which the young Akbar, son of Humaioon showed remarkable spirit and resolution. Secunder, being routed, fled to the mountains of Sewalic.

CHAP. IV.

1555.

Humaioon re-entered Delhi in the year 1554; but was not destined to a long enjoyment of the power which he had regained. As he was supporting himself by his staff, on the marble stairs of his palace, the staff slipped, and the emperor fell from the top to the bottom. He was taken up insensible, and expired in a few days, in the year 1555, the fifty-first of his age.

Tamasp still reigned in Persia. But the Usbecks had now possessed themselves of Bochara, and of the greater part of Transoxiana.

Akbar. Akbar, the son of Humaioon, though not quite fourteen years of age, was placed on his father's throne. He had been nursed in difficulty and misfortune; and young as he was, those powerful teachers had performed much in forming his mind.

When Humaioon, with the few friends who adhered to him first fled from India, they nearly perished in the sandy desert which lies between Ajmere and the Indus. With the utmost difficulty, and after the loss of many lives, they arrived at Amercot, the seat of a Hindu Rajah, about two hundred miles from Tatta. It was here that Akbar was born. Humaioon, proceeding to Candahar, where he still hoped for support, was attacked by the governor of Candahar, and obliged to fly, leaving his infant son and his mother behind him. Akbar was kept at Candahar by the governor, till Humaioon was on his march from Persia, when he sent him to his uncle at Cabul. When Humaioon, after Cabul was taken, again beheld his son and his wife, he took the child in his arms, then four years of age, and exclaimed: "Joseph by his envious brethren was cast into a well; but he was exalted by Providence to the summit of glory." Akbar once more fell into the hands of his uncle, when that rebellious prince regained possession of Cabul. When Humaioon returned to besiege him, Akbar was bound to a stake, and exposed upon the battlements. Humaioon made proclamation, that if injury happened to Akbar, every human being in Cabul should be put to

Book III. 1557.

the sword. The wretched uncle was deterred, or forcibly restrained, from exposing it to such a disaster.

Byram, the chief of the Omrahs in the service of Humaioon, a man of talents, but of a severe, or rather of a cruel disposition, was appointed regent during the minority; which, in so unsettled and turbulent an empire, was not likely to be attended with general submission and peace.

The first object of the new government was to exterminate the party of the late pretended emperor Secunder; and for this purpose an army, with the young sovereign at its head, marched toward the mountains. Secunder fled; the Rajah of Nagracote made his submission; and the rainy season coming on, the army retired into quarters.

In the mean time, the Governor who had been left by Humaioon in the command of Buducshan assumed independence; and presumed so far upon the weakness of the new government, as to march against Cabul. The city stood a siege of four months; but at last submitted, and acknowledged the authority of the invader.

This calamity arrived not alone. Himu, the vizir of Mahomed, the usurper who retained a part of the eastern provinces, marched to the centre of the empire with a formidable army. He took Agra. He took Delhi. The young Shah still remained in his quarters. A council of war was held, in which Byram advised to march against the enemy. The principal part of the Omrahs, as the hostile army amounted to 100,000 horse, that of the king to scarcely 20,000, held it adviseable to retreat. But the young Shah supported the opinion of Byram with so much ardour, that he kindled the enthusiasm of the Omrahs, who declared their resolution to devote their lives and fortunes to his service.

While the army was on its march, the governor of Delhi, he by whom the city had just been surrendered, joined the King. Waiting for a time when the presence of the Prince offered no interruption, Byram called this governor into his tent, and had him beheaded. It was to anticipate, he told the King, the clemency of the royal mind, that he had taken upon him, without consultation, to make this example; necessary to let the neglectful Omrahs know that want of vigour was hardly less criminal than want of loyalty; and that as meritorious services would be amply rewarded, so no failure in duty should pass with impunity. The Prince, whatever were his thoughts, thanked the regent for the care he bestowed upon his person and government.

The brave Himu made the necessary dispositions for encountering the imperial

army. The contending parties arrived in presence of one another in the neighbourhood of Paniput. The Moguls, who had been reinforced on the march, fought with great constancy, and the enemy were thrown into disorder. Himu advanced, conspicuous on a towering elephant, and endeavoured by his example to reanimate his troops. He was shot with an arrow through the eye; and his followers, believing him killed, endeavoured to save themselves by retreat. Himu drew the eye out of the socket with the arrow; and continued the fight with unabated constancy. But the driver of his elephant seeing a mortal blow aimed at himself offered to direct the animal wherever he should be desired. Upon this, Himu was surrounded and taken.

When the battle ended, he was brought into the presence of Akbar, almost expiring with his wounds. Byram, addressing the King, told him it would be a meritorious action to kill that dangerous infidel with his own hands. Akbar, in compliance with the advice of his minister, drew his sword, but only touching with it gently the head of his gallant captive, burst into tears. This movement of generous compassion was answered by the minister with a look of stern disapprobation; and with one blow of his sabre he struck the head of the prisoner to the ground.

This important victory restored tranquillity to the principal part of Akbar's dominions. It is true that in the same year the invasion of a Persian army, under the nephew of Tamasp, rendered that prince for a time master of Candahar. And the late pretended emperor Secunder advanced into the western provinces, and made the governor fly to Lahore. But the imperial standards were carried with expedition towards the Indus; Secunder was cooped up in a fort; when, offering to surrender the place and all his pretensions, he was permitted to retire into Bengal, and Akbar returned to Lahore.

The overbearing pretensions of an imperious, though useful servant, and the spirit of a high-minded, though generous sovereign, could not long be reconciled. Mutual jealousies and discontents arose; the minister used his power with cruelty to deliver himself from those who stood in his way; he increased by that means the disgust of his master; yet he contrived for a time to preserve himself in power, by occupying the royal mind with military preparation and action. An expedition, which ended successfully, was planned against Gualior, at that time a place of the highest importance. In the same year, one of Akbar's generals subdued all the country about Jionpoor and Benares, hitherto retained by the Omrahs who had derived their power from the gift or the weakness of the late princes of the Afghaun or Patan dynasty. Operations

Book III. 1560.

were commenced against Malwa, possessed by another of those Omrahs. But all this business and success served only to retard, not prevent, the fall of the minister. When the royal ear was found open to accusations against the harsh and domineering Byram, courtiers were not wanting to fill it. He was secretly charged with designs hostile to the person and government of the Shah; and the mind of Akbar, though firm, was not unmoved by imputations against the man he disliked: though facts no where appeared to support them. After some irresolution and apprehension, a proclamation was issued to announce that Akbar had taken upon himself the government; and that henceforth no mandates but his were to be obeyed. Byram, who had shown so much resolution when serving his master, was full of indecision when called upon to act for himself. The sovereign advised him to make a voyage to Mecca. At one time Byram proceeded to obey; at another time he resolved to render himself independent in some of the provinces which Akbar had not yet subdued; and at another time conceived the design of seizing and governing the Punjab itself. He attempted arms, but met with no support; and, driven to his last resource, implored the clemency of his master. Akbar hastened to assure him of forgiveness, and invited him to his presence. When the unfortunate Byram presented himself with all the marks of humiliation, and bursting into tears threw himself on his face at the foot of the throne, Akbar lifted him up with his own hand, and setting him in his former place at the head of the Omrahs, "If the noble Byram," said he, "loves a military life, he shall obtain the government of a province in which his glory may appear; if he chooses rather to remain at court, the benefactor of our family shall be distinguished by our favours; but should devotion engage the soul of Byram to make a voyage to the holy city, he shall be provided and escorted in a manner suitable to his dignity." Byram, desiring leave to repair to Mecca, received a splendid retinue and allowance; but in his passage through Guzerat, an Afghaun Chief, whose father he had formerly slain in battle, pretending salutation, stabbed him with a dagger, and killed him on the spot.

In the year 1560, a son of the late Shah Mahomed, who had found means to raise 40,000 horse, advanced with a design to recover the province of Jionpoor. The generals of Akbar, who had the province in charge, vanquished him with the forces under their command. Presuming, however, on their services or strength, they delayed remitting the plunder. Akbar went towards them without a moment's delay; upon which they made haste to meet him with the spoils. He accepted their obedience; praised their valour; and bestowed on them mag-

nificent gifts. This is a specimen of the behaviour of Akbar to his Omrahs. Their proneness to seize every opportunity of disobedience he restrained by prompt and vigorous interference; seldom punished their backwardness; but always bestowed on their services honour and reward.

Hussun, the governor of Ajmere, made some progress in subduing several forts in that hilly country, yet held by Hindu Rajahs. The general, sent to reduce Malwa, had carried on the war in that province with so much success as to drive the the pretended king out of his dominions. He fled, however, to the sovereigns of Candesh and Berar; from whom he received such effectual support as to be able to defeat the army of the imperial general, which he pursued to the vicinity of Agra. Akbar gave commission to Abdalla, the Usbeck, governor of Kalpy, a city and province on the Jumna, to prosecute the war; and by him was Malwa annexed to the Mogul dominions. About the same time the Gickers, those restless tribes of Hindus who so often from their mountains disturbed the obedience of the upper provinces, were united under a warlike chief, and assumed the appearance of a formidable enemy. They were attacked with the usual vigour of Akbar's government; and compelled to receive, though of their own nation, a sovereign named for them by the Moguls.

Notwithstanding the virtues of Akbar's administration, the spirit of rebellion, inherent in the principles of Indian despotism, left him hardly a moment's tranquillity, during the whole course of a long and prosperous reign. Hussun revolted in Ajmere, and gained a victory over the imperial troops who were sent to oppose him. Hakim, brother of Akbar, a weak man, the governor of Cabul, began to act as an independent prince. A slave of his approaching the King, while marching with his troops, let fly an arrow which wounded him in the shoulder. Abdalla, the Usbeck, master of Malwa, believed himself so strong and the King, pressed by rebellion in various quarters, so weak, that he might erect a throne for himself. He contrived artfully to spread a rumour, that the Shah had contracted a general hatred of the Usbecks in his service, and meditated their destruction. This gained over Secunder and Ibrahim, the governors of two of the eastern provinces. Asaph, who held the government of Corah, had obtained great wealth by subduing and plundering a rajahship or Hindu kingdom, between Berar and Bengal, which till this time had escaped the ravage of a Mahomedan conqueror. Not wishing to part with any of this wealth and influence, he joined with the rebels, in hopes of being able to defy the imperial power. Even Zemaun, the captain-general of the empire, and his

Book III. 1560—1580.

brother Bahadur, two chiefs of great power and renown, joined the enemies of Akbar, and hoped to raise themselves on the ruins of the king.

Akbar, whom neither exertion nor danger dismayed, opposed himself to his enemies with an activity which often repaired the deficiencies of prudence. It would be tedious to follow minutely a series of expeditions, so much the same, to subdue one rebellious chieftain after another. Akbar had made considerable progress in reducing the eastern provinces to obedience, when he learned that Hakim, governor of Cabul, in hopes of advantage from his absence, had advanced towards Lahore. The tranquillity of the northern provinces, whose inhabitants were hardy and warlike, was always regarded by Akbar as worthy of more watchful solicitude than that of the east, where the people were effeminate and more easily subdued. Leaving therefore the reduction of the Usbeck rebels still incomplete, he hasted towards Lahore; and, surprising his brother by the celerity of his appearance, rendered opposition hopeless, and crushed this rebellion in its bud. In the mean time the Usbecks increased their army, and extended their conquests. The expeditious movements of Akbar left them little time to enjoy their advantages. Having returned with a recruited army, he came to an action with the combined forces of the insurgents, and gained a great victory, which effectually quashed the rebellion in the east.

The unsettled state of the province of Malwa soon required the royal presence. Among other measures, for the secure possession of that important district, he advanced to the attack of Chitore, a fort of great natural strength, situated in a mountainous and difficult part of the province, inhabited by Hindus, who had been frequently subdued, by the more powerful of the Mahomedan princes, but had as often revolted when the reins of government were held by a feeble hand. After an obstinate resistance Chitore was taken. Rantampore, in the Arrabarre hills, in the province of Ajmere, was also a hill fort, of great strength, which had often been taken from the Hindus, and as often recovered. Having reduced Rantampore, as well as Callinger, another strong hold of similar description and importance, in the same range of mountains, he directed his attention to Guzerat.

This was one of the provinces, the governor of which, during the decline of the Patan or Afghaun dynasty, had assumed independence; and it had been governed as a separate kingdom for a number of years. After a time it had fallen into the same confusion, which seems the common fate of Asiatic sovereignties, whether great or small. The Omrahs became too powerful for the

sovereign; the different districts or governments assumed independence; and the royal power was reduced to a shadow. In this situation the province offered but little resistance to Akbar, the different leaders, who felt their inferiority, courting favour by hastening submission. Hussun, in Ajmere, was able to take the field with an army; but as the king was now at leisure to push the war against him, he was driven from the province, and with the remains of his army, fled to Punjab. Attacked by a warlike tribe of the inhabitants, he was there taken prisoner, delivered up to the governor of Multan, and by him put to death. No sooner had the king turned his back on Guzerat, than some of the turbulent chiefs began to assemble armies, and prepare the means of resistance. The rainy season was now commenced, when the great camp was unable to move; but Akbar, selecting a small body of cavalry, pursued his way with the utmost expedition to Guzerat, surprised the rebels in the midst of their preparations; offered them battle notwithstanding the inferiority of his force, and, contrary to all prudential calculation, gained a victory, which established his authority in Guzerat.

CHAP. IV.
1580.

The province of Bengal paid a nominal submission to the throne of Delhi, but during several reigns had been virtually independent. After the other provinces of the empire were reduced to more substantial obedience, it was not likely that grounds of quarrel would long fail to be laid between Akbar and the King of Bengal. The Governor or Subahdar of Oude being ordered, as contiguous, to begin operations against him, had gained some important advantages, and was besieging Patna, when he was joined by the Shah. The Bengal chief, seeing no chance of success, offered terms of accommodation. Akbar consented to engage for his life, but demanded that every thing else should be left to his clemency; to spare, however, the blood of their subjects, he offered to decide their disputes by personal combat. In the following night the Bengal chief went secretly down the river in a boat, and his troops immediately evacuated the city. Akbar returned to Agra; and the governor of Oude, to whose jurisdiction Patna was annexed, was ordered to complete the reduction of Bengal. The vanquished sovereign was allowed to retain Orissa. But, unfortunately for him, the Zemindars of Bengal still adhered to his interests, and speedily assembled a considerable army for his restoration. Having put himself at the head of this armament, he was taken prisoner, and in the absence of Akbar put to death in cold blood, upon the field.

For a short space Akbar now enjoyed tranquillity and obedience throughout his extensive empire; and wisely made use of the interval to visit and inspect

BOOK III. 1593.

its several provinces. Soon was he recalled to his former troubles and exertions. The recently subdued Bengal furnished a variety of discontented spirits, who again appeared in arms; and his brother, in Cabul, marched against Lahore. Akbar never allowed disobedience in the upper provinces to gain strength by duration. He hastened to Lahore, overcame his brother, followed him close to Cabul, and received a message from the vanquished prince, imploring forgiveness. Akbar, with his usual generosity, which was often inconsiderate, and cost him dear, replaced him in his government.

The peace of Bengal was in the mean time restored; but a formidable rebellion broke out in Guzerat, which the son of Byram, the late regent, was sent to subdue. He was opposed with great obstinacy; and some power. But being a man of talents, he restored the province in a little time to obedience, and was rewarded with its government.

The governor of Cabul, the king's brother, died. The state of the upper provinces seemed upon that occasion to require the presence of Akbar, and he marched towards Punjab. Here he projected the conquest of Cashmere, and dispatched an army for that purpose. The season being ill chosen, and provisions failing, that army found itself unequal to the enterprise. Akbar, however, was not willing to be foiled: he dispatched a second army; and the conquest was made with little opposition. Soon after this, the Governor of Candahar, a province which hitherto had paid but a nominal submission to the Mogul throne, unable to defend himself against his rebellious brothers, and the Usbeks, who had now rendered themselves masters of Transoxiana and Bactria, and were formidable neighbours to the northern provinces of Hindustan, offered to deliver up his government to Akbar; and received that of Multan in exchange.

Akbar, who now beheld himself master, from the mountains of Persia and Tartary, to the confines of Deccan, began to cast the eyes of ambition on that contiguous land. He gave directions to his governors, in the provinces nearest Deccan, to prepare as numerous armies as possible; and to omit no opportunity of extending the empire. He dispatched ambassadors to the kingdoms of Deccan, more with a design to collect information, then to settle disputes. And at last a great army, under Mirza the son of Byram, who had reduced Guzerat, marched in execution of this project of unprovoked aggression, and unprincipled ambition.

History of the Mahomedan

We have already observed the circumstances which attended the first establishment of a Mahomedan empire in Deccan, and it will now be necessary to

recount shortly the events which intervened from the death of Alla Bhamenee, in the year 1357, to the invasion of Akbar in 1593.* Alla was succeeded by his son Mahomed, who reigned seventeen years, and carried on successful wars against the Rajahs of Telingana and Beejanuggur, † a city on the Tummedra or Toombuddra, the most southern branch of the Kistna or Krishna, and at that time the capital of a considerable kingdom.‡ He stript these sovereigns of part of their dominions, and rendered them tributary for the rest. A circumstance is recorded by the historian, which indicates but a thin population in that part of India. The number of lives which were destroyed by his wars was computed at near 500,000, among whom was the natural proportion of both sexes, and of all ages; for Indian wars spare neither sex nor age: And by this loss, the regions of Carnatic, says the historian, were so laid waste, that they did not recover their natural population for several kerruns, or revolutions of ten years: yet they had never before been more than slightly over-run by a foreign invader; and the virtues or vices of Hindu policy were here to be traced in their natural effects. Mujahid, the son of Mahomed, was assassinated by his uncle, after reigning three years. The murderer Daood placed himself on the throne, but lost his own life by assassination, after a month and five days. Of Alla, the first of the Bahmenee sovereigns, the youngest son was still alive, and had passed his life in confinement during the intermediate reigns. By the intrigues of the Haram, he was now acknowledged as king, and spent a mild and prudent reign of nineteen years, in almost uninterrupted tranquillity. His eldest son Gheause succeeded him; but having affronted one of his Turkish Omrahs, who disguised his resentment the more effectually to secure his revenge, he lost his throne and his eyes, after a reign of little more than a month; and his brother Shumse was made to occupy it in his stead.

CHAP. IV.
1593.
Kingdoms in Deccan, continued.

Shumse was but fifteen years of age; and was a passive instrument in the

* For the succeeding sketch of the history of the Mahomedan sovereignties in Deccan, Ferishta's History of Deccan, translated by Captain Jonathan Scott, and Wilks's Historical Sketches of the South of India, have been the principal guides.

† Called Bisnagar, in the common maps, and Vijeyanuggur by Col. Wilks. Bijanuggur was but a modern power, in the south of India, and had risen upon the ruins of the Rajahship of Warunkul. Historic Sketches, by Col. Wilks, ch. i.

‡ Col. Wilks thinks that the whole of the south of India, (i. e. India to the south of the Kistna) had for a considerable space of time been comprised in the empire of Vijeyanuggur. Ibid. p. 20. After the ruin of the Rajahship of Warunkul, when was the time for such an aggrandisement?

Book III. 1598.

hands of the Turk. Of Daood, however, the usurper, who had enjoyed royalty a month, several sons remained, who, under the odium attending the present state of the government, conceived hopes of profiting by the usurpation of their father. By an alternation of force and artifice, they secured the persons of the king and his minister, after a reign of only five months and seven days, and one of the brothers, by name Firoze, took possession of the throne. He reigned upwards of five and twenty years; and is the most celebrated of all the sovereigns of Deccan. He was engaged in a variety of wars with the Hindu sovereigns; but his acquisitions in point of territory were inconsiderable. His endeavours to secure the succession to his son, by the destruction of a brother of his own, whose power and talents excited his fears, involved the last months of his reign in trouble. But finding his efforts ineffectual, he submitted to necessity, and appointing his brother successor, died in a few days.

The new sovereign, Ahmed, was a man of talents; governed with moderation and prudence; and enjoyed a prosperous reign of twelve years and two months. He overthrew the Rajah of Warunkul, and added the city of Telingana to his dominions. The governors who, during the decline of the Afghaun or Patan dynasty of Delhi, had assumed independence in the provinces of Malwa, Candesh, and Guzerat, were now sovereigns, whose contiguity failed not to produce occasions of discord. At different times Ahmed was engaged in war with all these princes, but without any memorable result. He enlarged and beautified the city of Beder, which he called Ahmedabad, and removed to it the seat of government from Calburga. Toward the conclusion of his reign, he projected a partition of his kingdom among his sons. His acquisitions in Berar, with some contiguous districts, he assigned to Mahmood; he gave Telingana to Daood; and sent these princes to take possession of their shares. His two remaining sons, Alla and Mahomed, were destined to succeed him as colleagues on the throne of Calburga.

They ascended the throne without opposition; but Mahomed, dissatisfied with the share of power which his brother allowed him, was soon excited to rebel. He was defeated, and treated with generosity by Alla. Their brother Daood having just died in Telingana, Mahomed was appointed governor of that kingdom, where he devoted himself to his pleasures, and lived in peace. Alla was at various times attacked, by the Rajah of Beejanuggur on the south, and the kings of Guzerat, Candesh, and Malwa, on the north; but defended himself with success. He sent an army to invade Malabar, which at first gained advantages, but being artfully drawn into the difficult recesses of that mountainous and

woody country, was almost totally destroyed. After a reign of nearly twenty-four years, he was succeeded by his son Humaioon, who meeting with opposition and rebellion, gave reins to the ferocity of a violent mind; but died, or was assassinated, it is uncertain which, after a reign of little more than three years. His eldest son, Nizam, was only eight years of age at his accession; but the reins of government were directed by the queen-mother, a woman of talents; and though the surrounding sovereigns endeavoured to avail themselves of the weakness of a minority, and the king of Malwa penetrated to the very capital, he was repulsed, and the Bahmenee empire remained entire. Nizam died in little more than two years after his father, when the crown devolved upon his second brother Mahomed, who was then in his ninth year. The abilities of the queen-mother, and of a faithful minister, conducted the state in safety through the difficulties and dangers of a second minority; and Mahomed, displaying, when he grew up, considerable talents for government, enjoyed prosperity for a number of years; took part of Orissa, and the island of Goa; and thus extended his dominions from sea to sea. At last, however, the jealous rivals of the minister forged an accusation, which they presented to the king at an artful moment, and surprised him into a sudden order for his destruction. Mahomed soon discovered, and soon repented, his fatal mistake. The ambitious Omrahs, whom the vigilance and talents of the minister had restrained, began immediately to encroach on the royal authority. Mahomed died within a year of the execution of his minister, having languished both in mind and body, from the day of that unfortunate and criminal act.

His son Mahmood ascended the throne of Deccan in the twelfth year of his age. The contentions of the great Omrahs now filled the state with disorder. The sovereign himself displayed no talents for government, and was a slave to his indolence and pleasures. After plotting and struggling for several years, four of the great Omrahs declared themselves independent in their several governments; and a fifth, who remained at the court, reduced the power of the sovereign to a shadow, and ruled in his name. Mahmood's nominal sovereignty lasted for thirty-seven years; during which the Deccanee empire was divided into five several kingdoms; that of Beejapore or Visiapore, founded by Esuff Adil Khan; that of Ahmednuggur, founded by Ahmed Nizam Beheree; that of Berar, founded by Ummad al Mulk; that of Golconda, founded by Koottub al Mulk; their respective governors; and that of Ahmedabad Beder, founded by Ameer Bereed, who rendered himself master of the person and throne of his master, and retained the provinces which had not been grasped by the other usurpers. This

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revolution, after being several years in progress, was consummated about the year 1526. These sovereigns were engaged in almost perpetual wars with one another, with the Rajah of Beejanuggur, and with the Sultan of Guzerat, who was so powerful as to hold in a species of subjection the Sultans of both Malwa and Candesh. A temporary union of the Shahs of Beejapore, Golconda, and Ahmednuggur, in 1564, enabled them to subvert the empire of Beejanuggur, and reduce the power of its chief to that of a petty Rajah. The kingdom of Beder, which had fallen to the share of Ameer Bereed, was, during the reign of his grandson, destroyed; and its territories, which were not large, divided among the other usurpers of the Bahmenee dominions. A similar fate awaited the portion of Ummad, which consisted of the southern part of Berar; it subsisted as a kingdom only four generations; and was annexed to his dominions by the king of Ahmednuggur in the year 1574. Deccan was, therefore, at the time when its invasion was projected by the Moguls, divided among the sovereigns of Beejapore, Ahmednuggur, and Golconda. It was at the time when the Bahmenee empire of Deccan was first divided into separate kingdoms, that the Portuguese begun their conquests on the coast of Malabar, and took possession of the island of Goa.

In addition to the army which Akbar had dispatched under Mirza towards Deccan, he sent orders to his son Morad, to whom he had committed the government of Guzerat, to join him with all his forces: Mirza had already been reinforced with the troops of Malwa, governed by another son of the Emperor, and by six thousand horse belonging to the king of Candesh, who had endeavoured, by submission, to avert the ruin which resistance would ensure. The combined army marched upon Ahmednuggur, to which they laid siege. The place was defended with great bravery, till provisions began to fail in the Mogul army, when the generals opened a negociation, and agreed, upon condition of receiving Berar, to raise the siege of Ahmednuggur, and evacuate the kingdom. The pain felt by the king at the loss of Berar soon prompted him to an effort for its recovery. His army fought a drawn battle with the Moguls. The resolution and ardour of Mirza led him to renew the engagement on the following day, when he defeated indeed the enemy, but was so weakened by his loss, as to be unable to pursue the fugitives, or to improve his victory. Mirza was soon after recalled. In his absence, the Ahmednuggur arms gained some advantages; and the Mogul interests declined. But in 1598 Mirza was restored to the army in Deccan, to which the Emperor proceeded in person. Ahmednuggur was again besieged; and at last compelled to open its gates. The territory of

1605.

Ahmednuggur was formed into a province of the Mogul empire; and its government conferred upon Danial, one of the sons of Akbar. The Emperor did not long survive these new acquisitions. He returned to Agra, and died in the fifty-second year of his reign.

At the time of the death of this successful prince, his great empire was divided into fifteen vice-royalties, called Subahs; each governed immediately by its own viceroy called Subahdar. The names of the Subahs were, Allahabad, Agra, Oude, Ajmere, Guzerat, Bahar, Bengal, Delhi, Cabul, Lahore, Multan, Malwa, Berar, Candesh, and Ahmednuggur.*

Shah Tamasp, the second in the line of the Sophis, held the sceptre of Persia till the twentieth year of the reign of Akbar; when there was a rapid succession of several princes, most of whom were cut off by violence. During these disorderly reigns, the Usbecks made dangerous inroads upon the eastern provinces of Persia, and even threatened the security of the northern provinces of India. At the time of the death of Akbar, Shah Abbas the great was upon the throne, a prince who made both his neighbours and his subjects tremble at his name.

Jehangire.

Selim was the only surviving son of Akbar; but even this fortunate circumstance did not save him from a rival. Selim's own son Chusero was destined to supersede his father, by Azim Khan whose daughter was the wife, and by Rajah Man Sing whose sister was the mother, of Chusero. Azim Khan was vizir; Man Sing had a powerful government as an Omrah of the empire, and an army of twenty thousand Rajpoots, his countrymen, in his service. The schemes of these powerful chiefs were rendered abortive, by a decisive resolution of the commander of the City guards; who ordered the gates to be shut, and delivered the keys to Selim on his knees. Selim assumed the title of Mahomed Jehangire, or conqueror of the world, and dated his reign from October 21, 1605, being then in the thirty-seventh year of his age. Jehangire, for whom it would have been difficult in the commencement of his reign to contend with the power of Azim Khan, and Raja Man Sing, contented himself with sending them to their respective governments; the vizir to his Subah of Malwa; the Rajah to that of Bengal; and Chusero was received into favour. A short time elapsed, when Chusero again rebelled, but, rejecting the advice of Azim Khan, and Rajah Man Sing, to assassinate his father, he taught those artful chiefs to despair of his cause, and they abstained from lending him any open support. So many followers crowded to his standards, as enabled him to seize and ravage some extensive

* Ayeen Akberry, ii. 2.

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districts. Unable to contend with the army which pressed him, he retired towards the Indus, when his followers dispersed, his principal friends were punished with all the ferocity of Oriental despotism, and he himself was placed in confinement.

One of the circumstances which had the greatest influence on the events and character of the reign of Jehangire was his marriage with the wife of one of the Omrahs of his empire, whose assassination, like that of Uriah, cleared the way for the gratification of the monarch. The history of this female is dressed in romantic colours by the writers of the East. Chaja Aiass her father, was a Tartar, who left poverty and his native country, to seek the gifts of fortune in Hindustan. The inadequate provision he could make for so great a journey failed him before its conclusion. To add to his trials, his wife, advanced in pregnancy, was seized with the pains of labour in the desert, and delivered of a daughter. All hope of conducting the child alive to any place of relief forsook the exhausted parents; and they agreed to leave her. So long as the tree, at the foot of which the infant had been deposited, remained in view, the mother supported her resolution; but when the tree vanished from sight, she sunk upon the ground, and refused to proceed without her. The father returned; but what he beheld was a huge black snake, convolved about the body of his child, and extending his dreadful jaws to devour her. A shriek of anguish burst from the father's breast; and the snake, being alarmed, hastily unwound himself from the body of the infant, and glided away to his retreat. The miracle animated the parents to maintain the struggle; and before their strength entirely failed, they were joined by other travellers, who relieved their necessities.

Aiass, having arrived in Hindustan, was taken into the service of an Omrah of the court; attracted after a time the notice of Akbar himself; and by his abilities and prudence rose to be treasurer of the empire. The infant who had been so nearly lost in the desert was now grown a woman of exquisite beauty; and, by the attention of Aiass to her education, accomplished beyond the measure of female attainments in the East. She was seen by Sultan Selim, and kindled in his bosom the fire of love. But she was betrothed to a Turkman Omrah, and Akbar forbid the contract to be infringed. When Selim mounted the throne, justice and shame were a slight protection to the man whose life was a bar to the enjoyments of the King. By some caprice, however, not unnatural to minds pampered, and trained up as his; he abstained from seeing her, for some years, after she was placed in his seraglio; and even refused an adequate appointment for her support. She turned her faculties to account; employed herself in the ex-

quisite works of the needle and painting, in which she excelled; had her productions disposed of in the shops and markets, and thence procured the means of adorning her apartments with all the elegancies which suited her condition and taste. The fame of her productions reached the ear, and excited the curiosity of the emperor. A visit was all that was wanting to rekindle the flame in his heart; and Noor Mahl (such was the name she assumed) exercised from that moment an unbounded sway over the Prince and his empire. Chap. IV. 1608.

Through the influence of the favourite Sultana, the vizarit was bestowed upon her father; her two brothers were raised to the first rank of Omrahs, by the titles of Acticâd Khan, and Asiph Jah; but their modesty and virtues reconciled all men to their sudden elevation; and though the emperor, naturally voluptuous, was now withdrawn from business by the charms of his wife, the affairs of the empire were conducted with vigilance, prudence, and success; and the administration of Chaja Aiass was long remembered in India, as a period of justice and prosperity.

The Afghauns broke from their mountains into the province of Cabul, in the sixth year of the reign of Jehangire; but an army was collected with expedition, and drove them back to their fastnesses with great slaughter. About the same time, one insurrection was raised in the province of Bengal, and another in that of Bahar. But the springs of the government were strong; and both were speedily suppressed.

More serious hostility began in Odipore, a mountainous district lying between Ajmere and Malwa, the prince of which, though he had acknowledged subjection to the Mahomedans, yet, protected by his mountains, had never been actually subdued. Amar Sinka, the present Rana or prince of Odipore, attacked and defeated the imperial troops in Candesh. Purvez, the second son of the Emperor, at the head of 30,000 horse, was sent to take the command of all the troops on the borders of Deccan, and oppose him. But Amar Sinka was no contemptible foe, possessing great authority among his countrymen, and the obedience of a great proportion of the people called Mahrattas, who inhabited the mountains on the south-west, adjoining those of Odipore. Dissensions prevailed among the Omrahs of the imperial army, which the youth and easy character of Purvez made him unable to repress. Encompassed with difficulties, and fain to retreat, he was pursued with loss to Ajmere. Purvez was recalled; a temporary general was sent to take charge of the army; the Emperor himself prepared to march to Ajmere, whence he dispatched his third son Churrum, to prosecute the war. Churrum entered the mountains with a force which alarmed

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the Hindus, and induced the Rana after a few losses to offer terms of accommodation. It suited the views of Chirrum to show liberality on this occasion, and to conclude the war with dispatch. Peace was effected; and Sultan Chirrum returned to his father, with a vast increase of reputation and favour at the expense of Purvez; who was left, notwithstanding, governor of Candesh; and lived in royal state at its capital Burrahanpore.*

It was at the time of which we are now speaking, that Sir Thomas Roe arrived at Surat, ambassador to the Great Mogul. In his way to the imperial presence, he repaired to Burrahanpore, to pay his respects to the Prince, and solicit permission for his countrymen to establish a factory in his province. Purvez, whose good nature, affability, and taste, were better fitted for display, than his facility, indolence, and diffidence, for the duties of government, received the European messenger with magnificence and distinction. From Burrahanpore, Sir Thomas repaired to Ajmere, where the Emperor still remained. Jehangire was flattered by the compliments and solicitations of a distant monarch. But the rude court of India was not a place where the powers of an ambassador could be exerted with much effect.

In the year 1615, disturbances arose both in Guzerat and Cabul. In the most inaccessible parts of Guzerat lived a race of men, known by the name of Coolies, who exercised perpetual depredations and cruelties upon the inhabitants of the open and cultivated districts. The enormities of this people had lately risen to an extraordinary height, when Jehangire issued a sanguinary order for the utter extirpation of the race. Many were slaughtered; the rest hunted to their mountains and deserts. Cabul was again over-run by the Afghauns, who issued from the mountains adjoining that province on the north. But the Subahdar, collecting an army, overcame them in battle, and drove them back to their own country.

The provinces of the south were still unquiet. Purvez was engaged in a war with the princes of Deccan, which from the dissensions and treachery of his Omrahs, was not successful, and encouraged the Rana of Odipore "to draw his neck from the yoke of obedience." The hopes of the Emperor were again cast upon his younger son; and though his counsellors set before him the danger of sending the younger to supersede the elder, he made light of the menaced evil; bestowed upon Chirrum the title of Shah Jehan or King of the World, and vested him with the conduct of the war. The easy and unambitious Purvez

* Written also Brampore, and Boorhanpore.

contested not the royal appointment; fortune, rather than any merit of Shah Jehan, induced the opposing princes to offer terms of accommodation without trying the event of the sword; and the prudent desire of Jehan to obtain the credit of terminating the war without running any of its dangers, made him eagerly remove every obstacle to the conclusion of the peace. In the mean time the Emperor, accompanied by the English ambassador, departed from Ajmere, to Mando, the capital of Malwa, where he presided at the settlement of the affairs of the south; and having spent at Mando seventeen months in business and pleasure, he conveyed the royal camp, which was a prodigious moving city, into the kingdom of Guzerat, and thence to Agra, where he arrived after an absence of little less than five years.

It was shortly after this arrival, that Chaja Aiass, the Vizir, now dear to the nation for the blessings conferred upon it, ended a life which had been checquered by so great a diversity of fortune. The sympathies of the Sultana with such a father appear to have been strong, in spite of that loss of heart, which flows almost inevitably from the enjoyment of boundless power. She was inconsolable for his loss; and her inconsiderate mind, and gaudy taste, made her conceive the design of raising a monument of silver to his memory, till reminded by her architect that one of less covetable materials stood a fairer chance for duration. Her brother Asiph Jah sustained the weight of administration, in the room of Chaja Aiass, and inherited the virtues and capacity of his father. But he dared not contend with the haughty and uncontrolable disposition of his sister. And from the death of her father, the caprices and passions of the Sultana exercised a calamitous influence over the fate of the empire.

As the other parts of his dominions were now at peace, Jehangire marched towards Sewalic, or that part of the mountains, separating Tartary from Hindustan, which lies near the spot where the Ganges descends upon the plain. In the recesses and valleys of these mountains, lived tribes of Hindus, which, protected by the strength of their country, had escaped subjection to a foreign yoke, and exercised the depredations, common to the mountaineers of Hindustan, upon the fertile provinces below. The Emperor wished to subdue them; his army penetrated into the mountains; and after enduring a variety of hardships, for nearly two years (so long the war continued), brought twenty-two petty princes to promise obedience and tribute, and to send hostages to Agra. During this expedition the Emperor paid a visit to the delightful valley of Cashmere, where he spent several months. His partiality produced one good effect.

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A command was issued to improve the road, for the future visits of the Emperor; and this grand improvement, once begun, was extended to various parts of the empire.

In the mean time, the south engendered new disturbances, which led to important events. The princes of Deccan withheld their tribute, and raised an army to make good their disobedience. Intelligence arrived that they had crossed the Nerbudda in great force, and were laying waste the adjacent provinces. A great army was placed under the command of Shah Jehan, with which he was dispatched to repel and chastise the enemy. As the greatness of the force with which he advanced took from the confederates all hope of successful resistance, they hastened to make their peace, paid arrears, and promised punctuality and obedience. The success and power of Shah Jehan encouraged him now to commence the execution of designs which had long existed in his mind. His eldest brother Chusero, confined in a fortress in Malwa, from the time of his last rebellion, he prevailed on his father, before departing, to permit him to relieve from his confinement, and carry along with him. That prince was carried off by assassination, and all men ascribed the murder to Shah Jehan: The emperor loudly expressed his suspicions and resentment. Jehan conceived the time for revolt to be now arrived; assumed the royal titles, and marched to attack his father. They came to action not far from Delhi, and empire was staked on the turn of a die. After an obstinate struggle, the troops of the father prevailed; and the son, who in his rage and grief had with difficulty been restrained from laying hands on himself, fled in great consternation toward the mountains of Mewat. He was pursued to Deccan; one province was wrested from him after another; and he lost a battle on the banks of the Nerbudda, which broke up his army, and obliged him to fly to Orissa. Here fortune seemed to dawn upon him anew. The governor of Orissa retired at his approach. He made himself master of Burdwan. He next entered Bengal, and defeated its Subahdar. He then marched to Bahar, which also yielded to his arms; and the impregnable fortress of Rotas, of which the governor came to deliver the keys into his hands, presented to him the inestimable advantage of a place of security for his family. In the mean time, the imperial army advanced. That of Shah Jehan was routed, in spite of all his exertions, and he again fled towards Deccan. All men now deserted him. After some time spent in eluding his pursuers; his spirits sunk, and he wrote a contrite letter to his father. Pardon was obtained, but with an order to deliver up the forts which were held in his name, and to repair with his family to Agra. That part alone of the command which regarded

his own person, he endeavoured to elude, alleging the shame he should feel to behold the face of an injured sovereign and father; and occupied himself under the guise of pleasure in travelling with a few attendants, through different parts of the empire. During this rebellion Abbas, the Persian Shah, attacked and conquered Candahar. The Usbeks also penetrated to Ghizni, but were successfully resisted, and compelled to retreat.

The general to whose valour and conduct, on the late extraordinary and critical occasions, the Emperor owed his success, was Mohâbet, from whom, also, on many former emergencies, he had reaped the most important services. The first movement in the breast of Jehangire was gratitude to his benefactor. But Mohâbet possessed a dangerous enemy in Noor Mahl. The slave, she said, who had power to keep the crown upon the head of the Emperor, had power to take it off. Fear is nearly allied to hatred in the breast of an emperor. The power of Mohâbet was curtailed; offensive mandates were addressed to him; a strong fort which he held was transferred to a creature of the Sultana. He was commanded to court. His friends represented the danger; but an angry and more peremptory order following his apology, Mohâbet resolved to obey. Five thousand Rajputs, who had served with him in the imperial army, offered themselves for his escort. When Mohâbet approached the imperial camp, he was ordered to stop, till he should account for the revenues of Bengal and the plunder acquired in the recent battle. Mohabet, deeply affected with this injurious treatment, sent his own son-in-law to the Emperor to represent his loyalty, and expose the injustice of his enemies. His son-in-law was seized in the royal square, stript of his clothes, bastinadoed, covered with rags, placed backwards on a horse, of the most miserable description, and sent out of the camp amid the shouts and insults of the rabble. Mohâbet separated his retinue from the camp; and resolved to watch his opportunity. Next morning, the royal army began to cross the bridge which lay upon the river Jylum, or Behut, on the road between Lahore and Cabul. The greater part of the army had now passed, and the royal tents were yet unstruck; when Mohâbet, with two thousand of his Rajputs, galloped to the bridge, and set it on fire. Hastening thence, with a few followers, to the royal quarters; he secured the person of the Emperor, and conveyed him without opposition to his camp. Noor Mahl, in the mean time, contrived to make her escape. Next day Asiph Jah, the vizir, made an obstinate attempt to ford the river, and rescue the Emperor; but was repulsed with great slaughter. Unable after this, to keep the army from dispersing, he fled to the castle of New Rotas on the Attock, where he was besieged and soon obliged to surrender at dis-

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cretion, while his sister the Sultana fled to Lahore. The Emperor was treated by Mohâbet with profound respect; assured that no infringement of his authority was designed; that the necessity alone under which the enemies of Mohâbet had criminally placed him, was the lamented cause of the restraint which his imperial master endured. The generous Mohâbet, who really meant what he spoke, was well aware that for him there was no security, under Jehangire, while influenced and directed by Noor Mahl. She was repairing to the Emperor upon his own request, when met by an escort of Mohâbet, who, under pretence of guarding, kept her a prisoner. He accused her immediately of treason and other high crimes; and the Emperor, on whose feeble mind absence had already effaced in some degree the impression of her charms, signed without much reluctance the order for her execution. She only begged, that she might have leave, before her death, to kiss the hand of her lord. She was admitted, but in the presence of Mohâbet. She stood in silence. The Emperor burst into tears. "Will you not spare this woman, Mohâbet? See how she weeps." "It is not for the Emperor of the Moguls," cried Mohâbet, "to ask in vain." At a wave of his hand, the guards retired, and she was that instant restored to her former attendants. In a few months Mohâbet restored to the Emperor the full exercise of his authority, and, to show the sincerity of his obedience, dismissed the greater part of his attendants and guards. No sooner did the Sultana conceive him in her power, than she importuned the Emperor for his death. The Emperor had virtue to reject her proposal; but the consequence only was, that she resolved to employ assassination. Jehangire himself discovered to Mohâbet his danger; and he fled without attendants from the camp. The man who had saved the Emperor; and spared both his life and authority, when both were in his hands; was now the object of a command to all the governors of provinces to suffer him no where to lurk in existence; and a price was set on his head. Mohâbet seized a resolution which accorded with the boldness and generosity of his nature. In a mean habit, he secretly entered the camp of Asiph Jah when it was dark, and placed himself in the passage which led from the apartments of the vizir to the haram. He was questioned by the eunuch on guard, who recognized his voice, and carried to Asiph his request to see him on affairs of the utmost importance. Asiph was not ignorant of the baneful effects of his sister's passions; nor unmoved by the generosity with which Mohâbet had lately treated both her and himself. He took him in his arms, and conveyed him in silence to a secret apartment, Mohâbet opened his mind with freedom on the misconduct of the Sultana; the weakness of Jehangire; and the necessity of another sovereign to cure the

evils of an afflicted state. "The elder of the princes," said he, "is a virtuous man, and my friend; but we must not exchange one feeble sovereign for another. I know the merit of Shah Jehan; for I have fought against him; and though his ambition knows no restraint either of nature or justice, his vigour will prevent intestine disorders, and give power to the laws." The views of Asiph, whose daughter was the favourite wife of Shah Jehan, corresponded, it seems, with those of Mohâbet: a plan of co-operation was concerted at that moment; and Mohâbet, with letters from the vizir, retired to the court of the Rana of Odipore, to wait for events.

Shah Jehan.

The death of the prince Purvez, which happened soon after, of an apoplexy; and the death of Jehangire, which followed at a short interval, saved the conspirators from many difficulties, and probably crimes. It was found, when the will of the Emperor was opened, that he had named Shariar, his youngest son, successor; at the instigation of the Sultana, whose daughter, by her first husband, that prince had taken to wife. As a temporary expedient, the vizir placed Dawir Buksh, the son of the late prince Chusero, upon the throne; but at the same time dispatched to Mohâbet the concerted signal for commencing operations in behalf of Shah Jehan. Asiph conquered the troops of Shariar, and put out his eyes. Shah Jehan proceeded towards Agra; and every obstacle was removed by the death of Dawir Buksh. Shah Jehan was proclaimed Emperor of the Moguls in the beginning of the year 1628.

He began his reign by removing all danger of competition. The whole of the male posterity of the house of Timur, reserving only himself and his sons, were dispatched by the dagger or the bow-string. His sons were four in number; Dara surnamed Shêko, Suja, Aurungzebe, and Morad; the eldest, at this time, thirteen; the youngest, four years of age. Even the daughters of Shah Jehan were important actors in the scenes of his eventful reign. They were three in number, women of talents and accomplishments as well as beauty. The eldest, Jehânara, was her father's favourite, with a boundless influence over his mind; lively, generous, open; and attached to her brother Dara, whose disposition corresponded with her own. The second, Roshenrai Begum, was acute, artful, intriguing, and from conformity of character, favoured Aurungzebe. The gentleness of Suria Bânu, the youngest, kept her aloof from the turbulence of political intrigue and contention.

The two chiefs, Asiph and Mohâbet, who had conducted Shah Jehan to the throne, and were the most able and popular men of the empire, were appointed, the first, vizir; the latter, commander-in-chief of the forces. Through the wide

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dominions of the Shah, Lodi, who commanded the army in Deccan, was the only disobedient chief. Even he submitted, as soon as an army approached.

The dissensions and weakness usually attending a change of sovereign in the disjointed governments of the East, persuaded the leader of the Usbecks, that conquests might be achieved in Hindustan. Though Abbas still reigned in Persia, and the Usbecks had lately shed their blood in torrents, in disputes about the succession to their throne, they still possessed the regions of the Oxus, of which Abbas had in vain attempted to deprive them. Ten thousand horse, with a train of artillery, penetrated through the mountains into Cabul. They first laid siege to the fortress of Zohâc; but, finding it strong and well defended, proceeded to Cabul. The city made a vigorous resistance; but was at last reduced to extremity. The defenders, resolving however upon one desperate struggle, sallied forth, and repulsed the enemy, who evacuated the province, before Mohâbet, on his march from Deccan, whither he had been sent for the subjugation of Lodi, could reach the scene of action.

The disobedience of the Rajah of Bundelcund, who was so imprudent as to take offence at an increase of tribute, was chastised by an overwhelming force. But the heart of the generous Mohâbet was gained by the bravery of his enemy; and he obtained for him pardon and restoration.

All the merit of Mohâbet, and all his services, only inflamed the dark suspicions which usually haunt the mind of an Oriental despot. Shah Jehan regarded him with terror; and by such steps as it appeared safe to venture upon, proceeded to deprive him of his power.

The jealous and revengeful passions of the Emperor involved him in difficulties through another channel. When Lodi submitted upon terms, he was appointed to the government of a province, but not forgiven. He was now ordered to court, and received with so much studied insult, that both his pride and his prudence taught him to look for safety in his independence alone. He escaped with much difficulty; was reduced to the deepest distress; but, having talents and perseverance, he baffled the imperial pursuers, and reached Deccan. The resources which such a man as Lodi might find in the south made the Emperor tremble on his throne. He raised a large army; placed himself at its head; hastened to the scene of action; and engaged in those struggles for the subjugation of Deccan, which formed so large a portion of the business of this, and of the following reign.

History of Deccan continued.

Since the fall of Ahmednuggur, at the close of the reign of Akbar, the following are the principal events which had taken place in Deccan. The territories of

the Nizam Shawee or Ahmednuggur sovereignty, were divided between Mallek Umber, who possessed from the Telingana frontier, to within eight miles of Ahmednuggur, and four of Dowlatabad; and Rajoo Minnaun, who ruled from Dowlatabad northward, to the borders of Guzerat, and southward to within twelve miles of Ahmednuggur; while Mortiza II. a prince of the royal house of Ahmednuggur, with the empty name of sovereign, was allowed to hold the fortress of Ouseh, with a few villages to yield him subsistence. Perpetual contests subsisted between the usurpers; and Umber succeeded at last in taking Rajoo prisoner, and seizing his dominions. Umber was now a sovereign of high rank among the princes of Deccan, governed his dominions with wisdom, and, exacting something more than respect from the kings of Beejapore and Golconda, held in check the arms of Jehângîre himself. He built the city of Gurkeh, now called Aurungabad, five coss from Dowlatabad, and died two years before the present expedition of Shah Jehan, at eighty years of age, leaving his dominions the best cultivated, and the happiest region in India. Futteh Khan, the son of Umber, succeeded him. Mortiza II. still alive, got him by treachery into his power; and recovered once more to the house of Nizam Beheree, the remaining part of the Ahmednuggur territories. He did not retain them long; Futteh Khan regained his liberty and ascendancy; and, with the concurrence of Shah Jehan, whom he consulted, put Mortiza to death; and placed his son, only ten years of age, upon a nominal throne.*

The Beejapore and Golconda sovereignties remained nearly in the same situation in which they had been found and left by Akbar. Mahomed Adil Shah was now on the throne of the former; Abdoolla Koottub Shah, on that of the latter kingdom.†

The Emperor arrived at Burrahanpore, the capital of Candesh, and sent his mandates to the princes of Deccan, to disband their forces, deliver up Lodi, and make their submissions in person, on pain of destruction. The celerity of the Emperor had allowed to Lodi too little time to make the preparations which resistance to so formidable an enemy required. But he had already engaged the three sovereigns of Deccan in a confederacy for his support, and had influence to make them reject or evade the commands of the Emperor. He was entrusted with a body of troops, and, seizing the passes of the mountains, opposed the

* Ferishta's History of Deccan, by Scott, i. 400—403. Umber was one of the adventurers from Abyssinia, of whom so many sought, and obtained, their fortunes in Deccan, during the existence of the Afghâun dynasties.

† Ib. p. 339, 340; and 409, 410.

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entrance of the Mogul army into Golconda. The Emperor, impatient of delay, removed his general, and commanded the vizir to take upon himself the charge of destroying Lodi, and chastising the insolence of the princes of Deccan. The princes were already tired of the war, and alarmed by its dangers. The reputation and power of the vizir augmented their apprehensions. Lodi was deserted by all on the day of battle, except by a few chiefs, his friends, who adhered to him, with their retinues. With these he posted himself on an advantageous ground; and long arrested victory against the whole might of the imperial arms. A neighbouring Rajah, to gain the favour of the Emperor, set upon him unexpectedly, as he was pursuing his way to some place of safety, and he lost his brave son with the greater part of his followers. A party of those who were sent in all directions to scour the country, at last came upon him in a place from which there was no retreat; and he fell defending himself to the last extremity. Shah Jehan exhibited the most indecent joy when assured of his destruction; the measure of his terrors, when this brave man was alive. After the conquest of Lodi, the war in Deccan was little else than a series of ravages. The princes were able to make little resistance. A dreadful famine, from several years of excessive drought, which prevailed throughout India and a great part of Asia, added its horrid evils to the calamities which overwhelmed the inhabitants of Deccan. The princes sued for peace, and the Emperor agreed to withdraw his army, which he now found it difficult to subsist; on condition of retaining, as a security for good behaviour, the forts which had fallen into his hands.

During the famine, religion had made the Hindus desert cultivation, and betake themselves to the supplications, penances, and ceremonies, pleasing to their gods. The calamities which sprung from this act of devotion raised the indignation of Shah Jehan. Though no fanatic in his own religion, he pronounced that "an army of divinities who so far from benefiting their votaries led them to inflict upon themselves worse evils than the wrath of an enemy, were unfit to be endured in his dominions." The Hindus however took arms in defence of their gods; and after some unavailing and unhappy efforts, he desisted, declaring, "that a prince who wishes to have subjects must take them with all the trumpery and baubles of their religion."

The Portuguese, who had established themselves at Hoogly, in Bengal, and whose presumption rose with their success, gave displeasure to the Subahdar. He transmitted a complaint to the Emperor; "Expel those idolaters from my dominions;" was the laconic answer. The Portuguese defended themselves bravely. When compelled to lay down their arms, the principal evil

which they were doomed to suffer, was, to see their religious images broken and destroyed. To this affair succeeded a second revolt of the Rajah of Bundelcund, who warded off the destruction now decreed for him with obstinate bravery for two years. The third son of the Emperor, Aurungzebe, with an experienced general for his guide, had the nominal command of the army, though only thirteen years of age; and showed that ardour in the work of destruction which distinguished his riper years.

When the Emperor marched from the borders of Deccan, he offered the government of Candesh and of the frontier army, for which he saw that great talents were required, to the Vizir, who, fearing the consequences of absence from the court, recommended successfully the virtues and capacity of Mohâbet. Adil Shah, the King of Beejapore, threatened to wrest Dowlatabad from Futteh Khan, who governed in the name of the young Shah of Ahmednuggur. To prevent the annexation of this important fortress to the dominions of his rival, Futteh Khan offered it to Shah Jehan, and Mohâbet marched to receive possession. Futteh Khan repented of his offer; and Mohâbet laid siege to the fortress. Dowlatabad is a place of great natural strength, standing upon a detached and precipitous rock, and had been fortified with the highest efforts of Oriental skill; but famine at last made Futteh submit. The young prince, his master, was carried a prisoner to Gualior. Futteh Khan was allowed to retain his private property, and was destined to become one of the high Omrahs of the empire; but being seized with insanity, the consequence of a wound formerly received in his head, he was carried to Lahore, where he lived many years on a liberal pension. The fall of Dowlatabad put a period to the dynasty of Nizam Shah, which had swayed the sceptre of Ahmednuggur for 150 years.* Mohâbet, resolving to pursue the reduction of Deccan, marched towards Telingana, and laid siege to a fortress; but falling sick, and finding himself unable to superintend the operations of the army, he withdrew the troops to Burrahanpore, where he died at an advanced age.

The tranquillity of the empire permitted the ambition of Shah Jehan to attach itself to the subjugation of Deccan. He began to march from Agra. That time might be afforded to the governors of the provinces for joining him with their troops, his progress was purposely slow. In rather less than a year he arrived at Dowlatabad with an accumulated army. This great host was

* The fall of Dowlatabad is somewhat differently related by Dow in his history of Nizam Shah, p. 151. We have here followed the account of Ferishta. Scott's Deccan, i. 402.

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divided into twelve bodies, and poured upon the kingdoms of Golconda and Beejapore, with orders not to spare the severities of war: "because war (such was the reflection of Shah Jehan) was the scourge of humanity, and compassion served only to prolong its evils." One hundred and fifteen towns and fortresses were taken in the course of a year. The unfortunate sovereigns were overwhelmed with calamity; and solicited peace on any terms. It was granted; but on condition that they should resign their dominions, and be contented to hold them as tributaries of the Mogul. The province of Candesh, with the army in Deccan, was left under the command of the son of the late Mohâbet, an accomplished chief. But he died in a little time, and Aurungzebe, the Emperor's aspiring son, was appointed to succeed him.

About this time, a refractory Rajah of Berar drew upon himself the imperial arms. That large district of Hindustan was regularly subdued; and bestowed as a Subah upon the successful general. Another event yielded high satisfaction to the Emperor. The province of Candahar, which had been wrested from the Moguls by the power of Abbas, Shah of Persia, was now recovered by the treachery of its governor, disgusted with the cruel and capricious sway of Sefi, the successor of Abbas on the Persian throne.

Of the operations next in order it is to be lamented that our information is so imperfect. The province of Bengal, we are told, was invaded from the kingdom of Assam, the enemy descending the Brahmapootra in boats till its junction with the Ganges below Dacca. The Subahdar of Bengal experienced little difficulty in repelling the invaders; and, not contented with an easy triumph, pursued them into their own country, took possession of several forts, and reduced some provinces; but he was obliged to return for want of subsistence, and suffered extremely in his retreat by the commencement of the rains and the badness of the roads. It is related also, that the kingdom of Tibet was reduced about this time by another of the generals of Shah Jehan, who was delighted to conquer in regions which the arms of his predecessor had never reached. But to these conquests no effects are ascribed; and of that which is said to have been accomplished in Tibet we are told neither the place, nor the extent, nor the circumstances; neither the road by which the army was led to it, nor that by which it was conducted back.

The numerous subjects of Shah Jehan now enjoyed a tranquillity and happiness such as had seldom, if ever, been experienced in that portion of the globe. The governors and officers, in every part of his dominions, were strictly watched; and not only their obedience to himself, but their duty to his subjects,

was vigorously enforced. His reign is celebrated for the exact execution of the laws. And the collection of the revenue, which affects so deeply the condition of the people, and had, in the time of Akbar, been very much improved, was advanced to greater perfection under the diligent administration of Shah Jehan.*

This tranquillity was scarcely affected by an incursion of the Usbecks into Cabul, the governor of which not only repulsed them, but, following the invaders, ravaged their country as far as Balk, and returned with considerable booty. This success of the governor of Cabul encouraged him to make an incursion into the territory of the Usbecks the following year. But he was on the point of paying dear for his temerity, having his communications intercepted, and his retreat rendered in the highest degree dangerous and difficult. The Emperor himself was, at last, infected with the ambition of conquering the Usbecks. His youngest son, Morad, was sent with an army, and over-ran the country without much difficulty; but offended his father by returning from his command, not only without, but contrary to orders. The Usbeck sovereign had fled into Persia, but one of his sons solicited and obtained the co-operation of the kindred tribes beyond the Oxus. Aurungzebe was sent to cope with the new adversary; and his talents, and persevering courage were not more than necessary. In a desperate battle, victory hung long suspended, and fortune was more than once on the point of declaring against the Moguls. After much difficulty, and much loss, the country was indeed subdued; but its ancient sovereign, writing a most submissive letter to the Emperor, was, on promise of a slight tribute, reinstated in his dominions.

It was mortifying to the Emperor, in so high a tide of his power, that Candahar, regarded as the key of his dominions on the side of Persia, was wrested from his hands. Shah Abbas the second had succeeded the wretched Sefi, on the throne of Persia; and taking advantage of the removal of the Mogul troops from the northern provinces, and of the subjugation of the Usbecks which seemed to deliver those provinces from danger, he marched towards Candahar with a great force, and obtained the city by capitulation, before the Mogul army was able to arrive. The strongest efforts were made for its recovery. Aurungzebe

* We meet with boasts, in the Oriental historians, of kings, whose administration of justice was so perfect, that a purse of gold might be exposed on the highways, and no man would touchit Never was justice better administered in India than under the reign of Shah Jehan; yet knowing more of the circumstances of his reign, we know better what the general eulogies of the Oriental historians mean. Bernier, describing his situation at the time of his arrival at the court of Shah Jehan, speaks of "le peu d'argent qui me restoit de diverses rencontres de voleurs." Hist. des Estats du Grand Magol, p. 5.

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besieged it two several times; and Dara, the eldest son of the Emperor, once. It baffled the operations of both.

The most memorable transaction in the reign of Shah Jehan was the renewal of the war in Deccan. The frontier provinces, and the army appointed to hold in check the sovereigns of the south, had been entrusted to the command of Aurungzebe; but the suspicions and jealousies of his father and brothers had made them seek occasions to remove him, at one time to command in Guzerat, at another in the war against the Usbecks; however, he had still found means to regain that important government, and was at Dowlatabad when an occasion offered which a mind like his was not apt to despise. A chief, in the service of the king of Golconda, who had carried the arms of that sovereign against the Rajahs of the Carnatic, and added extensive districts to his dominions, fell, at last, from apprehension of his power, under the hatred of his master; and perceived that his life was no longer safe. He transmitted private intelligence to Aurungzebe of his readiness to co-operate with him in surprising the city of Hyderabad, not far from Golconda, where the sovereign resided, and where his treasures were deposited. Aurungzebe, covering his designs under the pretence of an embassy, was admitted into the city, but the king discovered the treachery in sufficient time to make his escape to Golconda; and as Hyderabad was set on fire in the confusion of the attack, the greater part of the riches which had tempted Aurungzebe was consumed in the flames. Siege was laid to Golconda; but orders arrived from court, suggested by the jealousies, which then prevailed, that the king of Golconda should be offered terms of peace. The troops were withdrawn, after the beautiful daughter of the king had been given in marriage to the eldest son of Aurungzebe.

The chief, at whose instigation Aurungzebe had undertaken the expedition, was the famous Emir Jumla, born in a village near Ispahan in Persia, and of parents so extremely poor that they had scarcely the means of procuring him instruction to read. A diamond merchant, who travelled to Golconda, carried him to that city as a servant or clerk; at this place he left his master, and began to trade on his own account. With the first of his gains he purchased a place in the service of the king. His talents and address attracted favour; and he ascended by rapid gradations to the chief command. During his public services, he forgot not the arts of private acquisition; he had vessels trading to various places, and farmed under borrowed names the whole of the diamond mines. He greatly added to these riches by his successful wars in Carnatic; and was supposed to possess enormous treasures at the time when he connected him-

self with Aurungzebe. That prince immediately received him into his inmost friendship; and sought the benefit of his counsels and co-operation in his most important affairs. As it appeared that his talents might be employed advantageously for Aurungzebe, at the court of his father, he was sent with such recommendations as helped him quickly to the highest rank. When the office of vizir became vacant, the remonstrances of Dara could not prevent the Emperor from bestowing it upon Jumla, in the sordid hope of receiving, upon his appointment, a magnificent present, suited to the riches he was supposed to possess.

Meanwhile, a new event demanded the presence of Emir Jumla in Deccan. The King of Beejapore died; and his Omrahs, without consulting the emperor, placed his son upon the throne. The Emperor, who now affected to reckon the sovereigns of Deccan among his dependants, construed this neglect into a crime, which his new vizir was sent with an army to chastise. He joined Aurungzebe at Burrahanpore; and that ambitious, but artful prince, affected to act with profound submission, under the orders of his father's vizir. These two leaders understood one another. The war was conducted with concert and ability. The city of Beder was taken. The Beejapore army was defeated in the field. Calburga, the ancient capital of the Deccanee empire, submitted; and the King threw himself at the feet of the conqueror. After settling the terms of submission, which were severe, Aurungzebe returned to Burrahanpore, and the vizir was recalled to Agra.*

War between the sons of Shah Jehan.

After these events, the health of the emperor excited alarm;† when the flames, which had for some time been with difficulty compressed, broke out with irresistible fury. To every brother under an Oriental despotism the sons of the reigning monarch look, as either a victim, or a butcher; and see but one choice between the musnud and the grave. The usual policy of oriental fear is to educate the royal youths to effeminacy and imbecility in the haram; but the sons of Shah Jehan had been led into action, and indulged with the possession of power. They were not all men of capacity; but they were all ardent, brave, and as-

* For these transactions of Aurungzebe and Emir Jumla, see Bernier, ut supra, p. 22—32, and the reign of Shah Jehan, chap. v. in Dow.

† Dow, who follows his Persian authority, says, the malady was paralysis and strangury, brought on by excesses in the haram; Bernier the physician speaks of it in the following terms: "Je ne parlerai point ici de sa maladie, et je n'en raporteray pas les particularitez. Je diray seulement qu'elle estoit peu convenable à un vieillard de soixante-dix ans et plus, qui devoit plûtot songer a conserver ses forces qu'à les ruiner comme il fit." Ut supra, p. 33.

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piring; and each thought himself worthy of empire. Dara, the eldest; gallant, open, sincere, but impetuous, thoughtless, and rash; was destined to the sovereignty by his father, and generally kept near himself; Sujah, the second, was now Subahdar of Bengal, with more prudence and discretion than his elder brother; but far inferior in those qualities to the deep and dissembling Aurungzebe, who had from an early age affected a character of piety, pretending to hate the business and vanities of the world, and to desire only a retreat where he might practise the austerities and devotions pleasing to God. Morâd, the youngest of the sons of Shah Jehan, was conspicuous, chiefly for his courage; popular, from his affability and generosity; but credulous and weak. When his father's illness gave fire to the combustibles which filled the imperial house, this Prince was serving as Subahdar in Guzerat.

As the illness of the Emperor was from the first regarded as mortal, Dara took into his hands without hesitation the reins of government; and with his usual precipitation and violence began to show what he apprehended from his brothers, and what his brothers had to expect from him. All communication with them was interdicted on pain of death. Their agents, papers, and effects at the capital were seized. Jumla, and such of the other high officers of the state as were suspected of attachment to any of the younger princes, were removed from their situations. And orders were issued to place the imperial forces in a state of preparation for the field.

Suja, who was nearest the scene of action, was the first to appear in hostile array. From the government of the richest province of the empire, which he had severely pillaged, he was master of a large treasure, the best sinew of war; and he had collected an army with a view to that very contest which was now impending. Solimân, the eldest son of Dara, was dispatched without loss of time to oppose him; found means to cross the Ganges unexpectedly; surprised the camp of Suja, and forced him to retreat precipitately to Mongeer; where he was immediately besieged.

In the mean time, Aurungzebe was employing the resources of his fertile mind for strengthening his hands, and making sure his blow. He persuaded Morâd, that with regard to himself his views were directed to heaven, not to a throne; but as his brothers Dara and Suja, compared with Morad, were unworthy to reign, he was desirous from friendship of aiding him with all his resources; after which the only boon he should crave would be to retire into obscurity, and devote his days and his nights to the service of his Maker.

Though Emir Jumla had been dismissed from the vizirit, he was sent, through

some influence which Dara could not resist, to the command of an army in Deccan, where it was the business of Aurungzebe to obtain the benefit of his talents and resources. But the family of Jumla, detained at Delhi, still held that chieftain in bonds. The expedient which presented itself to the mind of Aurungzebe, fertile in contrivances, was, to seize the person of Emir Jumla. The appearance of constraint would deprive Dara of a pretext for taking revenge on his family. The sudden resentment of his army could be appeased by promises and bribes. The stratagem succeeded, and the talents and army of Jumla were both added to the resources of Aurungzebe.

Having concerted with his brother, from Guzerat, to join him at Oojeen, he took the route from Burrahanpore, and arrived at the Nerbudda, where he learned that Jesswint Sing, who had married the daughter of the Rana of Odipore, and through her succeeded to most of the dominions of her father, was in possession of the city of Oojeen, and prepared to dispute the passage of the army. The Rajah lost the favourable opportunity of attacking the troops of Aurungzebe, when, spent with heat and fatigue, they first arrived on the banks of the Nurbudda. The wily Mogul delayed some days, till joined by Morad; when the brothers crossed the river, and, after a well-contested action, put the Rajah to flight. Aurungzebe, who never trusted to force what he could effect by deceit, had previously debauched the Mahomedans in the army of the Rajah, by disseminating among them the idea that help to the infidels was treason to the faithful.

In the mean time, the Emperor Shah Jehan had recovered from the violent effects of his disorder; and resumed the exercise of his authority. Dara, who during the royal illness had behaved with tenderness and fidelity truly filial, and delayed not a moment to restore the reins of government when his father was capable to receive them, was exalted to a still higher place in the affections of the Emperor; who dispatched his commands to the Princes Aurungzebe and Morad to return to their respective governments. Aurungzebe was little inclined to intermit the efforts he had so happily begun; but to make war upon his father, beloved both by the soldiers and people, was to ruin his cause, and make even his own army desert him. Under colour of refreshing his troops, he waited several days at Oojeen; and the impetuosity of Dara, which the counsels of Shah Jehan were unable to restrain, speedily afforded him a pretext to cover his designs. The news of the passage of the Nerbudda, and of the defeat of the Rajah, kindled Dara into a flame. He marched out of Agra at the head of the imperial forces; and enabled Aurungzebe to give out that he fought by necessity; against his brother merely, not his father; and in self-defence. Dara sent to

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his son Solimân, who was besieging Suja in Mongeer, to make what terms he could with that Sultan, and march with all expedition to join him against Aurungzebe. Suja was allowed to resume the government of Bengal: Soliman hastened toward the new scene of action: And could the impatience of Dara have waited, till joined by his son, who was beloved by the soldiers, and at once prudent and brave, the career of Aurungzebe might perhaps have been closed. The emperor trembled at the prospect of a battle; he threatened to take the field in person, which would have been effectual; because no authority would have been obeyed in opposition to his. But the infatuated Dara found means to prevent the execution of this design; and marched to occupy the banks of the river Chumbul, and the passes of the mountains which extend from Guzerat to the Jumna. Aurungzebe found the passes so strongly guarded, and the enemy so advantageously posted, that he durst not attack them; and fearing the approach of Soliman, he was thrown into the greatest perplexity. In this situation he received, from a treacherous Omrah in the army of Dara, information of a bye-road among the hills which would conduct him to an unguarded part of the river. He left his camp standing, to amuse the eyes of Dara; whose first intelligence was, that Aurungzebe was in his rear, and in full march towards the capital. By great exertion Dara threw himself before the enemy, and prepared for action. Dara appeared to most advantage in the field of battle. His bravery animated his troops. The impetuous gallantry of Morad, and the cool and inventive intrepidity of Aurungzebe, were balanced by the spirit of the imperial army and its leader. The elephant of Dara was wounded; and in an evil hour he was persuaded to dismount. The troops, missing the imperial houda, suspected treachery and the death of their general; and every man began to provide for himself. Aurungzebe found himself master of the field of battle, at the moment when he despaired of any longer being able to make his soldiers maintain the contest.

Dara fled to Agra, and, after a short interview with his father, departed with his family and a few attendants to Delhi, where some imperial troops and treasure were placed at his disposal, and whence he proposed to effect a junction with Soliman. All the cunning and diligence of Aurungzebe were now exerted to the utmost, to improve his victory, He affected to treat Morâd as Emperor; and began to make preparations for himself, as intending immediately to set out on a religious pilgrimage to Mecca. In the mean time he wrote letters, and exhausted the arts of seduction, to detach the Omrahs from the cause of Dara. His principal solicitude was to debauch the army of Soliman; which he accom-

plished so effectually, that the unfortunate Prince found at last he could place no dependance on its obedience, and was not even safe in its power. He fled from his danger; and took shelter with the Rajah of Serinagur, an unconquered kingdom of Hindus, among the northern mountains. The victorious army advanced towards Agra; but the Emperor ordered the gates of the citadel to be shut, and Aurungzebe was still afraid to offer violence to his father. He wrote a letter, replete with the strongest professions of loyalty, and of the most profound submission to his parent and sovereign. The Emperor, with the hope of drawing him into his power, affected to be satisfied, and invited him to his presence. Aurungzebe every day pretended that he was just about to comply; but every day found an excuse for delay. After a series of intrigues, he pretended that to set his mind at ease, in appearing under humiliation and abasement before his father, it was necessary that his son should previously be admitted into the citadel with a guard for his person. The Emperor, who was blinded by his desire to have Aurungzebe in his hands, assented to a condition which seemed indispensable. When he found himself a prisoner in the hands of his grandson, his rage and vexation exceeded bounds; and he offered to resign to him the crown, if he would set him at liberty, and join him in defeating the schemes of Aurungzebe. But the youth, though not averse to the prospect of reigning, and not much restrained by the sense of filial duty, refused to comply; and, after some hesitation and delay, Shah Jehan sent the keys of the citadel to Aurungzebe. The hypocrisy of Aurungzebe was not yet renounced. By a letter, which was carefully made public, he declared; that with the utmost grief he had been reduced to these extremities; and that as soon as Dara, to whose crimes every evil was owing, should be disabled from future mischief, the happiest event of his life would be to restore to his father the plenitude of his power.

To deliver himself from Morad was the next study of Aurungzebe. The friends of that thoughtless prince had at last brought him to look with suspicion upon his brother's designs; and even to meditate an act which might deliver him finally from so dangerous a rival. The sagacity of Aurungzebe enabled him to discover the intended blow, which he contrived to elude at the very moment, when it was aimed and ready to fall. In his turn he inveigled Morad to an entertainment, and, having intoxicated him with wine, withdrew his arms while he slept; seized him without any commotion, and sent him a prisoner to the castle of Agra.*

* Bernier had not heard of the attempt of Morâd upon the life of Aurungzebe. It is here stated

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It was now useless, if not hurtful to the cause of Aurungzebe, any longer to disavow his ultimate purpose. But he waited till he was importuned by his nobles; and then, on the second of August, 1658, in the garden of Azabâd, near Delhi, pretending to be overcome by their entreaties, he submitted to receive the ensigns of royalty; and assumed the pompous title of Aulum gîr, or Conqueror of the world.

Aulum gîr allowed not what he had already achieved to slacken his efforts in finishing what remained to be done. Dara had taken the route towards Lahore; and had the resources of the northern provinces, Lahore, Multan, and Cabul, at his command: Soliman was ready to descend from the mountains with the assistance of the Rajah of Serinagur, and with a body of adherents who still approached the size of an army: And Suja was master of the rich province of Bengal. Aulum gîr saw, what every skilful leader has seen, that in the coarse business of war, expedition is the grand instrument of success. He hastened toward the Sutledge, from the banks of which Dara retreated upon the news of his approach. Aurungzebe, pressing on, drove him first from the Beyah, then from Lahore, and next from Multan, the unfortunate Prince, who might have resisted with some chance of success, having lost his resolution together with his fortune. From Multan, he fled across the Indus to the mountains of Bicker, when Aurungzebe, declaring the war against him to be closed, left eight thousand horse to pursue him, and returned with haste to Agra.

He had no sooner arrived at Agra, than he learned, what he partly expected, that Suja was already in force, and in full march toward the capital. He sent to his son Mahomed whom he had left at Multan, to join him with all his forces; and in the mean time took the road to Bengal, but by slow marches, till Mahomed came up. Suja intrenched himself near Allahabad; and waited for the arrival of his enemy. Though Suja did not avail himself of all his advantages, he was able to join battle with a fair prospect of success. Nor was this all. In the very heat of the action, the Rajah, Jesswint Sing, who had made his peace with Aurungzebe, and joined him with his forces, turned his arms against him, and fell upon the rear of his army. The dismay and desertion which every unexpected incident scatters through an Indian army began to appear. But the firmness of the usurper recovered the blow. His elephant, which was wounded and began to be ungovernable, he ordered to be chained immoveable by the feet;

upon the Persian authories of Dow. Bernier, ut supra, p. 109—114. Dow's Shah Jehan, ch. iii. Hist. of Hindostan, vol. iii.

the soldiers, still beholding the imperial castle opposed to the enemy, were rallied by the generals; Suja committed the same fatal mistake which had ruined Dara; he descended from his elephant, and his army dispersed.

Emir Jumla, the ancient friend of Aurungzebe, who from his place of confinement, or pretended confinement in Deccan, had joined him on the march, performed eminent service in this battle. It is even said, that Aurungzebe, when his elephant became ungovernable, had one foot out of the castle to alight, when Jumla, who was near him on horseback, cried out sternly, "You descend from the throne!" Aurungzebe smiled, had a moment for reflexion, and replaced himself in the houda.

Suja and his army fled during the night, while Aurungzebe was in no condition to pursue them. Jesswint Sing, and his rajaputs, who had plundered the camp, had the audacity to wait the attack of Aurungzebe the following day; and were routed, but without being obliged to abandon their spoil. Leaving Mahomed with a force to pursue the vanquished Suja, Aurungzebe hurried back to Agra.

The haste was not without a cause. Dara, after having arrived at Bicker, crossed the desert with his family, and arrived in Guzerat, where he gained the governor. Aurungzebe, aware how small a spark might kindle into a flame, among the disaffected rajahs of the mountains, and the distant viceroys and princes of Deccan, was eager to allow the danger no time to augment. He courted Jesswint Sing, who had so recently betrayed him; to prevent his cooperation with Dara: and marched with all expedition to Ajmere. Dara had already seized an important pass, and entrenched himself. Aurungzebe was not a little startled when he first beheld the advantages of the position, and strength of his works. He set in motion his usual engines of treachery and deceit; and by their assistance gained a complete and final victory. Deserted by all, and robbed of his effects, by a body of Mahrattas in his service, Dara fled towards the Indus with his family, who, nearly destitute of attendants, were on the point of perishing in the desert. After many sufferings, he was seized by a treacherous chief, who owed to him his life and fortune; and delivered into the hands of Aurungzebe. His murder was only a few days deferred; during which he was ignominiously exposed about the streets of Delhi.

While the Emperor was engaged in opposing Dara, his son Mahomed and Jumla the Vizir prosecuted the war against Suja. That Prince had fled from the battle to Patna, from Patna to Mongeer, from Mongeer to Rajamahl, and from Rajamahl he was forced to retreat to Tanda. Suja was still possessed of

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resources; his courage and resolution failed not; and an event occurred which promised a turn in the tide of his affairs. Mahomed had been formerly enamoured of the daughter of Suja; and their union had been projected, before the distractions of the royal family had filled the empire with confusion and bloodshed. It is said that the Princess wrote to Mahomed a letter, reminding him of his former tenderness, and deprecating the ruin of her father. The impatient and presumptuous Mahomed was little pleased with the treatment he sustained at the hands of Aurungzebe; his heart was touched with the tears of the princess; and he resolved to desert the cause of his own father, and join that of hers. He expected that the army, in which he was popular, would follow his example. But the authority and address of Jumla preserved order and allegiance. The news of his son's defection quickly reached Aulum gîr; who concluded for certain that he had carried the army along with him, and set out in the utmost expedition with a great force for Bengal. In the mean time Jumla attacked the army of Suja, which he defeated; and the conquered Princes retreated to Dacca. Aurungzebe, pursuing his usual policy, wrote a letter to Mahomed, which he took care that the agents of Suja should intercept. It purported to be an answer to one received; offering to accept the returning duty of Mahomed, and to pardon his error, on the performance of a service which was nameless, but seemed to be understood. This letter smote the mind of Suja with incurable distrust. After a time Mahomed was obliged to depart, and with a heavy heart to entrust himself to his unforgiving father. He was immediately immured in Gualior, where, after languishing for some years, he was entrusted with liberty, though not with power; but died a short time after.* Suja was speedily reduced to extremity in Dacca, and having no further means of resistance, fled from the province, and sought refuge in the kingdom of Arracân. But the wretched Rajah, who at once coveted his wealth, and dreaded his pursuers, violated without scruple the laws of hospitality and mercy. Death, in some of the worst of its forms, soon overtook the family of Suja.

During these transactions, rewards, which were too powerful for the virtue of a Hindu, had been offered to the Rajah of Serinagur; and shortly after the ruin of Suja, Solimân, the last object of the fears of Aulum gîr, was delivered into his hands, and added to the number of the prisoners of Gualior.

From the time when Aulum gîr, having subdued all competition for the throne,

* This account of the fate of Mahomed is given by Mr. Stewart, (Hist. Bengal, p. 276) on the authority of the Muasir Alumgiery, and varies from the account of Ferishta, who says he died in Gualior.

found himself the undisputed lord of the Mogul empire, the vigilance and steadiness of his administration preserved so much tranquillity in the empire; and so much uniformity in its business, that the historians who describe only wars and revolutions have found little to do. The most important series of transactions were those which occurred in Deccan; which ceased not during the whole of this protracted reign, laid the foundation of some of the most remarkable of the subsequent events; and had a principal share in determining the form which the political condition of India thereafter assumed. That we may relate these transactions without interruption, we shall shortly premise such of the other transactions handed down to us (for we have no complete history of Aurungzebe) as fell near the beginning of his reign; and merit any regard.

When Aurungzebe marched from Deccan to contend for the crown, he left Mahomed Mauzim, his second son, to command in his name. When established upon the throne, it was not altogether without apprehension that he contemplated so vast a power in hands which might turn it against him. Mauzim, aware of the jealous disposition of his father, preserved the utmost humility of exterior; avoided all display, either of wealth or power; was vigilant in business; exact in obeying the commands of the Emperor, and in remitting the revenue and dues of his government. He was recalled, notwithstanding his prudence, and Shaista Khan made viceroy in Deccan. At the same time, Aurungzebe, seeking security for the present, by directing hope to the future, declared Mahomed Mauzim heir to the throne, and changed his name to Shah Aulum, or King of the World.

The third year of his reign was visited with a great famine, a calamity which ravages India with more dreadful severity than almost any other part of the globe. It was occasioned by the recurrence of an extraordinary drought, which in India almost suspends vegetation, and, throughout the principal part of the country, leaves both men and cattle destitute of food. The prudence of Aurungzebe, if his preceding actions will not permit us to call it his humanity, suggested to him the utmost activity of beneficence on this calamitous occasion. The rents of the husbandman, and other taxes, were remitted. The treasury of the Emperor was opened without limit. Corn was bought in the provinces where the produce was *least*; conveyed to those in which it was *most* defective; and distributed to the people at reduced prices. The great economy of Aurungzebe, who allowed no expense for the luxury and ostentation of a court, and who managed with skill and vigilance the disbursements of the state, afforded him a resource for the wants of his people.

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It was before the commencement perhaps of this calamity, that the empire was agitated by the prospect of a fresh revolution from a dangerous sickness of the Emperor.* The court was full of intrigues; on one hand, for Mauzim, the declared successor; on the other, for Akbar, a young, and even infant son of Aurungzebe. Shah Jehan himself was still alive; and the people in general expected that he would resume the reins of government. But the nation was relieved from its terrors, and from the calamities which too certainly would have fallen upon it. The usurper recovered. But the efforts of Sultan Mauzim, to secure the succession, expressed to the suspicious mind of Aulum gîr, more of the desire to obtain a throne than to preserve a father; and his purpose in regard to the succession, if his declaration in favour of Mauzim had ever been more than a pretence, was from this time understood to have suffered a radical change.

To forward his designs in favour of Akbar, he applied to Shah Jehan, to obtain for that prince, in marriage, the daughter of Dara, who remained in the Seraglio of her grandfather. Shah Jehan, though strictly confined in the palace at Agra, had been treated with great respect; retaining his women and servants, and furnished with every amusement in which he was understood to delight. He had not, however, remitted his indignation against Aurungzebe, and now sent a haughty and insulting refusal. Aurungzebe had prudence not to force his inclination; and, so far from showing any resentment, redoubled his efforts to soften his mind.

The services of Emir Jumla had been rewarded with the government of Bengal. But the mind of Aurungzebe, and indeed the experience of Oriental government, told him that he was never safe while there was a man alive, who had power to hurt him. He wished to withdraw the Vizir from his government, but without a rupture, which might raise distrust in the breasts of all his Omrahs. To afford him occupation which would detain his mind from planning defection, he recommended to him a war against the King of Assam, who had broken into Bengal during the distractions of the empire, and still remained unchastised. Jumla, who promised himself both plunder and reputation from this expedition, and whose exploring eye beheld an illustrious path through the kingdom of Assam to the conquest of China, undertook the expedition with alacrity. He

* Dow, (Hist. of Aurungzebe, chap. iv.) places the Emperor's illness after the famine. But Bernier, who was on the spot, and mentions the arrival of ambassadors from the Khan of the Usbecks first among the events succeeding the termination of the civil war, says, that those ambassadors, who remained somewhat more than four months, had not departed from Delhi when the Emperor was taken ill. Bernier, Evenemens Particuliers des Etats du Mogul, p. 10.

ascended the Brahmapootra in boats. The Assamese abandoned the country which lies on the side of the mountains facing Bengal; but the fortress of Azo was garrisoned, and stood an attack. After the reduction of Azo, Jumla crossed the mountains of Assam, vanquished the King who took refuge in his capital, forced him to fly to the shelter of the mountains, and became master of a great part of the kingdom. But the rains came on, which in that kingdom are peculiarly violent and lay the greater part of the level country under water. Jumla found it impossible to subsist his army; and was under the necessity of returning to Bengal. Incredible were the difficulties with which he had to contend; necessaries wanting, the roads covered with water, and the enemy every where harassing his retreat. The capacity of Jumla triumphed over all obstructions: he brought back the greater part of the army safe; and wrote to the Emperor that he would next year carry his arms to the heart of China. But the army, on its return, was afflicted with a dysentery, the effect of the hardships it had endured. The general escaped not; and worn out, as he was, with years and fatigue, fell a victim to the violence of the disease. "You," said the Emperor to the son of Jumla, whom he had recently made generalissimo of the horse, "have lost a father; and I have lost the greatest and most dangerous of my friends." *

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The next event is ludicrous, perhaps, in itself, but of high importance, as an instance of the power of superstition among the weak and credulous inhabitants of India. Of the professors of devotion and penance, going by the name of Fakîrs, one class is distinguished by wandering about the country in crowds, almost naked, pretending to live by mendicity, but stealing, plundering, and even committing murder, wherever prompted by the hope of advantage. In the territory of Marwâr, or Judpore, an old woman, possessed of considerable property, began to enlarge her liberalities towards the Fakîrs. These sturdy beggars crowded around her, to the number of some thousands, and not satisfied with the wealth of their pious patroness, made spoil of the neighbouring country, and rioted in devotion and sensuality at her abode. The people, exasperated by these oppressions, rose repeatedly upon the saints; but were defeated with great slaughter. The idea of enchantment was generated. The people regarded the old woman as a sorceress; and believed that she compounded for her followers a horrid mess which rendered them proof against human weapons, and invincible. What they were not rendered by enchantments, they were rendered by the belief

* Bernier, ut supra, p. 87.

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of them. The Fakîrs, finding themselves, under the auspices of the old woman, too formidable for resistance, assembled in great numbers, and spread their devastations to a wide extent. The Rajah of Marwar attacked them, but was defeated. The collectors of the imperial revenue marched against them with the troops under their command; but sustained a similar disaster. Becoming presumptuous from unexpected success, they resolved on a march to the capital, to the number of twenty thousand plundering saints, with the sacred old woman at their head. About five days' journey from Agra, they were opposed by a body of imperial troops, under the collector of the district. Him they overcame; and now grasped in their imaginations the whole wealth and authority of the state. They set up their old woman as sovereign. Aurungzebe felt the danger to be serious; for the soldiers were infected with the superstitions of the people; and it was hazardous to the last degree, from the terrors with which they might be disordered, to permit them to engage with the sainted banditti. What was first demanded; an antidote to the religious contagion; was invented by Aurungzebe. His own sanctity was as famous as that of the old woman; he pretended that by means of incantation, he had discovered a counter-enchantment; he wrote with his own hand, certain mysterious words upon slips of paper, one of which, carried upon the point of a spear before each of the squadrons, he declared would render impotent the spells of the enchantress. The Emperor was believed, and though the Fakîrs fought with great desperation, they were all cut to pieces, except a few whom the humanity of the general led him to spare. "I find," said Aurungzebe, "that too much religion among the vulgar is as dangerous as too little in the monarch."

In the seventh year of the reign of Aurungzebe his father died. The life of Shah Jehan had reached its natural period; but his death did not escape the suspicion of the *pousta*, that detestable invention of despotic fears.*

* The Pousta is thus described by the physician, Bernier. Ce poust n'est autre chose que du pavot écrasé qu'on laisse la nuit tremper dans de l'eau; c'est ce qu'on fait ordinairement boire à Goualeor, à ces princes ausquels on ne veut pas faire couper la teste; c'est la premiere chose qu'on leur porte le matin, et on ne leur donne point à manger qu'ils n'en ayent beu une grande tasse, on les laisseroit plûtot mourir de faim; cela les fait devenir maigres et mourir insensiblement, perdans peu à peu les forces et l'entendement, et devenus comme tout endormis et étourdis, et c'est par là qu'on dit qu'on s'est defait de Sepe-Chekouh, du petit fils de Morad, et de Soliman meme. Bernier, Hist. de la derniere Revolut. des Estats du Grand Mogul, p. 170. It is said, that when the gallant Soliman was, by the treachery of the Rajah of Serinagur, delivered into the cruel hands of Aurungzebe, and introduced into his presence, when every one was struck with the noble appearance of the graceful and manly youth, he entreated that he might be immediately beheaded;

After the death of Jumla, the Rajah of Arracan had invaded the contiguous quarter of Bengal, and possessed himself of Chittagong and all the country along the coast to the Ganges. He availed himself of the Portuguese settlers, who were numerous at Chittagong, and of their ships, which abounded in the bay of Bengal, and it is said infested the coast and every branch of the Ganges as plunderers and pirates. These evils it consisted not with the vigilance of Aurungzebe to leave without a cure. A new deputy was appointed for Bengal; an army collected itself at Dacca; and descended the river. The enemy, though master of the forts and strong holds of the country, without much resistance retired. The Portuguese were invited to betray them, and made no hesitation by their obedience to purchase for themselves privileges and settlements in Bengal.*

The mistake of a secretary was near involving the empire, not only in hostilities with the whole force of Persia, but in all the horrors of a civil war. Aurungzebe, who had been complimented upon ascending the throne, by embassies from the Khan of the Usbeks, and from Abbas II. Shah of Persia, proposed, after settling the affairs of his government, to make the suitable return. The secretary who composed the letters, addressed to the respective sovereigns, inadvertently designated the Shah, by no higher title than belonged to the Khan of the Usbeks. This was interpreted as a meditated insult: and resented by a declaration of hostilities. Aurungzebe wished to explain the mistake, but his ambassador was not admitted even to an audience. His own weapons were tried against him; and he added an illustrious instance to prove that he who is most practised in the arts of deception is not always the hardest to deceive. Of the Mahomedan army and officers of the Mogul empire, as some were Moguls, some Afghauns, some Turks, and some Usbeks, so a large proportion were Persians, among whom was the Vizir himself. The fidelity of this part of his subjects, Aurungzebe was by no means willing to try, in a war with their native country. A letter was intercepted from Abbas, addressed to the Vizir himself, importing that a conspiracy existed among the Persian nobles to seize the Emperor

and not reserved to the lingering destruction of the pousta; when the hypocritical Aurungzebe forbid him to fear, adding, that he was cautious, but not cruel. Bernier, Ibid. p. 169. Dow, Reign of Aurungzebe, ch. iv.

* Bernier (Evenemens Particul. des Etats du Mogul, p. 88—101) speaks of these Portuguese as infamous buccaniers; and their own historian Faria de Sowza, countenances the assertion, which might have been founded upon the reports of enemies. The Portuguese followed their merchandize as their chief occupation, but, like the English and Dutch of the same period, had no objection to plunder, when it fell in their way.

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when he should take the field. Aurungzebe was transported with apprehension and rage. He issued a sudden order to the city guards to surround the houses of the Persian Omrahs, which they were forbidden to quit under pain of death. Aurungzebe found himself on the brink of a precipice. The Persian chiefs were numerous and powerful; a common danger united them; the descendants of the Afghaun nobility, who formed a considerable proportion of the men in power, and hated the Moguls, by whom the Afghaun dynasty had been driven from the throne, were very likely to make common cause with the Persians. Even if guilty, he beheld appalling danger in attempting to punish them; but he now reflected that he might have been deceived, and wished only for the means of a decent retreat. He sent for some of the principal Omrahs: but they excused themselves from attendance. All had assembled their friends and defendants; fortified their houses; and waited the appeal to arms. After a suspense of two days, the princess Jehanara arrived. She had been sent for, express, upon the first alarm. The favourite daughter of Shah Jehan, by whom the Persians had always been distinguished and exalted, might render, by her mediation, the most important assistance. After a short conference with the Emperor, she presented herself in her chair at the door of the Vizir. This was an act of supreme confidence and honour. The doors of the mansion flew open; the Vizir hasted to the hall of audience, and prostrated himself at the foot of the throne. Aurungzebe descended, and embraced him. Convinced that he had been deceived, he now sought only to obliterate all memory of the offence; and with some loss of reputation, and a remainder of disgust in the breasts of some of the Omrahs, he recovered himself from the dangerous position in which a moment of rashness had placed him. Shah Abbas in the mean time, with a large army, was upon his march toward the confines of India; and Aurungzebe, who had sent forward his son Mauzim to harass the enemy, but not to fight, made rapid preparations to meet him in person. Shah Abbas, however, died in the camp, before he arrived at the scene of action. His successor wished to mount the throne, free from the embarrassment of an arduous war; and Aurungzebe was more intent upon gaining conquests in Deccan than in Persia. An accommodation, therefore, was easily made.*

Origin of the Mahratta power.

These transactions were all contained within the first ten years of the reign of Aurungzebe, during which several events had already occurred in Deccan. A new enemy had arisen, whose transactions were not as yet alarming, but who had

* Dow, Reign of Aurungzebe, ch. vi.

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already paved the way to revolutions of the greatest importance. This was Sevagee, the founder of the Mahratta empire; a power which began when the empire of the Moguls was in its utmost strength; and rose to greatness upon its ruins. In the mountainous regions which extended from the borders of Guzerat to Canara, beyond the island of Goa, lived a race of Hindus, who resembled the mountaineers in almost all the other parts of Hindustan, that is, were a people still more rude and uncivilized than the inhabitants of the plains, and at the same time far more hardy and warlike. They consisted of various tribes or communities, to some of which (it appears not to how many) the name of Mahratta, afterwards extended to them all, was applied.* Sevagee was the son of Shahjee, a Hindu in the service of Ibrahim Adil Shah, King of Beejapore, from whom he received a jaghire in the Carnatic, with a command of ten thousand horse. Sevagee, when very young, was sent along with his mother to reside at Poonah, of which, as a Zemindaree, his father had obtained a grant, and of which he entrusted the management, together with the charge of his wife and son, to one of his officers, named Dadajee Punt. The mother of Sevagee was an object of aversion to her husband; and the son shared in the neglect which was the lot of his mother. He grew up under Dadajee, to vigour both of body and mind; and at seventeen years of age engaged a number of banditti, and ravaged the neighbouring districts. Dadajee, afraid of being made to answer for these enormities, and unable to restrain them, swallowed poison, and died; when Sevagee took possession of the Zemindary, increased the number of his troops, and raised contributions in all the neighbouring districts. Such was the commencement of the fortunes of Sevagee.†

Of his ancestry, the following is the account presented to us. His father was

* Mheerut, or Mharat, the name of a district, which under the Deccanee sovereigns was part of the province of Dowlutabad, may in former ages, says Mr. Jonathan Scott, have given name to a larger division of Dekkan, and the original country of the Mahrattas. Scott's Deccan, Introd. p. x. Ibid. i. 32. The Mahratta language extends along the coast from the island of Bardez to the river Tapti. Orme, Histor. Frag. p. 57. It is said by Col. Wilks (Hist. Sketches, p. 6) that "from Beder the Mahratta language is spread over the whole country to the northwestward of the Canara, and of a line which, passing considerably to the eastward of Dowletabad, forms an irregular sweep until it touches the Tapti, and follows the course of that river to the western sea—but that in the geographical tables of the Hindus, the name of Maharashtra, and by contraction Mahratta dasum (or country) seems to have been more particularly appropriated to the eastern portion of this great region, including Baglana, part of Berar and Candeish: the western was known by its present name of Concan."

† Aurungzebe's Operations in Dekkan, translated by Scott, p. 6.

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the son of Malojee; and Malojee was the son of Bauga Bonsla, a son of the Rana of Odipoor, by a woman of an inferior caste. The degradation of Bauga Bonsla, from the impurity and baseness of his birth, drove him to seek, among strangers, that respect which he was denied at home. He served during a part of his life a Rajah, possessing a Zemindaree in the province of Candesh; and afterwards purchased for himself a Zemindaree in the neighbourhood of Poonah, where he resided till his death. His son Malojee entered the service of a Mahratta chief, in which he acquired so much distinction as to obtain the daughter of his master in marriage for his son. This son was Shajee, and Sevagee was the fruit of the marriage. But Shajee, having quarrelled with his father-in-law, repaired to the King of Beejapore, and received an establishment in Carnatic. He here joined the Polygar of Mudkul in a war upon the Rajah of Tanjore; and having defeated the Rajah, the victors quarrelled about the division of the territory. Shajee defeated the Polygar, took possession of both Mudkul and Tanjore; and, having married another wife, by whom he had a son named Ekojee, he left him and his posterity Rajahs of Tanjore, till they sunk into dependants of the East India Company.*

When Sevagee, upon the death of Dadajee, seized the Zemindaree of Poonah, his father was too much occupied in the East to be able to interfere. Aurungzebe was at the same moment hastening his preparations for the war with his bro-

* Aurungzebe's Operations in Dekkan, a translation from a Persian manuscript, by Jonathan Scott, p. 6;—Appendix A. to Lord Wellesley's Notes on the Mahratta war;—East India Papers, printed by the House of Commons, 1804, p. 255. Lord Wellesley seems to have followed Scott. Ekogee, as he is called by Mr. Orme and others, is written Angojee in Mr. Scott's translation, p. 32. The history and origin of the family is related, with considerable variations, by Col. Wilks, on Mahratta authorities. (Hist. Sketches, ch. iii.) But if Hindu authority were better than Persian, (and it is far inferior) the facts are not worth the trouble of a critical comparison. It is of some importance to state what is related (ibid.) by Wilks, that Shahjee went second in command in the army of the King of Beejapore which proceeded to the conquest of the Carnatic in 1638; that he was left provincial governor of all the Beejapore conquests in Carnatic, when the general in chief returned to the capital; that his first residence was at Bangalore, but that he afterwards seems to have divided his time between Colar and Balapoor. Wilks infers from some grants of land by Shawjee, of which the writings still remain, that he affected independence of the declining government which he had served. The acquisition of Tanjore was made, as the Colonel thinks, not by Shawjee, but after his death by Ekojee his son; and his accomplice was not the Rajah or Polygar of Mudkul, but the Naik of Madura, which however appears to have been called Mudkul by the Persian historians. Naik and Polygar were Hindu names of governors of districts, who, as often as they dared to assume independence, affected the title of Rajah. Naik was a title of inferior dignity to Polygar.

thers; and invited Sevagee to join his standards. The short-sighted Hindu insulted his messenger, and reproached Aurungzebe himself with his double treason against a King and a father. He improved the interval of distraction in the Mogul empire; took the strong fortress of Rayree, or Râjegur, which he fixed upon as the seat of his government; and added to it Porundeh, Jagneh, and several districts dependant on the King of Beejapore. The threats of that power, now little formidable, restrained not his career of plunder and usurpation. He put to death, by treachery, the Rajah of Jaowlee, and seized his territory and treasure; plundered the rich and manufacturing city of Kallean; took Madury, Purdhaungur, Rajapore, Sungarpore, and an island belonging to the Portuguese. At length the Beejapore government sent an army to suppress him. He deceived the general with professions of repentance, and offers of submission; stabbed him to the heart at a conference; cut to pieces his army deprived of its leader; and rapidly took possession of the whole region of Kokun or Concan, the country lying between the Ghauts and the sea from Goa to Daman.

When Aurungzebe, upon the defeat of his rivals, sent Shaista Khan, with the rank of Ameer al Omrah, or head of the Omrahs, to command in Deccan, the Rajah Jesswunt Sing, who had redeemed his treachery in the battle against Suja, by his subsequent dereliction of the cause of Dara, was invested about the same time with the government of Guzerat. As soon as Aurungzebe had leisure to attend to the progress of Sevagee, the viceroy of Guzerat was commanded to co-operate with the viceroy of Deccan, in reducing and chastising the Mahratta adventurer. Sevagee could not resist the torrent which now rolled against him. The strong fortress of Jagneh was taken. The Ameer al Omrah advanced to Poonah, where he took up his residence. Here a band of assassins made their way to his bed in the night. He himself was wounded in the hand, by which he warded off a blow from his head, and his son was slain. The assassins escaped, and Sevagee himself was understood to have been among them. Circumstances indicated treachery; and the suspicions of Shaista Khan fell upon Jesswint Sing. These two generals were recalled; and after an interval of two years, during which the Prince Mahomed Mauzim, or Shah Aulum, held the government of Deccan, the two generals, Jey Sing and Dilleer Khan were sent to prosecute the war against the Mahratta chief. Jey Sing was the Rajah of Abnir,*

* The mountainous districts, lying between the provinces of Agra and Guzerat, and forming part of the provinces of Malwa and Ajmere, were inhabited by a race of warlike Hindus, named Rajpoots, who, from pride of superior prowess, claimed to be of a higher caste than the mass of

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and Dilleer was a Patan Omrah, who both had obtained high rank as generals in the service of Shah Jehan; and being chosen for their merit as the fittest to guide and enlighten Soliman, when sent against Suja, were the chiefs whom Aurungzebe had gained to betray their master, and debauch his army.

Before the arrival of these generals, Sevagee had with great address surprised and plundered Surat; a city of importance and renown; the chief port of the Mogul empire; and that from which the holy pilgrims commenced their voyage to the tomb of the prophet. The operations of the new commanders turned the tide in Mahratta affairs. The armies of Sevagee were driven from the field; his country was plundered; and Poorundeh, a strong fortress, in which he had placed his women and treasures, was besieged. It was reduced to the last extremity, when Sevagee, unarmed, presented himself at one of the outposts of the imperial camp, and demanded to be led to the general. Professing conviction of his folly, in attempting to contend with the Mogul power, he craved the pardon of his disobedience, and offered to the Emperor his services, along with twenty forts which he would immediately resign. Jeysing embraced the proposal; and Sevagee obeyed the imperial order, to wait upon the Emperor at Delhi. Sevagee had offered to conduct the war in Candahar against the Persians. Had he been received with the honour to which he looked, he might have been gained to the Mogul service, and the empire of the Mahrattas would not have begun to exist. But Aurungzebe, who might easily have dispatched, resolved to humble the adventurer. When presented in the hall of audience, he was placed among the inferior Omrahs; which affected him to such a degree that he wept and fainted away. He now meditated, and with great address contrived, the means of escape. Leaving his son, a boy, with a Brahmen whom he knew at Mutterah,

other Hindus. They had been divided into three principal Rajaships; that of Abnir or Ambeer, called afterwards Jeypore and Jyenagur, on the borders of Agra; that of Jodepore or Marwar, south west from Abnir, approaching the centre of Ajmere; and lastly that of Chitore, called also Odeypore, from another city, lying further south. Of these Rajahs the most powerful had been the Rajah of Chitore, whose distinctive title was Rana. Jesswint Sing, the Rajah of Judpore, having married the daughter of the last Rana, had merged those two kingdoms of Rajapoots into one. Mr. Orme seems not to have been aware of the marriage of Jesswint Sing, and of its effects; as he mentions with some surprise, that the name of the Rajah of Chitore no where appears in the history of the present transactions. Bernier, Revol. p. 52, 56; Dow, Reign of Shah Jehan, ch. v. p. 212; Scott, ut supra, p. 10; Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 18; Rennel's Memoir, Introd. p. cxxxii. To the above nations of Rajapoots should also be added those of Bondela, or Bundelchund, a district between the provinces of Agra and Malwa, extending from Jeypore, by Gualior and Callinger, as far as Benares. Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 17: Rennel, ut supra, p. cxxxii.

and who afterwards conducted him safe to his father, he travelled as a pilgrim to Juggernaut, and thence by the way of Hyderabad to his own country.*

The Prince Shah Aulum, and the Rajah Jesswunt Sing, were sent to supersede the Rajah Jey Sing, who was suspected of an understanding with Sevagee, and died on his way to the imperial presence.† The change was favourable to Sevagee; because Jesswunt Sing, who had but little affection to the imperial service, allowed the war to linger, and discontents and jealousies to breed in the army. Sevagee was not inactive. Immediately upon his arrival he took royal titles, and struck coins in his name. His troops, in consequence of his previous arrangements, had been well kept on foot during his absence; and he attacked immediately the Mogul territories and forts. Surat was again plundered; he recovered all the forts which he had resigned, and added some new districts to his former possessions.

The weakness of Beejapore made him look upon the territories of that declining state as his easiest prey. Neither upon that, however, nor any other enterprise, could he proceed with safety, till his forts were supplied with provisions; and provisions, while pressed by the Mogul arms, he found it difficult, if not impossible to supply. He seems never to have distrusted his own address any more than his courage. By a letter to Jesswunt Sing, he averred, that only because his life was in danger had he fled from the imperial presence, where his faithful offer of services had been treated with scorn; that still he desired to return within the walks of obedience; and would place his son in the imperial service, if any command in the army, not dishonourable, was bestowed upon him. The stratagem succeeded to his wish; he obtained a truce, during which he supplied his forts; he dexterously withdrew his son from the Mogul army; with little resistance he took possession of several important districts belonging to Beejapore; compelled the

* Scott, ut supra, p. 11—17. Mr. Orme, from scattered reports, has stated the circumstances differently, Historical Frag. p. 17, &c.

† Not without suspicion of poison.—Mr. Scott's author, who probably wished to spare Aurungzebe, says, by his moonshee, or secretary (p. 17).—Mr. Orme says, by order of Aurungzebe (p. 27). But the Rajah was worn out with age and laborious services; and the only poison, perhaps, was the anguish of disgrace. He is praised by the Mahomedan historians as the most eminent, in personal qualities, of all the Hindus they had yet known; accomplished in Persian and Arabian learning. His successor, of whom more will be heard hereafter, was celebrated for his astronomical learning, and for the observatory which he erected at Jeypore. Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 18. Note (1) by Scott.

Book III. 1671—1681.

King to pay him a tribute of three lacs of pagodas, and the King of Golconda to pay him another of four.*

The Emperor, displeased with Jesswunt Sing, as well on account of the ill success of the war, as the divisions and jealousies which reigned in the army, recalled him; and several generals were successively sent to conduct affairs under Aulum Shah. In the mean time, the Mahrattas plundered the adjoining countries, retreating with the spoil to their forts, in spite of all the efforts of the imperial commanders. At last, in 1671, the Prince himself was recalled. An Omrah, titled Bahadur Khan, succeeded him; and retained the government till the year 1676. During these years the war produced no remarkable event, though it was prosecuted with considerable activity, and without intermission. The efforts of the Viceroy were divided and weakened, by hostilities with Beejapore and Golconda; which, though they had contributed to the fall of those languishing states, had aided the rising power of Sevagee. In 1677 that chieftain affected to enter into an alliance with the King of Golconda against the King of Beejapore and the Moguls; and marched into the territory of Golconda at the head of an army of 40,000 horse. He proceeded to make conquests with great appearance of fidelity; but placed Mahratta governors in all the fortresses, and enriched himself by plunder. He obtained possession of the impregnable fortress of Gingee by treachery. He laid siege to Vellore, which defended itself during more than four months. An interview took place between Sevagee and Ekojee, the latter of whom, perceiving the insatiable appetite and power of his brother, trembled for his dominions. Before he had time, however, to conquer every thing to the north of the Coleroon, he was recalled to his western dominions.† Dilleer Khan, who succeeded Bahadur, carried on the war in a similar manner, and was superseded by Bahadur, who received the command anew, in 1681. The most remarkable occurrence, during the administration of Dilleer, was the arrival in his camp of the son of Sevagee, who had incurred the displeasure of his father, and fled for protection to the Moguls. The event was regarded as fortunate, and a high rank was bestowed upon the young Mahratta; but Sevagee soon found means to regain his confidence, and he had the good fortune to make

* Wilks, (p. 80) says nine, upon what authorities, he, as usual, omits to state.

† This expedition into the Carnatic is noticed by Scott, ut supra, p. 32; by Orme, Hist. Frag. p. 82—87. Col. Wilks, however, (ch. iii. ut supra) has given the most distinct account, and is here followed.

his escape a little time before his father terminated his indefatigable and extraordinary career. Chap. IV. 1682.

During all the time of these great and multiplied transactions, a naval war, which we hear of for the first time in the history of India, was carried on between Sevagee and his enemies. At the commencement of his exploits, a chief, distinguished by the name of Siddee Jore, had the government of the town of Dunda Rajapore, a sea-port, to the southward of Bombay, belonging to the King of Beejapore; and at the same time, the command of the fleet, which that sovereign had formed to protect his maritime dominions, and their trade, from the naval enemies which now infested the coasts of India. While Siddee Jore was endeavouring to signalize himself against Sevagee in another quarter, that ingenious adventurer arrived unexpectedly at Dunda Rajapore, and obtained possession of it by a stratagem. The loss of this important place so enraged the King against Siddee Jore, that he procured his assassination. At the time of the capture of Dunda Rajapore, however, the heir of Siddee Jore was in the command of the fleet, which lay at the fortified island of Gingerah, before the town. When the outrage was committed upon his father by the King of Beejapore, he tendered his services to Aurungzebe, with the fort of Gingerah, and the whole of the Beejapore fleet. The offer, of course, was greedily accepted. Siddee, it appears, was a name, which was applied in common to those Abyssinian adventurers, who had passed over, in great numbers, from their own country into the service of the kings of Deccan; and had there frequently engrossed a great proportion of the principal offices of state. Of this class of men was the admiral who had now enlisted himself in the Mogul service. He was joined by a great number of his family and countrymen. He himself was called *the* Siddee, by way of distinction; his principal officers had the term Siddee prefixed to their names; and his crews and followers were in general denominated the Siddees. They carried on an active warfare along the whole western coast of India, and were not only dangerous and troublesome enemies to Sevagee, but formidable even to the British, and other European traders, who frequented the coast.*

Sevagee breathed his last in his fortress of Rayree on the 5th of April, 1682, of an inflammation in his chest, at the early age of fifty-two; having displayed a fertility of invention, adapted to his ends; and a firmness of mind in the pursuit of them, which have seldom been equalled, probably never surpassed. With the exception of the few small districts possessed by the Europeans, his dominions, at

* Orme's Hist. Frag. p. 9 to 11, 79 to 11.

BOOK III. 1681.

the time of his death, comprehended, along the western coast of India, an extent of about 400 miles in length by 120 in breadth, and from the river Mirzeou in the south, to Versal in the north. Of the detached forts, which at one time he had garrisoned in Carnatic, only one or two appear to have at this time remained in his hands.*

During these transactions in the south, we are not informed of any other emergency which called the attention of Aurungzebe from the ordinary details of his administration; excepting a war with the Patans or Afghauns who infested the northern provinces; and another, which the Emperor himself provoked, with the rajpoots of Ajmere and Malwa.

The Governor of Peshawir, to punish an incursion of the Patans, had, in 1673, pursued them to their mountains, where he allowed himself to be entangled in the defiles, and was cut off with his whole army. A Patan, who had served in the armies of Sultan Sujah, and bore a strong resemblance to his person, gave birth to a report, that the Sultan had made his escape from Arracan. The Patans proclaimed him King of India; and all the tribes of that people were summoned to join their forces to place him upon his throne. They were able, it is said, had they united, to bring into the field 150,000 men; and Aurungzebe was roused by the magnitude of the danger. He took the field in person, and crossed the Indus, about the close of the year 1674. The war lasted for about fifteen months, during which the Patans were driven from the more accessible country; and Aurungzebe was too cautious to penetrate among the mountains. A chain of forts was established to restrain them; and the governor whom he left at Peshawir, having exerted himself to gain the confidence of the Patan chiefs, drew them to an entertainment at that place, and murdered them along with their attendants. Though Aurungzebe disowned the action, he obtained not the credit of being averse to it.†

It is probable that Aurungzebe, from political motives, projected the reduction of the rajpoot states, viewing with jealousy the existence of so great an independent power, (able, it is said, to bring 200,000 men into the field) in the heart of his dominions. He put on however the mask of religion, and began the execution of a project, or pretended project, for the forcible conversion of the Hindus to the religion of the faithful. Jesswunt Sing, the Maharajah, or Great Rajah, as he was called, having died, near Cabul in 1681, his children, on

* Orme's Hist. Frag. p. 133, 134. Wilks says he died in 1680, (ubi supra, p. 91).

† Ib. p. 68—72.

1687.

their return to their native country, were ordered to be conducted to court; where he insisted on their being rendered Mahomedans. Their rajpoot attendants contrived their escape, and fled with them to their own country. The Emperor revenged the disobedience by a war; which he conducted in person. His numerous forces drove the rajpoots from the more accessible parts of their difficult country; but they held possession of their mountains and fastnesses; and the war degenerated into a tedious and ineffectual struggle. Aurungzebe sat down at Ajmere, where he superintended, at a less inconvenient distance, the operations in Deccan, as well as the war with the rajpoots.*

Sambah, or Sambagee, the eldest son of Sevagee, succeeded to his throne, but not without a competitor, in a younger brother, whose adherents created him considerable danger, till the principal among them were all put to death. While the war was carried on between the Mahratta and the imperial generals in Deccan, as it had been for several years, by sudden inroads on the one side, and pursuit on the other; but few important advantages on either; Akbar, one of the younger sons of Aurungzebe, who was employed in the war against the rajpoots, turned his standards against his father, being offered assistance by the enemy whom he was sent to subdue. One of Aurungzebe's tried artifices, that of raising jealousy between associates, enabled him to defeat the first attempt of Akbar, who fled from the country of the rajpoots, and took refuge with Sambagee.

Both Sambagee and Aurungzebe knew the value of the acquisition. The prince was received with extraordinary honours, by the Mahratta chief, who would not sit in his presence. And Aurungzebe, resolving to extinguish the enemy who had so long troubled his government in the south, arrived with a vast army at Aurungabad, in 1684. After the attack and defence of some forts, with no important result, the prince Shah Aulum was sent into Concan, to reduce the Mahratta fortresses on the sea coast. He found it impossible to procure provisions; the climate disagreed with the Mogul troops; and he was obliged to return with only a remnant of his army.†

In 1687, the Emperor resolved upon the final reduction of the Mahomedan kingdoms of Deccan, Hyderabad or Golconda, and Beejapore, which displayed a greater residue of strength and resources, than their reduced condition had led him to expect. From Ahmednuggur, where the grand camp had already ar-

* Scott's Operations of Aurungzebe in Deccan, p. 53. Orme, ut supra, p. 100—105, and 119—121.

† Scott, ut supra, p. 55—64; Orme Hist. Frag. p. 134—152.

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rived, he moved as far as Sholapore, and sent one army towards Hyderabad, another towards Beejapore.

The general, who led the army of the King of Hyderabad, betrayed his trust, and passed over to the enemy; upon which the King abandoned the open country, and shut himself up in the fort of Golconda. Hyderabad was taken and plundered. That the Sultan Mauzim, however, who commanded, might not have the honour, which he was wise enough not to covet, of taking Golconda, Aurungzebe accepted the humble terms which were offered by the King, and reserved his destruction till another opportunity.

Beejapore made considerable resistance, which was aided by scarcity. After the city had been besieged for some time, the Emperor proceeded to the attack in person. Famine at last compelled the garrison to surrender; and the young King was delivered into the hands of Aurungzebe.*

He received, about the same time, intelligence of another agreeable event, the departure of Sultan Akbar, from the Mahratta country to Persia. As this lessened greatly, in the eyes of Aurungzebe, the importance of immediate operations against the Mahrattas, he turned from Beejapore towards Golconda. Shah Aulum, with his sons, was seized and put in confinement, for remonstrating, it is said, against the treachery aimed at the unfortunate King of Golconda, who had submitted under pledge of honour to himself. Aurungzebe, in truth, was incurably jealous of his son, because heir to his throne; and was stimulated to ease his mind of a part of its load of terror and distrust. Golconda was invested, and, after a siege of seven months, fell by that treachery, the benefit of which Aurungzebe made it his constant endeavour to procure. He had now the two sovereigns of Deccan in his hands, and the reduction of the outstanding forts was all that remained to complete the extension of the Mogul dominion to the furthest limit of Carnatic.†

This important success was immediately followed by an event which the Emperor regarded as peculiarly fortunate. His spies brought intelligence, that Sambagee, at one of his forts in the mountains not far distant, was spending his time in a round of his favourite pleasures, and very imperfectly on his guard. A body of troops was dispatched to surprise him, and he was, in fact, taken

* Scott, ut supra, p. 65—73.

† The greatest part of Carnatic had belonged to the rajahs of Beejanuggur, in the flourishing state of that empire. After the reduction of that state by the Mahomedan powers of Deccan, it was divided between the states of Golconda and Beejapore. Aurungzebe's Operations in Deccan, Scott, p. 73, 74, 75. Orme, p. 199—130.

prisoner. Sambagee was too formidable to be permitted to live; but the Emperor polluted his fortune by glutting his eyes with the butchery of his enemy; who relaxed not his haughtiness in the presence of death. The efficacy of Sambagee's talents, which were not inconsiderable, was obstructed by his immoderate passion for women, which his father predicted would lead him to his ruin.

The Emperor followed up his advantage with activity, and immediately sent an army into Concan. Its operations were highly successful; and Rayree, which Sambagee and his father had made their capital, together with the wives and infant son of that chieftain, fell into the hands of the victor.*

Rama, however, the brother of Sambagee, escaped from Concan, and, crossing by the way of Seringapatam to Carnatic, threw himself into the fort of Gingee, which was a place of great strength, and by the obstinacy of its resistance, or the interested delays of the imperial generals, retarded the settlement of Deccan for several years. It gave occupation to a great part of the imperial army from the year 1692 to the year 1700; and during that period kept the reduction of Carnatic incomplete.

The Emperor turned his whole attention to the final subjugation of the Mahrattas, and penetrated into the country with his principal army. But while he was employed in the reduction of forts, the Mahrattas, under various chiefs, issued from their mountains, and spreading over the newly conquered countries of Beejapore and Golconda, and even the provinces of Berar, Candesh, and Malwa, carried great plunder back with them, and left devastation behind. The imperial forces marched to oppose them in all directions, and easily conquered them in battle when they could bring them to an action. But the Mahrattas eluded rencounter, retired to their mountains when pursued, hung upon the rear of their enemy when obliged to return, and resumed their devastations whenever they found the country cleared of the troops which opposed them. The Emperor persevered with great obstinacy in besieging the forts in the accessible parts of the Mahratta country; the greater part of which fell into his hands. But during that time the Mahrattas so enriched themselves by plundering the imperial dominions, and so increased in multitude and power, being joined by vast numbers of the Zemindars in the countries which they repeatedly over-ran, that the advantages of the war were decidedly in their favour, and the administration of Aurungzebe betrayed the infirmities of age. The more powerful Omrahs, who maintained numerous troops, and were able to chastise invaders, his jealous

* Scott, ut supra, p. 77—80; Orme, p. 230—234. Wilks (p. 215) says it was taken in 1698.

BOOK III. 1707.

policy made him afraid to trust with the command of provinces. He made choice of persons without reputation and power, who, abandoning the defence of their provinces, to which they were unequal, were satisfied with enriching themselves by the plunder of the people. Under so defective a government, the Mahrattas found the whole country south from the Nerbudda open to their incursions. The Emperor persevered in his attempts to subdue them. In that harrassing and unavailing struggle were the years consumed which intervened till his death. This event took place, in the camp at Ahmednuggur on the 21st of February 1707, in the forty-eighth year of his reign, and ninety-fourth of his age.*

Death of Aurungzebe.

At the time when the last illness of Aurungzebe commenced, his eldest son, Mahomed Mauzim, who at an early age had received the title of Shah Aulum, was at Cabul, of which, as a distant province where he would be least dangerous, he was made governor, upon his liberation from the confinement in which he had languished for several years. His two remaining sons, Azim Shah, who was subahdar of Guzerat, and his youngest son Kam Buksh, who had been recently appointed to the government of Beejapore, were both in the camp. Aurungzebe, who forgot not his caution to the last, hurried them away to their stations, either fearing lest under his weakness they should seize upon his person while yet alive; or lest they should fill the camp with bloodshed immediately upon his dissolution. Azim had not yet reached his province, when he received the news of the Emperor's decease. He hurried back to the camp, and, no competitor being present, received without difficulty the obedience of the army.

As it was not, however, expected that Shah Aulum would quietly resign his throne and his life, Azim began his march towards the northern provinces. On the news of the Emperor's illness, Shah Aulum had dispatched his commands to his two sons; Moiz ad dien, the eldest, governor of Multan, and Azim Ooshaun, the second, governor of Bengal, to advance with their forces towards Agra. Azim Ooshaun had used so much diligence, that he was enabled to anticipate the arrival of Azim Shah, and got possession of Agra with its treasures. As the two armies were approaching one another in the neighbourhood of Agra,

* For the last seven years of the reign of Aurungzebe, the author of Aurungzebe's operations in Deccan, by Scott, (p. 73—123,) is our principal authority. The age of Aurungzebe is stated on the authority of Golam Hussein Khan (Seer Mutakhareen, i. 2). Mr. Scott's author mentions not the age. Both writers miscalculate the length of the reign (which began in August 1658, and ended in February 1707); the one calling it more than fifty, the other more than fifty-one years.

Shah Aulum addressed a letter to his brother, offering to divide the kingdom. The presumptuous prince rejected the proposal; and the armies came to action; when Azim Shah lost the battle, and he and his two eldest sons their lives. He had committed many important errors; among others offended the generalissimo, the famous Zulfeccar Khan, the favourite general of Aurungzebe, and son of Assud Khan his vizir. He rejected the advice of this commander at the commencement of the battle, and Zulfeccar with his forces withdrew from the field.*

CHAP. IV. 1707.

Shah Aulum.

Shah Aulum, who now assumed the title of Bahadur Shah, was chiefly indebted to the prudence and wisdom of Monâim Khan, his minister of finance, for his victory and throne. He rewarded him with the office of vizir; but Assud Khan, the late vizir, and Zulfeccar Khan his son, were received with extraordinary favour: the former being created vakeel muttulluck; † the latter meer bukshi; ‡ and governor of all Deccan, with the title of Ameer ul Omrah.

Another contest, however, still remained. The throne was promised to Kâm Buksh by his own vanity, and by his astrologers; and though his brother, even when near him with an irresistible army, invited him to enjoy in peace his kingdom of Beejapore, to which he offered to add that of Golconda, the infatuated prince was resolved upon his destruction. It had been the object of his father to render him, by his power in Beejapore, safe from the jealousy of any of his brothers who might ascend the imperial throne. For this purpose he had placed in his service the Turanee Moguls, or that part of the army which consisted of the Mogul adventurers, newly arrived from Tartary, and distinguished from those who had been bred in Hindustan. The chief of these Moguls was Ghazee ad dien Khan, a man of great years and experience; who had acquired high reputation and influence in Deccan during the wars of Aurungzebe. The light, inconsiderate, rash, and inconstant character of Kâm Buksh would have discovered to a less discerning mind than that of Ghazee the speedy ruin of that prince's hopes; he therefore listened to the friendly proposals of the Emperor, and was appointed Subahdar of Guzerat, while his son Cheen Koolich Khan, a man of great celebrity in the subsequent history of India, was favourably received at court. Kâm Buksh was gradually deserted by almost all his fol-

* The reign of Shah Aulum is related by two Persian noblemen, both cotemporary with the events, Eradut Khan, (Mem. p. 11—64,) and Golâm Hussein Khan, Seer Mutakhareen, p. 1—23.

† This was the highest office in an Indian government, and seldom bestowed, unless on some great emergency. Scott, Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 46.

‡ Chief paymaster; an office of great trust and dignity. Ibid.

Book III. 1709.

lowers; but rushed desperately into battle near Hyderabad with not more than a few hundred attendants. He was taken prisoner; but not till he received a mortal wound, of which he died the same evening.

The Emperor seemed afraid of becoming, like his father, entangled in the labyrinth of Deccanee affairs; and leaving to his officers whatever remained for the settling of those newly conquered regions, he began his march towards the capital, though in the middle of the rains. Zulfeccar Khan, the subahdar of Deccan, left Daood Khan Punnee, a native of Deccan, his deputy; and followed his master, still further to push his ambitious designs.

The Emperor was not satisfied with the Rajpoot princes, whose disobedience had been provoked by the religious and mischievous war kindled against them at the end of the reign of Aurungzebe. Ajeet Sing, the successor of Jesswunt Sing, Raja of Odeypore; and Jeysing, the successor of the Rajah, who had rendered himself famous in the wars of Aurungzebe, had formed an alliance, cemented by marriage; and without professing independence of the Mogul power, endeavoured to yield a very limited obedience. Some unavailing measures were taken to reduce them to more perfect subjection. But a new enemy, whose operations began to be serious and even formidable, rendered it advisable to accept for the present the nominal obedience of the Rajpoots.

The Seiks, now ravaging the province of Lahore and the northern part of the province of Delhi, committing outrages on the persons of the Moslem, inflamed both the religious and political indignation of the Emperor and his Omrahs. This people, of whom the history is curious, were advancing rapidly to that importance, which renders them at present one of the principal powers in Hindustan. Their origin is to be traced back to the time of the Emperor Baber, when a celebrated Dirvesh, being captivated with the beauty of the son of a grain merchant of the Cshatrya caste, by name Nannuk, brought him to reside in his house, and instructed him in the sublime doctrines and duties of Islamism. Nannuk aspired beyond the merit of a learner. From theological writings which he perused, he selected, as he went on, such doctrines, expressions, sentiments, as captivated his fancy. At length his selections approached to the size of a book; and being written (it is said with elegance) in the Punjabee dialect, or language of the country, were read by various persons, and admired. The fame of Nannuk's book was diffused. He gave it a name, *Kirrunt*;* and, by degrees, the votaries of *Kirrunt* became a sect. They distinguished themselves by a peculiar garb and manners, which resembled those of the Moslem fakîrs. They

* Sir John Malcolm writes it Grant'h. Sketch of the Sikhs, p. 25.

united so as to live by themselves apart from the other inhabitants; and formed villages of communities, called *Sangats*, in which some one, as head of the community, always presided over the rest. Nannuk was followed by nine successors in the office of chief, or patriarch of the whole sect; during whose time the Seiks led peaceable and inoffensive lives. Teeg Bahadur, the tenth in order, was perpetually followed by a large multitude of the enthusiasts of the sect; and united himself with a Mussulman fakîr who had a number of followers approaching that of his own. To subsist so numerous a body of idle religionists, the neighbouring districts were laid under contribution; and the saints, having tasted the sweets of a life of plunder and idleness, pushed their depredations, and became the scourge of the provinces. Aurungzebe, who was then upon the throne, commanded the governor of Lahore to seize the two leaders of the banditti; to banish the Mussulman beyond the Indus; and to conduct the Hindu to the fort of Gualior; where he was put to death. The loss of their patriarch was far from sufficient to extinguish the religious flame of the Seiks. A son of Teeg Bahadur, whose family name was Govind, was raised to the vacant supremacy, and was distinguished by the name of Gooroo Govind, Gooroo being the title bestowed by a Hindu on his religious instructor. The fate of his father taught him audacity; he instructed his followers, hitherto unarmed, to provide themselves with weapons and horses; divided them into troops; placed them under the command of those of his friends in whose conduct and fidelity he confided; and plundered the country by force of arms. He was not, however, able to withstand the troops of the province, which were collected to oppose him; his two sons were taken prisoners, and he himself fled among the Afghauns. After a time he came back, disguised as an Afghaun devotee; but falling into mental derangement, was succeeded by Banda, one of his followers, who assumed the name of Gooroo Govind, and resolved to take vengeance on the Moslems for the slaughter of the father and sons of his predecessor. To the robbery and plunder which had become the business of the Seiks, he added cruelty and murder. The Moslem historians of these events are filled with horror as well as indignation at the cruelties which he exercised upon the faithful (to them alone, it seems, did they extend) and describe as one of the most sanguinary of monsters the man whose actions, had infidels been the sufferers, and a Mussulman the actor, they might not, perhaps, have thought unworthy of applause. It was this Banda whose enormities Shah Aulum hurried from Deccan to interrupt and chastise. The rebels (so they were now denominated) deserted Sirhind upon the approach of the Emperor, and retired to Daber, a place of strength, at the entrance of the mountains, and the principal residence of the Gooroo. When Daber was reduced

Book III. 1712. to the last extremity, Banda, with his principal followers, retired to the mountains during the night. The presence of the Emperor suspended, but did not extinguish, the depredations of the Seiks.*

Shah Aulum had reigned five years, counting from the death of Aurungzebe, with the praise of great humanity, having spilt the blood of no rival but in the field, and treating the sons of his rebel brothers like his own; when he was siezed with a violent illness, and expired suddenly in his camp, near Lahore, in the year 1712.

The four sons of Shah Aulum, each with his army and retainers, were in the camp; Moiz ad dien Khan, the eldest; Azeem Ooshaun, the second, the favourite of his father; Ruffeh Ooshaun, the third; and Kojesteh Akter, the youngest. Of all the Omrahs, the vizir Monaim Khan being dead, Zulfeccar Khan was by far the most powerful; and doubted not to place on the musnud any of the princes whose cause he should espouse. Azeem Ooshaun, who had in the camp a large treasure of his own, and from his situation near his father was enabled to possess himself of all the imperial treasure and effects, assumed the sceptre without hesitation. Zulfeccar Khan sent to him a confidential messenger, to ask if, in that emergency, he could render him any service; and receiving a careless and disdainful answer, took his resolution. He passed to the camp of Moiz ad Dien, and formed or confirmed a union of the three brothers, who agreed to oppose Azeem Ooshaun, and afterwards to divide the empire. Azeem Ooshaun lost the favourable opportunity of attacking his brothers. He allowed the time to pass; till they made their preparations; and till his own army, becoming uneasy and dispirited, began to disperse. When the inevitable hour arrived, he was conquered without much difficulty, and disappeared in the battle; his wounded elephant, it is supposed, rushed with him down the precipice into the river, where both sunk to appear no more.

To the surviving princes it remained to settle the partition on which they had agreed; but Zulfeccar Khan had other designs. Whether from selfish motives, or a patriotic dread of the consequences of division; whether because that prince was the weakest, and might be governed, or the oldest, and had the

* Golâm Hussein, (Seer Mutakhareen, i. 87—93) who gives a pretty detailed account of the origin of the Seiks; and Scott, (Hist. of Aurungzebe's Successors, p. 142) who gives an abridged one, agree pretty exactly in the facts. Eradut Khan (Mem. p. 61) describes the reduction of Daber. Some general remarks are found in a paper of Mr. Wilkins, in the first vol. of the Asiatic Researches. The more detailed account of Sir John Malcolm, (Sketch of the Sikhs, p. 1—85,) taken from Seik authorities, differs widely in the history of Nannuk; but though the inaccurate Persians are not much to be trusted, the fabling Seiks, making every thing miraculous in the origin of their sect, are still less.

better title, the Ameer ul Omrah resolved to make Moiz ad Dien sole Emperor, and to defeat the expectations of the other two. By various artifices, creating difficulties and delay, he contrived to secure the greater part of the treasure to Moiz ad Dien. This roused the jealousy of Kojesteh Akter, and he prepared for action; but the night before the projected battle a fire broke out in his camp, and he lost the greater part of his ammunition. He and his son fought with gallantry, but his soldiers deserted during the engagement, and gave an easy victory to his more fortunate brother. Ruffeh Ooshaun stood aloof during this action; still confiding in the friendship of Zulfeccar Khan, and reserving himself to fall upon the victor. While he waited with impatience for the morning, having been dissuaded from attacking the successful army the same night, intelligence of his design was carried to the Ameer ul Omrah, who made preparations to receive him. The victory was not a moment doubtful, for the army of the prince almost immediately dispersed, and he was slain, fighting bravely amid a few attendants.*

Jehandar Shah.

Moiz ad Dien was proclaimed Emperor with the title of Jehandar Shah. He possessed not abilities to redeem the weaknesses by which he exposed himself to the disapprobation of his people; and his government and person fell into contempt. He was governed by a concubine, who had belonged to the degraded and impure profession of public dancers, and shed infamy upon the man with whom she was joined. The favours of the crown were showered upon the mean relations, and ancient companions of Lall Koor (such was the name of the mistress), who did not always enjoy them with moderation. The Emperor, who loved the jollity of debauch, exposed himself about the city in company with Lall Koor and her favourites, in situations where dignity was apt to be lost. The nobles were offended, because a new set of favourites intercepted the rays of imperial favour; and the people were disgusted at the sight of vices in their sovereign, which shed degradation on the meanest of themselves.

Jehandar Shah was from these causes ill prepared to meet the storm which shortly after he was summoned to face. When Azim Ooshaun marched from Bengal to assist his father in the struggle for the crown, he left behind him his son Feroksere. Upon the defeat of Azim Ooshaun, and the elevation of Jehandar Shah, it became necessary for Feroksere to think either of flight or of

* Eradut Khan, (Memoirs, p. 65—67,) and Golam Hussein Khan, (Seer Mutakhareen, i. 23—36,) agree in the general points of this struggle for the crown; the former describing it like an eye-witness, but not a very curious one; the other from report merely, but not without diligence and criticism.

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1712.

resistance. There were two brothers, Abdoolla Khan, and Hussun Khan, of the high birth of Syeds, or descendants of the prophet, who had distinguished themselves in the service of Azim Shah, and having afterwards attached themselves to Azim Ooshaun were by him appointed, the one to the government of Allahabad; the other, to that of Bahar. Feroksere succeeded in gaining the support of these brothers, whose talents were powerful, and their reputation high. The counsels of Jehandar were divided. The powers and services of Zulfeccar Khan were eclipsed by the favour of Kokultash Khan, the foster brother of the Emperor. The talents of Kokultash were unequal to the conduct of any important affair. The abilities of Zulfeccar were restrained, and his ardour cooled, by the success with which Kokultash thwarted his designs. Neither wished to take the command of the army, which, compelling him to quit the Emperor, left the imperial power in the hands of his rival. Time was consumed during these intrigues. In the end, Aiz ad Dien, the eldest son of the Emperor, and with him, for his guide, a relation of the foster brother, a man without talents or experience, proceeded to the reduction of Feroksere. The two armies met at Cudjwa, a town in the district of Corah, where Aurungzebe and Sujah had formerly engaged. But the conductor of Aiz ad Dien fled with him during the night which was expected to precede the battle; upon which the army either dispersed or joined Feroksere. By an advice of Syed Abdoolla, for which it is difficult to account, Feroksere halted for several days, instead of rapidly improving his advantage. Jehandar Shah had now to put life and empire upon the fate of a battle. All that could be assembled of the imperial forces marched towards Agra, with the Emperor himself at their head. Feroksere also arrived on the opposite side of the river, and the two armies faced one another for several days. At last Feroksere unexpectedly crossed the river in the night; and battle was joined the following day. The line of the imperial army was soon broken, and confusion ensued. Zulfeccar Khan, indeed, fought with a gallantry not unworthy of his former renown, and kept the field when he and his followers remained alone. Not despairing to rally the army, and renew the action on the following day, he dispatched messengers in all directions, but in vain, to search for the Emperor during the night. That unhappy prince had taken the road in disguise toward Delhi, of which Assud Khan, the father of Zulfeccar, was governor. After intelligence of his arrival, the friends of the late Azim Ooshaun surrounded his palace, and demanded the custody of his person. To quiet their clamours, or to lay a foundation of merit with the future sovereign, Assud Khan placed him in confinement; and wrote to

Feroksere that he waited for his commands to dispose of the prisoner. So gracious an answer was received, as dissipated the fears of Assud Khan, and enabled him to prevail upon his son, who had arrived at Delhi, to trust himself in the hands of Feroksere. The credulity of Zulfeccar deceived him; for he might have escaped to his government of Deccan, where his talents would have enabled him to set the imperial power at defiance. He was strangled by order of Feroksere, and his dead body was exposed about the streets of Delhi, at the same time with that of his master Jehandar Shah.* CHAP. IV. 1713.

Feroksere began his reign in the year 1713, with the usual performances of an Oriental despot; that is, the murder of all who were the objects of his apprehension. After this, the two Syeds, to whom he owed both his life and his throne, were elevated; Hussun to the post of Bukshi, or paymaster of the forces, with the title of Ameer ul Omrah; and Abdoolla to that of Vizir, with the title of Koottub al Mulk, or axis of the state. Cheen Koolich Khan, the son of Gazee ad Dien Khan, who was chief of the Tooranee Moguls in the Deccan at the end of the reign of Aurungzebe, was known to have lived on adverse terms with Zulfeccar Khan; and by this circumstance, as well as by the weight which was attached to his reputation for talents, and his connexion with the Tooranee lords, was recommended to the attention of the new government. He was appointed to the regency or subahdarry of Deccan, and decorated with the title of Nizam ul Mulk, or composer of the state; a common title, which he rendered remarkable, in the modern history of India, by transmitting it to his posterity, and along with it a kingdom, in that very region which he was now sent, and but for a little time, to superintend. Feroksere.

Feroksere was a weak prince, governed by favourites. The two Syeds had laid such obligations upon their sovereign, and possessed such power, chiefly from the inconsiderate cruelty of Feroksere, who had killed Zulfeccar and others by whom they might have been restrained, that they could brook neither rival nor partner in disposing of the state. Their chains soon became heavy on Feroksere. Aware of his impatience, they made such efforts to render themselves secure against the effects of his malice, as embroiled the state from the very commencement of his reign.

* The Memoirs of Eradut Khan finish with the reign of Jehandar Shah. He describes the scenes with the knowledge of an eye-witness, but with little favour to Jehandar Shah or Zulfeccar, the victims of the severity or cruelty of the prince under whom he wrote, and whom it was adviseable not to offend. Golam Houssein is more candid and more discerning. Seer Mutakhareen, i. 42—63.

BOOK III. 1718.

The first of the contrivances of Emir Jumla (this was the name of the favourite, a man who had formerly been cauzy at Dacca,) was to separate the brothers, under the pretence of honourable employment. The Rajah Ajeet Sing, whom we have already mentioned as the successor of Jesswunt Sing, in that district or division of Rajpootana which was known by the name of Marwar or Rhatore, and of which Chitore and Odeypore had been successively the capitals, had stood out against the operations of Aurungzebe, and remained in a state little short of independence, during the reigns of Shah Aulum and Jehandar Shah. Hussun, the Ameer al Omrah, was required to undertake the reduction of the rebellious Hindu. He marched with so great a force that the Rajah deemed it better to yield than contend; and though he received private encouragements from the court, where he was assured that opposition would be gratefully considered, he concluded an agreement with Hussun, impatient to return to the capital, where his brother's letters assured him, that designs were ripening for their common destruction.

Though Abdoolla, the Vizir, had talents and other eminent qualities, he was so addicted to women and other pleasures, that he neglected business; and let the affairs of his high office devolve into subordinate hands, whose mismanagement shed discredit and unpopularity on himself. His enemies therefore enjoyed advantages, which in the absence of his brother they were eager to improve. Upon the return of Hussun from Marwar, he demanded the regency of Deccan, with a view to govern it by deputy, and remain at court; and he received the appointment, in expectation of his being called to that distant province by the duties of his trust. When it was found, at last, that he had no intention to depart for Deccan, the misunderstanding between the court and the brothers became public and undisguised. They forbore attendance upon the Emperor; assembled their followers, and fortified themselves in their palaces; while the weak and timid Feroksere, who desired without daring to attempt their destruction, formed and abandoned twenty resolutions in a day. After a period of anxiety and alarm, a reconciliation was effected by mediation of the empress-mother, who was favourable to the Syeds, and by whom, it is said, that intelligence was sometimes conveyed to them of the plots by which their lives were essayed. The agreement was, that Meer Jumla, being appointed to the government of Bahar, should depart for that province at the same time that the Ameer al Omrah should proceed to Deccan.*

* Before the departure of Hussun, the marriage of the Emperor was celebrated with the

Hussun told the Emperor, that if mischief were aimed at his brother, he would in twenty days be in the capital from Deccan. The first danger, however, regarded himself. Daood Khan Punnee, the Afghaun, who had been left deputy by Zulfeccar, and obtained the province of Guzerat, upon the appointment of Nizam al Mulk to the regency of Deccan, was ordered to Boorahanpore, ostensibly to wait upon the Subahdar of Deccan, and receive his commands; but with secret instructions to assail the Syed and cut him off. Great expectations were entertained of the Afghaun, who, being a man of prodigious bodily strength, great courage, and not devoid of conduct, had risen to the highest repute as a warrior. It is not unworthy of remark that he had associated with him a Mahratta chief, named Neemajee Sindia, who had been taken into the imperial service by Shah Aulum, honoured with a high rank, and gifted with several jagheers in the vicinity of Aurungabad. Hussun had a severe conflict to sustain; and had not a matchlock ball struck Daood, at the moment when the advantage seemed hastening to his side, the day might have been fatal to the fortune of the brothers. When the Emperor heard of the failure of his project, he could not, even in the presence of Abdoolla, suppress his chagrin; and observed that Daood was a brave man unworthily used. Abdoolla replied, that if his brother had fallen, the victim of perfidy, the imperial mind would have experienced more agreeable sensations.

CHAP. IV. 1719.

About this time Banda, the patriarch and captain of the Seiks, fell into the hands of his enemies. He soon collected his followers, who had only been dispersed by Shah Aulum; and spread more widely his depredations and authority in the contiguous provinces. The Subahdar of Lahore was sent against him, shortly after the accession of Feroksere; but was defeated with great slaughter. The Fogedar, or military and judicial chief of Sirhind, was next commanded to take the field; but was assassinated in his tent, by a Seik, specially commissioned for that purpose. The governor of Cashmere was then removed to the government of Lahore, and appointed to act against the heretics or infidels,

daughter of Maharaja Ajeet Sing, stipulated for, in the conditions lately imposed by Hussun upon the Rajah. She had been conveyed from her father's palace to that of Hussun, as her adopted father, who graced her nuptials with a magnificence which surpassed all that hitherto had been seen in Hindustan.

An indisposition of the Emperor, rather inconvenient at the time of a marriage, cured by a medical gentleman of the name of Hamilton, is said to have been the cause of obtaining the first phirmaun of free trade, for the East India Company. Scott's Successors of Aurungzebe, p. 139. See ii. 19.

BOOK III. 1719.

with a great army. After many severe engagements, Banda was driven to seek refuge in a fort; where famine at last compelled him to surrender. Great cruelty was exercised upon his followers; and he himself was carried to the capital, where he was ignominiously exposed, and afterwards put to death by torture.

It would be useless and disgusting to describe the scenes to which the hatred of the Emperor and the jealousy of the Vizir gave birth in the capital. When the Ameer al Omrah arrived in Deccan, he found the power of the Mahrattas arrived at a height which was not only oppressive to the provinces but formidable to the imperial throne. Sahoo Rajah, or Sahogee the son of Sambagee, had succeeded to the authority of his father and grandfather, as head of the Mahrattas, and had, during the distractions in the Mogul empire, experienced little resistance in extending the sphere of his domination and exactions. Towards the close of the reign of Aurungzebe, the widow of Rama, the brother of Sambagee, who during the minority of Sahogee enjoyed a temporary authority, had offered to put a stop to all the predatory incursions of the Mahrattas under which the imperial provinces in Deccan so cruelly suffered, on condition of receiving a tenth part, which they call Deesmukkee, of the revenues of the six provinces which compose the viceroyalty of Deccan. The pride of Aurungzebe revolted at the humiliating condition; and the offer was rejected with scorn. Daood Khan Punnee, however, who governed the country, as deputy of Zulfeccar, during the reigns of Shah Aulum and Jehandar, and who cultivated the friendship rather than the enmity of the Mahrattas, agreed to purchase deliverance from their incursions by the payment of even the chout, or fourth part of the revenues of the Deccanee provinces, reserving only such districts as were held in jagheer by any princes of the blood royal, and excluding the Mahrattas from the collection, which was to be performed by his own officers alone. Upon the arrival of Nizam al Mulk as Viceroy of Deccan, the chout gave rise to dispute and hostilities; in which the Viceroy gained a battle, and might have further checked the pretensions of the freebooters, had he not been recalled, after enjoying the government one year and some months. The Ameer al Omrah sent a force to dislodge a Mahratta chief who had established a chain of mud forts along the road from Surat to Boorahanpore; and by means of them plundered or levied a tax upon the merchants who trafficked between the two cities. The commander allowed himself to be drawn by the wily Mahratta into a place of difficulty; where he and the greater part of his soldiers lost their lives. A still stronger force was sent to dislodge the plunderer; who declined an action; and was followed by the imperial general as far as Sattara, the residence of Sahogee.

But before Sattara was besieged, the Ameer al Omrah, understanding that danger was increasing at Delhi, and that even Sahogee had received encouragement from the Emperor to effect his destruction, resolved, on any terms, to free himself from the difficulties and embarrassment of a Mahratta war. He not only granted the chout, but he added to it the deesmukkee; nay, admitted the Mahratta agents, with a respectable force at Aurungabad, to perform the collection of their own portion of the taxes. The provinces were thus freed from the ravages of military incursion; but the people were oppressed by three sets of exactors, one for the imperial revenue, one for the chout, and another for the deesmukkee.

Meanwhile a new favourite had risen at court, recommended to the Emperor by a double tie, a fellowship in disreputable pleasures, and promises to cut off the Syeds without the danger of a contest. By his advice, the most powerful chiefs in the empire were invited to court; Nizam al Mulk, from his government of Morâdabad; Sirbullund Khan, from that of Patna; and the Rajpoot princes, Jeysing of Ambere or Jagenagur; and, the father-in-law of the Emperor, Ajeet Sing of Rhatore. Had these chiefs perceived a prospect of sharing among themselves the grand posts of the empire, they would have undertaken the destruction of the Syeds; but they found the despicable Feroksere so infatuated with his unworthy favourite, that he alone was destined to be the organ of power. Ajeet Sing, perceiving the miserable state of the imperial councils, lost no time in uniting himself with the Vizir.

The increasing violence of the councils pursued for the destruction of the Syeds, and the union which the removal of the favourite would suffice to form against them, of so many powerful chiefs, induced Abdoolla to summon his brother from Deccan, and to meditate a decisive step. No sooner did the Emperor hear that Hussun was in motion, than, struck with apprehension, he solicited reconciliation with the Vizir. They exchanged turbans, and vows of fidelity, which were equally sincere on both sides. A messenger of rank was dispatched towards Hussun, to declare the reinstatement of his family in the plenitude of imperial favour; while Hussun, giving up to the Mahrattas such forts as he could not garrison, proceeded to the capital with an army, of which ten thousand were Mahrattas; attended by a youth, whom he received from Sahogee as a son of Sultan Akbar, and treated with all the respect due to a grandson of Aulumgir, and a competitor for the imperial throne. In the mean time the Vizir had found little difficulty in detaching from the hopeless cause of the Emperor, Nizam al Mulk, and the other chiefs of the intended conspiracy.

Book III. 1720.

Jeysing alone adhered to Feroksere, advising him to take the field in person, and, by the weight of the imperial name, bear down the cause of rebels and traitors. The pride and the resentments of Feroksere made him incline to violent measures during one moment; his fears and pusillanimity made him incline to submissive measures the next. After an interval, during which these passions violently alternated in his breast, he threw himself upon the mercy of the Syeds, and submitted to all their demands. It is not certain that they meant to depose him; but during these violent proceedings, tumults arose in the city; Feroksere shut himself up in the women's apartments, and refused to come out; his friends and servants took arms; the commotions became alarming, and a moment might be productive of fatal events. After repeated entreaties, the Vizir was at last compelled to violate the sanctity of the secret apartments; Feroksere was dragged forth, and put in confinement; Ruffeh al Dirjaut, son of Ruffeh al Kudder, a grandson of Aurungzebe by a daughter of Akbar, was taken from among the confined princes, and seated on the throne; his accession was announced by the sound of the nobut, and firing of cannon; and, in a few hours, the commotions, which seemed ready to overwhelm the city, gave place to tranquillity and order.

Ruffeh al Dirjaut.

Feroksere was rather more than six years on the throne. His successor was labouring under a consumption, and died in five months after his exaltation. During this interval, Feroksere suffered a violent death, but whether at his own hand, or that of the brothers, is variously affirmed. Except in the palace, the offices of which were filled entirely with the creatures of the Syeds, the different functionaries of the state were confirmed in their situations. Nizam al Mulk, who liked not the complexion of the times, desired leave to retire; but he was prevailed upon to accept the government of Malwa.

Ruffeh al Dowlah.

Ruffeh al Dowlah, the younger brother of Ruffeh al Dirjaut, was chosen to supply the vacancy of the throne. But the Governor of the citadel of Agra had under his charge a son of Akbar, the youngest son of Aulumgîr; and, in hopes of being joined by other lords, inimical to the Syeds, as well as by Jeysing, who, through influence of the brothers, had been dismissed to his own country before the dethronement of Feroksere, proclaimed the son of Akbar, King. The Syeds left no time for the disaffected to combine; and the Governor, finding his undertaking desperate, put an end to his life. The sickly youth, who this time also was placed upon the throne, followed his predecessor in three months. Rooshun Akter, a son of Kojesteh Akter, the youngest son of Shah Aulum, was the Prince who now was taken to fill the dangerous throne.

Mahomed Shah.

Mahomed Shah (that was the name which the new sovereign adopted) began

his reign in the year 1720. He was in his seventeenth year; had been confined along with his mother, a woman of judgment and prudence, from the beginning of the reign of Jehandar Shah, and reared by her in great silence and obscurity.

The Syeds were now deprived of all grounds of jealousy and resentment towards the throne; for the Empress-mother advised, and the Emperor practised the most perfect submission to their will. But among the great lords of the empire were some, who beheld not their triumphs and power, without envy and hatred. The Governor of Allahabad had been guilty of some marks of disrespect. Shortly after the accession of Mahomed, Hussun marched to chastise him. The Governor died while Hussun was yet upon the march; and his nephew, though he stood upon the defensive, offered to lay down his arms, provided Rajah Ruttun Chund, the famous Duan of the Vizir, were sent to negociate the terms of his submission. The difficulty of besieging Allahabad, strongly defended by the Jumna and the Ganges, which meet under its walls, allayed in the bosom of Hussun, the thirst of revenge. He listened to the proposition of the nephew, and gave him the government of Oude, in exchange for that which his uncle had enjoyed.

Mahomed Ameen Khan, one of the Tooranee Omrahs, remaining at court, began to excite the suspicions of the Syeds; but Nizam al Mulk soon became the principal object of their attention and fears. Upon taking possession of his government of Malwa, he found the province, owing to the late distractions of the empire, overrun with disorder; the Zemindars aiming at independence, and the people either become robbers themselves, or suffering from bands of robbers, who plundered the country with impunity. The vigorous operations demanded for the suppression of these enormities, justified the Nizam in raising and maintaining troops; in providing his garrisons; in adopting all the measures, in short, which were best calculated to strengthen his position. The Syeds were not slow in discerning that these preparations looked beyond the defence of a province. Policy required the removal of the Nizâm. The most respectful intimations were conveyed to him, that as Malwa lay half way between Deccan and the capital, it was pointed out as peculiarly convenient to form the place of residence for the Ameer al Omrah, who, from that station, could both superintend his viceroyalty in Deccan, and watch the operations of the court: and four Subahs were pointed out to Nizam al Mulk; Multan, Candesh, Agra, and Allahabad; of which he was invited to make his election in exchange. Policy might counsel the non-compliance of the Nizam; but pride and vanity counselled an insolent reply, which precipitated hostilities on both sides. The brothers sent an army

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against Malwa. The Nizam resolved to take possession of Deccan. He crossed the Nerbudda; got, through bribery, possession of the strong fortress of Asere, and the city of Boorahanpore; was joined by Eiwuz Khan, Subahdar of Berar, his relation; by a Mahratta chief, who had quarrelled with Sahogee; and, by a variety of Zemindars. He encountered and defeated the army which the brothers had sent to oppose him; conquered, and slew in battle the Governor of Aurungabad, who marched out to meet him; and remained without a rival in Deccan. The Governor of Dowlatabad held out; but the Governor of Hyderabad joined him with 7000 horse. In addition to all these fortunate events, he was encouraged by messages from the court, from Mahomed Ameen Khan, and from the Emperor himself, that his opposition to the Syeds should meet with their support.

The brothers wavered; and permitted time to be lost. Ruttun Chund recommended, what was probably wise, to gain Nizam al Mulk by resigning to him Deccan; and, with vigilance, to guard the rest of the empire. Pride rejected this proposal. It was at last determined, that Hussun, accompanied by the Emperor, should proceed with a great army to Deccan, while Abdoolla should remain to guard the capital. The troops were assembled; the march began; and had continued during four or five days, when Mahomed Ameen Khan conceived his plan to be ripe for execution. He had associated with himself Saadut Khan, afterwards Nabob of Oude, progenitor of the now reigning family; and another desperado, named Hyder Khan, in a conspiracy, with the privity of the Emperor, to assassinate the Ameer al Omrah. The lot fell upon Hyder to strike the blow. Hussun, who received a mortal stab, had strength to cry, "Kill the Emperor!" but the conspirators had taken measures for his protection; and, though the nephew of the deceased armed his followers, and endeavoured to penetrate to the Emperor, he was overpowered and slain, while his tents were plundered by the followers of the camp.

The dismal news was speedily conveyed to Abdoolla, who was on his march to Delhi. He advanced to that city; took one of the remaining princes, and proclaimed him Emperor; found still the means to assemble a large army, and marched out to oppose Mahomed. A great battle was fought at Shahpore; but the Vizir was vanquished and taken prisoner. The Emperor, after little more than a year of tutelage, entered his capital in great pomp and ceremony, and was hailed, as if it had been his accession to the throne.

The weakness of Mahomed Shah's administration, whose time was devoted to pleasure, and his mind without discernment and force, was soon felt in the pro-

vinces. The Rajah, Ajeet Sing, with a view to bind him to the cause of Mahomed, had, through the hands of the Empress-mother, at the time of the accession, received a firmaun appointing him Governor of Guzerat and Ajmere during life. The grant was now revoked, and Ajeet Sing rebelled. After some vain demonstrations of resentment, the Emperor was obliged to submit to concessions and indulgence.

The Afghauns about Peshawir rose in arms; and, after an obstinate engagement, defeated and took prisoner the son of the Governor of the province.

These, and other disorders, were expected to be redressed upon the arrival of Nizam al Mulk, who was invited from Deccan to receive the office of Vizir. He earnestly exhorted the Emperor to apply his own mind to affairs, and to infuse vigour into government, now relaxed and dissolving through negligence and corruption. But the pleasantries of his gay companions, who turned the person and the counsels of the old and rigid Vizir into ridicule, were more agreeable to the enervated mind of Mahomed; and the Nizam, in disgust, under pretence of coercing a refractory Governor in Guzerat, withdrew from the capital. Saadut Khan was about the same time appointed Subahdar of Oude.

The Nizam, having reduced to his obedience the province of Guzerat, and taken possession of Malwa, which was also added to his extensive government, paid another visit to the capital, where he found the temper of administration as careless and dissolute as before. Despairing, or careless of a remedy, and boding nothing but evil, he only thought of securing himself in his extensive dominions; and, under pretence of a hunting excursion, left the capital without leave, and pursued his march to Deccan. The Emperor, who now both hated and feared him, dispatched a private message to the Governor of Hyderabad to oppose and cut him off, with a promise of all his government of Deccan, as the reward of so meritorious a service. The bribe was too great to be resisted; but the undertaker paid the forfeit of his temerity with his life. The Nizam, however, was deprived of his Vizirit, and of his new governments of Malwa and Guzerat. To be revenged he encouraged his deputy in Guzerat to resist the imperial commands; and the Mahratta chiefs Peelajee and Coantojee to invade the provinces. Some inadequate and unavailing efforts were made to oppose the progress of these Mahratta chiefs; who were afterwards joined, still at the instigation, it is said, of the old Nizam, by Bajeeraow, the general of Sahogee. The struggle was upheld, with more or less of vigour, by the imperial deputies, till about the year 1732; when the provinces of Guzerat and Malwa might be regarded as completely reduced under Mahratta dominion. Never contented

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with present acquisitions, the Mahrattas made endless encroachments; and, by degrees, seized upon several districts in the Subahs of Agra and Allahabad, plundering even to the vicinity of Agra. When opposed by an army they retreated; scoured the country; cut off supplies; and made flying attacks. When the opposing army was obliged to retrace its steps, they immediately reseized the country; and still more extensively diffused their depredations.

During the calamities of the empire, Saadut Khan alone, among the different Omrahs and governors, exhibited any public spirit, or any manliness and vigour. Though his province, placed beyond the Ganga, was little exposed to the devastations of the destructive Mahrattas, he marched out, in 1735, to chastise a body of them, who were plundering to the very walls of Agra; overtook them by forced marches, brought on a battle, and gave them a signal overthrow. The wreck of the army joined Bajeeraow, in the neighbourhood of Gualior. Saadut Khan intended to follow up his blow, to pursue the marauders to their own country, and redeem the lost honour of the imperial arms. But the Ameer al Omra, jealous of the glory, sent him orders to halt, till he should join him with the troops of the capital. Bajeeraow, having time to restore animation to the Mahrattas, and learning the removal of the troops from Delhi, marched with Mahratta speed towards that capital, and communicated the first intelligence of his stratagem by the fires which he lighted up in the suburbs. He was in possession of the outskirts of the city for three days, before the approach of the imperial army made it necessary for him to decamp. He took the road to Malwa; and the pusillanimous monarch was advised by his dissolute courtiers to purchase the promise of peace by paying the chout, or fourth, of his revenues to the Mahrattas.

A more dreadful enemy was now about to fall upon the misgoverned empire. The Sophis, whom, in the reign of Shah Jehan we left sitting upon the throne of Persia, had sunk into that voluptuousness and neglect of the business of government, which so uniformly accompany the continued possession of power; relax the springs of the existing government; and prepare the way for an usurper. In this state of the country, the range of mountains, placed near the confines of Persia and India, which had already given a race of sovereigns to Hindustan, produced a chief, who with his rude and hardy countrymen, the mountaineers of Afghaunistan, invaded Persia, and pushed his conquests against the feeble Hussun Shah; whose government was, moreover, distracted by the wretched factions of the black eunuchs, and the white. Though the Afghaun was assassinated, he was succeeded by a nephew, an enterprising youth of

eighteen years of age. The provinces near the Caucasus and the Caspian, as well as those near the Indus, revolted. The Afghaun in 1722 laid siege to Ispahan itself, and the wretched Hussun laid his crown at his feet. In the mean time a son of Hussun, whose name was Thamas, escaped from massacre, and was joined by as many people as still adhered to his family or person, in the neighbourhood of Tauris; among others by Nadir, the son of a shepherd of Chorasan, who by the sale of part of his father's flocks, had hired a banditti; with whom he scoured and plundered the country. By his daring courage, and indefatigable activity, he soon distinguished himself among the followers of the fugitive Prince. He took the name of Thamas Koolee Khan, or Khan, the slave of Thamas. Such a man found it easy in Persia to increase the number of his followers, whom he subsisted and rewarded by the plunder of the country. In a short time he was daring enough to measure swords with the Afghaun himself, and prevailed. In 1729 he re-took Ispahan, pursued the usurper to Afghaunistan itself, vanquished, and took him prisoner. Thamas, whom he acknowledged as King of Persia, he retained in confinement, and, governing in his name, turned his arms against the Turks, who had made encroachments on the western provinces of Persia during the declining vigour of the Sophis. Having conducted this war with success, he felt his power sufficient to pull off the mask. He proclaimed himself King, by the title of Nadir Shah, in the year 1736; and put out the eyes of the unfortunate Thamas.

The restless and enterprising Afghauns, who regretted the loss of Persia, still kept up disturbance on its eastern frontier; and they provoked the proud and furious Nadir to undertake a war of little less than extermination. Not satisfied with driving them from all the accessible parts of their own country, he made his way into Candahar, which had for some generations been detached from the Mogul empire, and annexed to that of Persia. Cabul, which already contained a great mixture of Afghauns, was now crowded with that people, flying from the cruelties of the foe. Nadir was not soon tired in the pursuit of his prey. He had reason to be dissatisfied with the government of Hindustan, to which he had sent repeated embassies; received with something more than neglect. In the general negligence and corruption which pervaded the whole business of government, the passes from Persia into Cabul were left unguarded. The Persian protested that he meant neither hostility nor disrespect to his brother of Hindustan; and that, if not molested, he would chastise the accursed Afghauns, and retire. The opposition he experienced was, indeed, so feeble, as hardly to excite the resentment of Nadir; and, after slaughtering the Afghauns in Cabul, he

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was ready to withdraw; when a circumstance occurred which kindled his rage. A messenger and his escort, whom he had dispatched from Cabul to the Emperor at Delhi, were murdered at Jellalabad by the inhabitants; and, instead of yielding satisfaction for the injury, the silken courtiers of Mahomed counselled approbation, and ridiculed the supposition of danger from the shepherd and freebooter of Chorasan.

That furious warrior hastened to the offending city, and slaughtered the inhabitants without mercy. From this he pursued his route to Peshawir, and thence to Lahore; at both of which places he experienced but little opposition. He then turned his face directly to the capital, where Mahomed and his counsellors, wrapped in a fatal security, were not prepared to believe that the Persian usurper would dare to march against the Majesty of Hindustan. The Hindustanee army, which had been two months in the field, had only advanced to Carnal, four days march from Delhi, where it was surprised by the appearance of the enemy, while Mahomed and his friends were yet ignorant of his approach. The hardy and experienced valour of Nadir's bands quickly spread confusion among the ill conducted crowds of Mahomed. The Ameer al Omrah was mortally wounded, and died after leaving the field of battle. Saadut Khan fought till he was deserted by his followers, and taken prisoner. Nadir, who had no project upon Hindustan, left the disordered camp the next day without an attack; and readily listened to the peaceful counsels of his prisoner Saadut Khan, who hoped, if now set free, to obtain the vacant office of Ameer ul Omrah. Mahomed honoured the Shah with a visit in his camp, and the Shah consented to evacuate Hindustan, upon receipt of two crores of rupees. The insatiable avidity, however, of Nizam al Mulk fatally defeated this happy agreement. He demanded, and was too powerful to be refused the office of Ameer al Omrah. The disappointed and unprincipled Saadut hastened to inform Nadir, that two crores of rupees were no adequate ransom for the empire of Hindostan; that he himself, who was but an individual, would yield as great a sum; that Nizam al Mulk, who alone had power to offer any formidable resistance, ought to be secured; and that Nadir might then make the wealth of the capital and empire his own. A new and dazzling prospect was spread before the eyes of the ravager. Mahomed Shah, and Nizam al Mulk were recalled to the Persian camp; when Nadir marched to Delhi, the gates of which were opened to receive him. For two days had the Persians been in Delhi, and as yet observed the strictest discipline and order. But on the night of the second, an unfortunate rumour was spread that Nadir Shah was killed; upon which the

wretched inhabitants rose in tumult; ran to massacre the Persians; and filled the city throughout the night with confusion and bloodshed. With the first light of the morning Nadir issued forth; and dispersing bands of soldiers in every direction, ordered them to slaughter the inhabitants without regard to age or sex in every street or avenue where the body of a murdered Persian should be found. From sun rise to mid day the sabre raged; and by that time not less than 8000 Hindus, Moguls, or Afghauns, were numbered with the dead. During the massacre and pillage, the city was set on fire in several places. The destroyer at last allowed himself to be persuaded to stay the ruin; the signal was given, and in an instant, such was the authority of Nadir, every sword was sheathed.

A few days after the massacre, a nobleman was dispatched by Nadir, to bring from Oude the two crores of rupees promised by its governor Saadut Khan; who, in the short interval, had died of a cancer in his back. On the same day he commenced his seizure of the imperial treasure and effects; three crores and fifty lacks in specie; * a crore and fifty lacks in plate; † fifteen crores in jewels; ‡ the celebrated peacock throne, valued at a crore; § other valuables to the amount of eleven crores; || besides elephants, horses, and the camp equipage of the Emperor. The bankers and rich individuals were ordered to give up their wealth, and tortured to make discovery of what they were suspected to have concealed. A heavy contribution was demanded of the city, and exacted with cruel severity; many laid violent hands upon themselves to escape the horrid treatment to which they beheld others exposed. Famine pervaded the city; and pestilential diseases ensued. Seldom has a more dreadful calamity fallen upon any portion of the human race, than that in which the visit of Nadir Shah involved the capital of Hindustan. Yet a native and cotemporary historian informs us, such is the facility with which men accommodate themselves to their lot, "that the inhabitants of Delhi, at least the debauched who were by far the most numerous part, regretted the departure of the Persians; and to this day, (*says he*), the excesses of their soldiery are topics of humour in the looser conversation of all

* £ 3,500,000.
† £ 1,500,000.
‡ £15,000,000.
§ £ 1,000,000.
|| £11,000,000.

In all, if we believe our authorities, £32,000,000

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ranks, and form the comic parts of the drolls or players. The people of Hindustan at this time regarded only personal safety and personal gratification. Misery was disregarded by those who escaped it, and man, centred wholly in himself, felt not for his kind. This selfishness, destructive of public and private virtue, was universal in Hindustan at the invasion of Nadir Shah; nor have the people become more virtuous since, consequently not more happy, nor more independent." *

Nadir having ordered, as the terms of peace, that all the provinces on the west side of the Indus, Cabul, Tatta, and part of Multan, should be detached from the dominions of the Mogul, and added to his own, restored Mahomed to the exercise of his degraded sovereignty; and bestowing upon him and his courtiers some good advice, began on the 14th of April, 1739, his march from Delhi, of which he had been in possession for thirty-seven days. †

In regulating the offices of state, Mahomed was obliged to confirm the vizarut, which he intended for other hands, to Kummir ad dien Khan, the relation and partisan of Nizam al Mulk. At the request of that domineering chief, the office of Ameer al Omrah was transferred to Ghazee ad dien Khan, his eldest son, while he himself was in haste to depart for Deccan, where Nazir Jung, his second son, whom he had left his deputy, was already aspiring at independence. After several months spent without avail in messages and negotiations, the father was obliged to draw his sword against the son. A victory, gained in the neighbourhood of Ahmednuggur, restored his government to the Nizam, and made Nazir Jung his prisoner. To compose the provinces subject to his command, which had been governed so irregularly and feebly for many years, and were over-run by innumerable disorders, required both vigour and

* Aurungzebe's Successors, by Scott, p. 214.

† The most valuable of the details respecting the invasion of Nadir are furnished us by Golam Hussein, (Seer Mutakhareen, i. 325—344.) Scott, as usual, gives chiefly an abridgement of the Seer Mutakhareen, but here, enriched with some particulars from the known historians of Nadir. An interesting account of the march of the Persian army back, and its operations in Bucharia, and Karisme, to which Nadir immediately proceeded, is given us by an eye-witness, Khojeh Abdulkurreem, a Cashmerian of distinction, who accompanied him from Hindustan, and whose narrative has been translated for us by Mr. Gladwin. Khojeh Abdulkurreem differs from Scott, in the day of the conqueror's departure from Delhi, which he makes the 4th of May. Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem, p. 1. A curious letter of Nadir Shah himself, giving an account to his son of his march towards Delhi, of the battle, and of his intention not to seize the crown of Mahomed, has been translated by Sir John Malcolm. (Asiat. Res. x. 539.)

time. The war which he carried on in Carnatic was the most remarkable of his subsequent transactions. Its result is the only circumstance material to us. Nearly the whole of that great province was reduced to his obedience.*

Saadut Khan Boorahan al Mulk, the deceased governor of Oude, was succeeded by his son in law, Abul Mansoor Khan Suffder Jung; who subsequently received the dignity of grand master of the household. A new governor was appointed for Guzerat; and an effort was made, but without success, to ravage that important province from the Mahrattas.

A refractory chief called the Emperor into the field, in the year 1745. This was Ali Mahomed Khan, the founder of the power of the Rohillas, a name of some celebrity in the modern history of Hindustan. The Afghauns, inhabiting the district of Roh, bordering on Cabul, were known by the name of Rohillas.† Ali Mahomed himself is said to have been of Hindu extraction; the son of a man of the caste of cow-keepers. He was adopted, however, and reared by an Afghaun of the Rohilla clan; a man of a rank no higher than his own. He entered into the army as a common soldier; and after a time acquired the command of a small body of Afghaun cavalry, with which he served in the army of the Vizir, governor of Moradabad. His conduct gained him distinction; he was recommended to promotion by the Vizir; received some lands in grant from the Emperor; and was appointed to manage certain districts in Moradabad by the Vizir. Under the negligent government of Mahomed, and the disorders which ensued upon the invasion of Nadir Shah, scope was afforded to the ambition of such a man as Ali Mahomed, the Rohilla. He acquired possession of the lands of some neighbouring jagheer holders, under pretence of taking them in lease: He increased the number of Afghauns in his pay; many of whom the severities of Nadir Shah had driven to look for a home beyond the reach of his destructive sword, and to seek employment and protection under Ali Mahomed their countrymen. The supposition of power produced its usual consequence. The remittances from his government were delayed and evaded. The Vizir sent a new governor with an army to enforce obedience. Him the Rohilla conquered and slew; and the Vizir, who hated every thing which disturbed his pleasures and ease, thought it better to make an accommodation with Ali than contend with him. He was confirmed in the government of certain districts; and by one acquisition after another, extended the limits of his au-

* For the circumstances of Nizam ul Mulk's resumption of his government in Deccan, see Seer Mutakhareen, iii. 3, 8.

† Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem, p. 183.

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thority, till they comprehended Mooradabad, Barelly, Aunlah, Sambal, Bangur, Budaoon, and Amroah, districts of Kutteer, a province, henceforward known by the name of Rohilcund, from the Afghaun clan, to whom more particularly Ali and his followers were regarded as belonging. The progress of this adventurer alarmed at last the Viceroy of Oude; whose representations of danger prevailed upon the Emperor to take the field in person. The Rohilla was unable to resist the imperial army; but was underhand supported by the Vizir, in opposition to the Viceroy of Oude. He was invested in one of his fortresses; but receiving the promise of the Vizir to make his peace with the Emperor, he sent away his treasures to a place of safety, and surrendered. As a compensation for the territory which he had governed, he received the fojdary, or military and judicial authority of Serhind, a district in the upper part of the province of Delhi.*

In the second year after this imperial expedition, happened the invasion of Ahmed Abdalee, a man destined to be the founder of a formidable empire in the contiguous provinces of Persia and Hindustan. He was an Afghaun chief of the tribe of Abdal, inhabiting a district of the mountains of Gaur, near the city of Herat. When yet very young he was taken prisoner by Nadir Shah, and was for some time one of the slaves of the presence; till, attracting the notice of his master, he was raised to the office of Yessawal, or mace-bearer. He was by degrees promoted to a considerable rank in the army, and accompanied Nadir in his invasion of India. Nadir Shah was massacred in his tent, not far from Meshed, on th e8th of June, 1747. Ahmed Abdallee had acquired so great an ascendancy among the troops, that upon this event several commanders and their followers joined his standard; and he drew off toward his own country. He fell in with and seized a convoy of treasure, which was proceeding to the camp. This enabled him to engage in his pay a still larger body of his countrymen. He proclaimed himself king of the Afghauns; and took the title of Doordowran, or pearl of the age, which being corrupted into Dooranee, gave one of their names to himself and his Abdallees.† He marched towards Candahar, which submitted to his arms; and next proceeded to Cabul. The inhabitants had resisted the proposal of the governor to purchase tranquillity by the payment of a contribution, but they deserted him on the

* Seer Mutakhareen, (iii. 20—26); Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem, (p. 183—185). Scott gives a very short and unsatisfactory abridgement of the passage in the Seer Mutakhareen. Aurungzebe's Successors, p. 218.

† Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem, p. 204.

approach of danger; and this province also fell into the hands of the Afghaun. The governor of Lahore sent him a proposal, offering to betray his trust, and become the servant of Ahmed, on condition of being appointed his Vizir; and though he repented of his engagement and came to blows, his troops made a feeble resistance; and Lahore was added to the dominions of the conqueror. He now directed his ambitious thoughts to the capital of Hindustan, with the feeble government of which he was not unacquainted. A large army, under the Emperor's eldest son, the Vizir, and other distinguished chiefs, advanced as far as the Sutledge to repel him; but he passed them artfully, and plundered the rich city of Serhind, where the heavy baggage of the prince was deposited. The imperialists made haste to overtake him: and, after several days of skirmishing, the Vizir was killed with a cannon ball in his tent. The brittle materials of an Indian army were nearly broken asunder by this event; the Rajpoots, under their princes, "stretched," says the historian, "the feet of trepidation on the boundless plain of despondency, and marched back to their homes." However, the remaining chiefs, and among the rest the sons of the late Vizir, exerted themselves with constancy and judgment; and on the following day a still more disastrous accident took place in the camp of the Abdallees. A magazine of rockets and ammunition which had been taken at Sirhind accidentally exploded, and killing a great number of people shed through the army confusion and dismay. Ahmed, no longer willing to risk an engagement, drew off his troops, and marched back unmolested to Cabul.*

The Emperor, who only survived a sufficient time to receive intelligence of this joyful event, expired in the thirtieth year of his reign, and forty-ninth of his age; his constitution exhausted by the use of opium.†

Ahmed Shah, his eldest son, succeeded without opposition. The great character and power of Nizam al Mulk removed all competition for the vizirit,

* Seer Mutakhareen, (iii. 38—52); Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem, p. 186, 203—207. Life of Ahmed Shah, king of the Abdalees, who are also called Duranees, from the custom of wearing a pearl in one of their ears, translated from the Persian by Henry Vansittart, published in Gladwin's Asiatic Miscellany.

† The Seer Mutakhareen is the great authority for this reign; Mr. Scott giving little more than an abridgment of the narrative in that work. Some curious facts are contained in the Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem. Frazer's Nadir Shah; and the history of that ferocious conqueror, translated into French by Sir William Jones, are to be consulted for the details on the Persian side. In Frazer there is an abridgement of the Mogul history, from Aurungzebe to Mahomed Shah, which is given in a still more abridged form by Holwell in his "Interesting Historical Events." Frazer's materials were imperfect.

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but he excused himself on account of his years, and actually died, about a month afterwards, in the hundred and fourth year of his age, leaving his government of Deccan to be seized by his second son Nazir Jung, whose good fortune it was to be present on the spot. After the refusal of the Nizam, the vizirit was bestowed upon Suffder Jung, the Viceroy of Oude, for whom it was originally intended.

The Rohillas and Abdallee Afghauns gave occasion to the most remarkable transactions of the reign of Ahmed Shah. Ali Mahomed, though removed from Rohilcund to Sirhind, found means to return upon the invasion of the Abdallees, and being joined by the Afghauns, great numbers of whom had still remained in the country, he regained possession, and expelled the imperial governor, much about the time of the death of Mahomed Shah. He enjoyed not his prosperity long; but, dying of a cancer in his back, left discord and contention in his family. This circumstance encouraged the governor of Oude, who was now Vizir, and commanded the remaining resources of the state, to form the design of relieving himself from the dread of an aspiring neighbour, and increasing his power and dominion by the country which that neighbour possessed. The district of Furruckabad was governed by an Afghaun of the Bungush tribe. This man the Vizir endeavoured to make his instrument in the destruction of the Rohillas. But the Bungush chieftain lost his life in the contest. The Vizir was not less greedy of the country of his Bungush friend, than he was of that of his Rohilla antagonist. The family of the Bungush chieftain, perceiving the designs of the Vizir, formed a confederacy with the neighbouring Afghauns. The Vizir was defeated in a great battle; after which the Afghauns proceeded in two bodies, one to Allahabad, where they plundered the city and besieged the citadel; the other to Lucknow, which they expected to surprise. The Vizir, now trembling for his own possessions, could think of nothing better than the wretched resource of calling in the Mahrattas to his aid. They fell upon the country with their usual rapidity; took the Afghauns in a great measure by surprise; and compelled them after much slaughter to take shelter in the neighbouring hills. This done, the Mahrattas had no inclination to depart. They took up their quarters during the rainy season in the country which they had cleared; and the Vizir was fain to assign them a large portion of it in the name of a reward for their service. The Afghauns, as a welcome counterpoise, were allowed to re-occupy the remainder. These events occurred before the end of the year 1750.

In 1749, Ahmed Abdallee marched from Cabul, and advanced as far as Lahore. Meer Munnoo, the eldest son of the late Vizir, had been appointed

Governor of Multan, and as much of the other provinces of Upper India, as could be recovered from the Persians or Afghauns. Being unprepared for adequate resistance, he offered to purchase the retreat of the Dooranee by assigning to him the revenues of four districts; with which Ahmed, for the present, thought proper to content himself.* In two years he repeated his visit; when Meer Munnoo, after some months of vigorous resistance, was betrayed by one of his generals, and defeated. The Dooranee Shah was not incapable of generosity; he soothed the vanquished leader by obliging expressions, and appointed him his deputy in the two provinces of Multan and Lahore, which were now finally severed from the dominion of the Moguls. A messenger was sent to Delhi to demand even a formal cession of the conquered territory; and, though Suffder Jung was summoned from his government, with a view to resist the Afghauns, the favourite eunuch, jealous of the honour which he might acquire by recovering those important provinces, persuaded the Emperor to ratify the cession before he arrived. About the same time an expedition was undertaken against one of the nations of Rajpoots, who had seized, with a disputable title, upon certain districts in Ajmere. The war was ill conducted, and ended in disgrace.

A youth now appeared on the stage, who was destined to play a conspicuous part in the closing scenes of the Mogul sovereignty. This was the only son of Gazee ad Dien Khan, the eldest son of Nizam al Mulk. Upon the death of Nazir Jung in Deccan, Gazee ad Dien, his elder brother, solicited the Viceroyalty of that important country for himself; and taking with him the Mahratta army, which had been in the pay of the Vizir, marched unmolested to Aurungabad. At this place he died only a few days after his arrival. His army immediately dispersed; and the Mahratta general took possession of Candesh, the government of which the deceased Viceroy had been obliged to assign him in security for the pay of his troops. His son Shaab ad Dien, whom he had left in the capital, made so good a use of his interest, chiefly with the Vizir Suffder Jung, that he received his father's titles of Ghazee ad Dien Khan Bahadur, and was raised to his office of Ameer al Omrah. This did not prevent him from joining immediately the party of the Emperor, and from seconding, with all his power, the machinations intended for the destruction of the Vizir. The military command of the palace was artfully taken out of the hands of that officer; and he and his

* Seer Mutakhareen (iii. 79). Mr. Scott speaks of a vigorous resistance on the part of the Governor (p. 225); but Golâm Hussun says, there was no fighting; and so does Kojeh Abdulkurreem (p. 236).

BOOK III. 1752. dependants were refused admittance. The Vizir was alarmed at the prospect of a war with his master. He therefore solicited permission to retire to his government beyond the Jumna. This was refused. He marched out of the city, and encamped at a few miles distance; with an intention of proceeding to his government without leave, but without drawing the sword, unless in self defence. Learning that an attack was certainly intended, he invited to his assistance the Jaat Raja Sooraje Mul. This chief had already fought in his service, and readily joined his old friend and commander.* The Vizir set up a new Emperor, a youth whom he represented as one of the royal princes; and laid siege to the castle. It was vigorously defended by the spirit and bravery of the young Ameer al Omrah; and, after a fruitless contest of six months, both parties were glad to negotiate. Suffder Jung gave up his pretended Prince, and was allowed to retire to his government, but was deprived of the Vizirit, which was bestowed upon Intizam ad Dowlah, son of the late Vizir Kummir ad Dien Khan.

The Jaat Rajah, Sooraje Mul, had given sufficient umbrage by his support of the rebellious Vizir; but, during the weakness of the Mogul government, the Jaats had also extended their encroachments over a great part of the province of Agra. The youthful ardour of Ghazee ad Dien suggested to him an expedition for the entire reduction of the Jaat country. He called to his assistance a Mahratta general, Holkar Mulhar; and the Jaats, unable to keep the field, retired to their strong holds. To reduce them speedily, heavy cannon was required. For this Gazee ad Dien applied to the Emperor. But the aspiring temper of the

* The Jaats or Jauts, inhabiting the mountainous region, from the Chumbul and Jumna eastward, to the Jeypoor Rajahship on the west; and from twenty coss to the southward of Agra, to the province of Delhi on the north, were known as a formidable predatory tribe from the earliest period of the Mohamedan history. The original seat of the Jaats appears to have been near the Indus, in the lower part of Multan. Their chief, or one of their chiefs, was received into the service of Jehander Shah, and behaved with gallantry in the war between that Prince and Feroksere. Upon the ascendancy gained by the latter Prince, the Jaat retired with his plunder to his fortress of Bhurtpore. This chief was succeeded by his son, who was obliged to become tributary to the Rajah of Jeypoor. To him succeeded his brother, who contrived to throw off his dependance upon the Rajpoot; and, first of his race, assumed the title of Rajah. During the weakness of Mahomed Shah's administration, he spread his incursions to the very walls of Agra, and left to his son and successor, Sooraje Mull, a considerable kingdom. His power, and vicinity to the capital, rendered him an object of consequence; and the Vizir had attached him to his interests by procuring him the title of Omrah of the empire, and other favours. See an account of the Jaats, Asiat. An. Reg. 1802; Characters, p. 12. Also "A Sketch of Rajehpootaneh," translated from the Persian, in "Tracts, &c." by William Francklin, a small volume, published in 1811.

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Ameer al Omrah was already formidable to both the Emperor and Intizam ad Dowlah. Sooraje Mul, aware of their sentiments, conveyed intimation to the Emperor, that if he would meet him at Secundra, he would join him with all his forces, and deliver him at once from the dangers which, from the ambition of his Ameer al Omrah, impended over his person and throne. The scheme was relished; and the Emperor, under pretence of a hunting party, set forward with as great a force as possible on the road to Secundra. He had advanced as far as that city, when Holkar Mulhar surprised his camp in the night. The Emperor, the Vizir, and other leading officers, fled, disguised as women; leaving even their wives and daughters behind them. Upon this the army disbanded, and Gazee ad Dien marched to the capital, where nothing remained to oppose him. He invested himself with the office of Vizir; seized the Emperor and his mother; blinded them both; and bringing forth Yezzez ad Dien, son of the late Jehander Shah, proclaimed him Emperor, by the title of Aulumgeer the Second. This revolution occurred in the year 1753.*

Aulumgeer II.

During the same year died Suffder Jung, Subahdar of Oude; and was succeeded by Sujah ad Dowlah, his son. About the same time died also Meer Munnoo, Viceroy, under the Abdalee King, of the provinces of Multan and Lahore. By the severe exactions of the government, and the interruptions of agriculture through the ravages and terror of war, these provinces had for some time been severely afflicted with scarcity. Of this, one important consequence was, an accession to the numbers and power of the Seiks; for that people making it a rule to provide maintenance and occupation for one another, great numbers of persons in distress were tempted to join them; and all were readily received upon adopting the garb and principles of the sect.† The Abdallee Shah withdrew not the government of Multan and Lahore from the family of Meer Munnoo. His son was a minor; but, in quality of guardian of the minor, his mother was allowed to act in his stead. Under this arrangement, the disorder of the provinces increased. The weakness of the administration suggested to the Vizir, who now had changed his title from that of Gazee ad Dien Khan to that of Umad al Mulk, the project of wresting the provinces at once from the hands of this female superintendant, and from the dominion of the Afghauns. During the life of Meer Munnoo, the daughter of the Governess had been promised in marriage to Gazee

* The Seer Mutakhareen is followed in the text. Francklin (Hist. of Shah Aulum, p. 4) says, 1755.

† Seer Mutakhareen, iii. 137.

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ad Dien Khan, who now claimed fulfilment of the contract. The mother, to whom few events could yield greater pleasure, conveyed to him his bride, with all the magnificence which the importance of the nuptials appeared to require. Under the confidence and security which this alliance inspired, the Vizir detached a body of troops to Lahore, who seized, and conveyed to his camp, the deluded Governess, inveighing against his perfidy, and denouncing the vengeance which Ahmed Shah, her sovereign, would speedily exact.

The fulfilment of her angry predictions was not long deferred. The exasperated Afghaun hasted from Candahar to Lahore, which was evacuated on his approach; and thence directed his march to Delhi. The Vizir, sensible of his inability to contend with the storm, eagerly solicited reconciliation with his mother-in-law, and employed her as a mediator with the Shah. The invader rejected not the prayer, but demanded a large contribution as the price of his clemency; and, in the mean time, continued his march to Delhi. The wretched Aulumgeer, having no means of resistance, opened to him the gates of the capital; and affected to receive him as a royal guest. For some weeks, Delhi was subject to all the enormities which are practised by a barbarian soldiery, on a prostrate foe. To gratify more fully the rapacity of the invader, Umad al Mulk offered to go in person to raise contributions in the Dooab, or country between the Jumna and Ganges; while the Dooranee Shah was to march against the country of the Jaat Rajah Sooraje Mul. He had reduced some fortresses, and was employed in besieging the citadel of Agra, when a plague broke out in his camp. Upon this he formed the resolution of returning immediately to his own country, without even waiting for the return of the Vizir. An interview, as he passed Delhi, again took place between him and Aulumgeer. The fallen Mogul entreated the invader of his country not to leave him in the hands of his overbearing Vizir. Nujeeb ad Dowlah, a chief of Rohillas, who had lately acted a conspicuous part in the imperial service, was, at the request of the Emperor, appointed Ameer al Omrah; and to him the Dooranee recommended the protection of his master.

The Vizir, upon the retreat of the Abdalees, engaged in his party Ahmed Khan, the Bungush chief of Furrukhabad, whose father had lost his life in the contest with the Rohillas. To him and his Afghauns he joined an army of Mahrattas, under Ragonaut Raow and Holkar. With this force he marched to Delhi. The Emperor and Nujeeb ad Dowlah shut the gates of the city; but, after a siege of forty-five days, the Emperor was obliged to submit; while Nujeeb ad Dowlah, by bribing the Mahrattas, obtained the means of escaping to his

own district in Rohilcund; and his office of Ameer al Omrah was bestowed upon Ahmed Khan. Alee Gohur, the eldest son of Aulumgeer, was in the vicinity of Delhi, supporting himself with a small body of cavalry on some districts which he had in Jaghire. The Vizir made his father recall him; and the Prince repaired to Delhi, but refused to enter the citadel where he might easily be confined. He was, accordingly, besieged in his palace; but a few of his followers cut a passage for him through the troops of the Vizir, and he made his escape to Nujeeb ad Dowlah, with whom, and with the Subahdar of Oude, he remained for some months; and then betook himself for an asylum to the English in Bengal.

The settlement which, with short-sighted policy, the Viceroy of Oude had given to a body of Mahrattas in part of Rohilcund, had fired other Mahrattas with a passion for the fertile country beyond the Ganges. Of this ambition, in labouring the ruin of Nujeeb ad Dowlah, and of the Nabob of Oude,* whose power he dreaded, and whose government he desired, Umad al Mulk resolved to make his account. At his instigation two chiefs Junkojee and Duttah Sindia, set out from Deccan, meditating no less than the entire subjugation of Hindustan. They crossed the Jumna; and driving Nujeeb ad Dowlah from the open country, besieged him in one of his forts, where he defended himself with obstinate bravery. Sujah ad Dowlah saw that the danger was common; and collecting an army marched to support him. He encountered the Mahratta army; gained the advantage, and forced it to cross the Jumna, where a considerable portion of it perished in the waters. Hearing at the same time of the march of the Abdalee Shah, its leaders were sufficiently disposed to accommodation.

As soon as Umad al Mulk, the Vizir, was made acquainted with the alliance of Sujah ad Dowlah and the Rohillas, it was his desire, as his interest, to march to the assistance of his Mahratta allies. But he was now beset with a number of difficulties. The Abdalee Shah, whom he had twice offended, was in motion: The Rohillas, with the Nabob of Oude, were opposing the Mahrattas: And Aulumgeer was in correspondence with all his enemies. He resolved, without

* The term Nabob, as equivalent to Subahdar, is very modern in Hindustan; and is said to have begun with Sujah Dowlah. Formerly it was not applied to the Subahdar, or governor of the Subah, but to the Subahdar's deputy, or *locum tenens;* the literal meaning of the word being *deputy.* The new use of the term is thus accounted for in the Seer Mutakhareen (iii. 167): When the Prince Alee Gohur was on the visit just mentioned, to Sujah ad Dowlah, and received the compliments of that Governor, he addressed him by the title of *brother Nabob,* which being reckoned an elegant compliment, passed into conversation, when the name was afterwards currently applied to him, and also to other governors.

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scruple, to deliver himself from the last of these difficulties. A trusty Cashmerian having received his commission, the Emperor was stabbed with poignards, and his body thrown out upon the strand of the Jumna; where it was stripped by the people, and remained exposed for eighteen hours. Mohee al Sunnut, a son or grandson of Kaum Buksh, the youngest son of Aurungzebe, was taken from confinement, and set up as the pageant of royalty; after which the Vizir hastened to join the conflict against Nujeeb ad Dowlah and the Nabob of Oude. He was on his march when he heard that peace was concluded; and that the Mahrattas were gone to oppose themselves to the approach of the Abdalee King. The means of personal safety now engrossed the mind of Umad al Mulk. He retired to the country of Suraje Mul, and shut himself up in one of the strongest of his forts.

Upon the last retreat of Ahmed Dooranee Shah from Hindustan, he had left his son Governor of Lahore and Multan; disordered by revolutions, wasted and turbulent. A chief who had served with distinction under the late Meer Munnoo incited the Seiks to join him in molesting the Dooranees; and they gained several important advantages over their principal commanders. They invited the Mahratta generals, Ragonaut Raow, Shumsheer Bahadur, and Holkar, who had advanced into the neighbourhood of Delhi, to join them in driving the Abdalees from Lahore. No occupation could be more agreeable to the Mahrattas. After taking Sirhind, they advanced to Lahore, where the Abdalee Prince made but a feeble resistance, and fled. This event put them in possession of both Multan and Lahore. Placing the country under a temporary government, they marched homeward at the approach of the rains; but left a Mahratta Subahdar, who next season extended his acquisitions as far as the river Attock. It was at this very time that the army, of which we have already spoken, marched to take possession of Rohilcund and Oude: And the whole Indian continent appeared now about to be swallowed up by the Mahrattas. Had not Ahmed Shah, the Abdalee, whose empire was in its youth and vigour, been upon the stage: Had not the Mahrattas at that time been possessed of extraordinary power; the Mahrattas, in the one case; the Abdalees, in the other, might have extended their dominion from Thibet and Persia to Cape Comorin. The opposition which they made to one another opened a way for a maritime nation to introduce itself from the other side of the globe, and to acquire by rapid strides a more complete ascendant over that extensive region than any single government had ever attained before.

Ahmed Shah was not only roused by the loss of his two provinces, and the disgrace imprinted on his arms; but he was invited by the chiefs and people of Hin-

dustan, groaning under the depredations of the Mahrattas, to march to their succour and become their King. The Mahrattas, flying before him, evacuated the two provinces at his approach; and assembled together from all quarters in the neighbourhood of Delhi. The Dooranee army was joined by the chiefs of Rohilcund, Nujeeb ad Dowlah, Saadoollah Khan, Hafiz Rhamut, and Doondee Khan. For some days the Dooranees hovered round the Mahratta camp; when the Mahrattas, who were distressed for provisions, came out and offered battle. Their army, consisting of 80,000 veteran cavalry, was almost wholly destroyed; and Duttah Sindia, their General, was among the slain. A detachment of horse sent against another body of Mahrattas, who were marauding under Holkar in the neighbourhood of Secundra, surprised them so completely that Holkar fled naked, with a handful of followers, and the rest, with the exception of a few prisoners and fugitives, were all put to the sword.

During the rainy season, while the Dooranee Shah was quartered at Secundra, the news of this disaster and disgrace excited the Mahrattas to the greatest exertions. A vast army was collected; and Suddasheo Raow, commonly called Bhaow, the nephew of Ballajee, the Peshwa, and other chiefs of the greatest note, assuming the command, they marched to gratify the resentments, and fulfil the unbounded hopes of the nation. Having been joined by Sooraje Mul the Jaat, and Umad al Mulk the Vizir, they arrived at the Jumna before it was sufficiently fallen to permit either the Mahrattas on the other side, or the Dooranees, to cross. In the mean time they marched to Delhi, of which after some resistance they took possession; plundered it with their usual rapacity, tearing away even the gold and silver ornaments of the palace; proclaimed Sultan Jewan Bukht, the son of Alee Gohur, Emperor; and named Sujah ad Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, his Vizir. Impatient at intelligence of these and some other transactions, Ahmed Shah swam the Jumna, still deemed impassable, with his whole army. This daring adventure, and the remembrance of the late disaster, shook the courage of the Mahrattas; and they entrenched their camp on a plain near Pannipût. The Dooranee, having surrounded their position with parties of troops, to prevent the passage of supplies, contented himself for some days with skirmishing. At last he tried an assault; when the Rohilla infantry of Nujeeb ad Dowlah forced their way into the Mahratta works, and Bulwant Raow with other chiefs was killed: but night put an end to the conflict. Meanwhile scarcity prevailed, and filth accumulated, in the Mahratta camp. The vigilance of Ahmed intercepted their convoys. In a little time famine and pestilence raged. A battle became the only resource. The Abdalee restrained his troops till the

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Mahrattas had advanced a considerable way from their works; when he rushed upon them with so much rapidity as left them hardly any time for using their cannon. The Bhaow was killed early in the action; confusion soon pervaded the army, and a dreadful carnage ensued. The field was floated with blood. Twenty-two thousand men and women were taken prisoners. Of those who escaped from the field of battle, the greater part were butchered by the people of the country, who had suffered from their depredations. Of an army of 140,000 horse, commanded by the most celebrated generals of the nation, only three chiefs of any rank, and a mere residue of the troops, found their way to Deccan. The Dooranee Shah made but little use of this prodigious victory.

Shah Aulum II.

After remaining a few months at Delhi, he recognized Alee Gohur, as Emperor, by the title of Shah Aulum the Second; and entrusting Nujeeb ad Dowlah with the superintendance of affairs, till his master should return from Bengal, he marched back to his capital of Cabul in the end of the year 1760. With Aulumgeer the Second, the empire of the Moguls may be justly considered as having arrived at its close. The unhappy Prince who now received the name of Emperor, and who after a life of misery and disaster, ended his days a pensioner of English merchants, never possessed a sufficient degree of power to consider himself for one moment as master of the throne.*

* The events of Aulumgeer's and the preceding reign are found in considerable detail in the Seer Mutakhareen (iii. 62—192), which is abridged by Scott, Hist. of Aurungzebe's Successors, p. 224—246. The principal facts are noticed, but in certain respects somewhat differently, by Francklin, Life of Shah Aulum, p. 7—27.

CHAP. V.

A Comparison of the State of Civilization among the Mahomedan Conquerors of India with the State of Civilization among the Hindus.

CHAP. V.

Progress of civilization among the Mahomedan conquerors of Hindustan.

AFTER this display of the transactions to which the Mahomedan nations have given birth in Hindustan, it is necessary to ascertain, as exactly as possible, the particular stage of civilization at which these nations had arrived. Beside the importance of this inquiry, as a great portion of the history of the human mind, and a leading fact in the history of India; it is requisite, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the civilization of the Hindus received advancement or depression, from the ascendancy over them which the Mahomedans acquired.

We have seen, in the comparisons adduced to illustrate the state of civilization among the Hindus, that the nations, in the western parts of Asia; the Persians, the Arabians, and even the Turks; possessed an order of intellectual faculties rather higher than the nations situated beyond them toward the East; were rather less deeply involved in the absurdities and weaknesses of a rude state of society; had in fact attained a stage of civilization, in some little degree, higher than the other inhabitants of that quarter of the globe.

This is a statistical fact, to which it is not probable that much contradiction will hereafter be applied. It is chiefly of importance, for the present inquiry, to show; that the people who actually invaded Hindustan, and assumed the government over so large a portion of its inhabitants, were perfectly on a level with the Arabians and Persians, in the highest state of their civilization.

The Mahomedans, who established their dominion in Hindustan, were principally derived from the eastern portions of that great country which was contained within the limits of the Persian empire in its greatest extent.

These eastern provinces of the great Persian empire; Bactria, and Transoxiana, with the contiguous regions; at the time when those men were formed who established the Mahomedan dominion in Hindustan, were remarkable rather for exceeding than falling short of the other parts of that empire, in the attainments of civilized life. The language of Balk was reckoned the most elegant dialect of the Persian tongue; and when God speaks mildly and gently to the cherubim surrounding his throne, this, according to the Mahomedans, is the

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language he employs. A large proportion of the men who have been most distinguished in all the different walks of Persian literature, have been natives of Balk; of whom it may suffice to mention Mahomed Ebn Emir Khowând Shah, better known to Europeans under the name of Mirkhond, the author of a great historical work, to which Europeans have been indebted for much of their knowledge of Persian history; Rashîd, a celebrated poet; and Anwari, famous both as a poet and astronomer. So greatly was Balk distinguished during the reigns of the immediate successors of Gingis Khan, that it was denominated Kobbat al Islâm, the metropolis of Islamism. Bokhara was one of the greatest seats of learning in the East. Students flocked from all parts to the celebrated university of Bokhara. In the Mogul language, Bokhâr, we are told, is a common appellation for a learned man. Among the celebrated men who have made illustrious the studies of Bokhara, is found a name, ranked high among his contemporaries in all the quarters of the globe, Ebn Sîna, or Avicenna, who wrote above one hundred volumes, and died in 1036, at the early age of fifty-eight.

The Moguls were not perfectly barbarous when they advanced upon the countries of the West. It is sufficiently proved that they had the use of letters; they had an alphabet of their own, in no degree corresponding with the troublesome characters of the Chinese, but as ingenious and simple as that of the Romans. The degree in which they approximated to the mental capacity of the most enlightened nations of Asia, is abundantly proved, not only by that power of combined action which enabled them to effect their conquests, but by the skill with which they regulated the government of China, as well as that of Persia and Transoxiana, to which they subsequently advanced. It appears not that the government in those several countries was more skilfully conducted in any hands, than in those of the immediate successors of Gingis. The Moguls, at the time of their conquests, were so fully prepared for a new step in civilization, that they assimilated themselves with wonderful rapidity, both in China and Persia, to the more cultivated people among whom they had arrived; and, in a short time, were to be distinguished from them rather by slight shades of character and manners, than any difference in point of civilization. In their new acquisitions in Persia and Transoxiana, they were celebrated for prosecuting the sciences with great ardour; and, in particular, for having laid astronomy, geography, and the mathematical sciences, under great obligations. In the city of Samarcand, the seat of government of one of the sons of Gingis and his successors, "the academy of sciences," to use the words of the writer in the Universal History, "was one of the most eminent to be found among the Mahomedans, who resorted thither to study from all the neighbouring countries." Abulfeda mentions two

decisive marks of a considerable degree of civilization. In his time the streets were paved, and water was conveyed into the city by leaden pipes. The silk-paper made here was the most beautiful in Asia; and in great request over all the East.*

Mahmood, of Ghizni, the founder of the first Mahomedan dynasty in Hindustan, was the most accomplished Prince in Asia. His court contained an assemblage of learned men. The greatest poet of Asia wrote in his capital, and was fostered by his bounty. He and his nobles adorned Ghizni with an architecture which rendered it the finest city in the East. He there erected an university, which he richly endowed, and made it one of the principal seats of learning in that quarter of the globe.†

Under Mahmood of Ghizni, the great sovereign of Persia, who combined in his service all the finest spirits that Persian civilization could produce, the Hindus could not be said to be over-run, or held in subjection by a people less civilized than themselves. As little could this be said under the descendants of Mahmood, who, though inferior to him in personal qualities, were themselves formed, and served by men who were formed, under the full influence of Persian arts and knowledge. The same was undoubtedly the case with the princes of the Gaurian dynasty. They, and the leaders by whom they were principally served, were, in respect of training and knowledge, in reality Persians. It will not be denied, that the Moguls, the last of the Mahomedan dynasties of Hindustan, had remained a sufficient time in Transoxiana and Persia, to have acquired all the civilization of these two countries, long before they attempted to perform conquests in India. The Persian language was the language they used; the Persian laws, and the Persian religion, were the laws and religion they had espoused; it was the Persian literature to which they were devoted; and they carried along with them the full benefit of the Persian arts and knowledge, when they established themselves in Hindustan.

Question, whether the Hindus were benefited, or injured by the Mahomedan conquest.

The question, therefore, is, whether by a government, moulded and conducted agreeably to the properties of Persian civilization, instead of a government moulded and conducted agreeably to the properties of Hindu civilization, the Hindu population of India lost or won: For the aversion to a government, because in the hands of foreigners; that is, of men who are called by one rather

* For these facts, the reader will find the original authors faithfully quoted and extracted, in the Universal History, ii. 352, 354; iv. 309, 393; v. 123. Modern Part, 8vo. Ed. In exploring the Persian and Arabian Authorities, the authors of the Universal History are not the worst of our guides.

† Vide supra, p. 491.

Book III. than some other name, without regard to the qualities of the government, whether better or worse; is a prejudice of which reason is ashamed. As India was not governed by the Moguls, in the character of a detached province, valued only as it could be rendered useful to another state, which is the proper idea of foreign conquest; but became the sole residence and sole dominion of the Mogul government, which thereby found its interest as closely united to that of India, as it is possible for the interest of a despotical government to be united with that of its people, the Mogul government was, to all the effects of interest, and thence of behaviour, not a foreign, but a native government. With these considerations before the inquirer, it will not admit of any long dispute, that human nature in India gained, and gained very considerably, by passing from a Hindu to a Mahomedan government. Of this, without descending to particulars, the situation of human nature, under the Hindu governments which we have seen; that of the Mahrattas, for example; that of Nepaul; that of Mysore, before the time of Hyder Ali; or that of Travancore; affords a very satisfactory proof. The defects of Mahomedan rule, enormous as they justly deserve to be held, can by no means be regarded as equal to those which universally distinguish the government of Hindus.

The same minute analysis might here be instituted of the grand circumstances which constitute the marks of civilization among the Mahomedans of India, as has been already executed in regard to the Hindus. But it is by no means necessary. The state of civilization among the Hindus was mysterious, and little known. With the state of civilization in Persia the instructed part of European readers are pretty familiar. Besides; in analysing the circumstances which constitute the marks of civilization among the Hindus, such comparisons, for the sake of illustration, were made with the corresponding circumstances among the Persians, as served to throw some light upon the state of civilization among the latter people, and to show in what position they stood as compared with the Hindus. A few short reflections under each of the heads will therefore suffice.

Classification and distribution of the people.

I. Classification and distribution of the people. In this grand particular, the superiority of the order of things among the Mahomedans, over that among the Hindus, was inexpressibly great. The Mahomedans were exempt from the institution of caste; that institution which stands a more effectual barrier against the good of human nature than any other institution which the workings of caprice and of selfishness have ever produced. Under the Mahomedan despotisms of the East, nearly as much

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as in republics themselves, all men are treated as equal. There is no noble, no privileged class. Legally, there is no hereditary property, as the king is the heir of all his subjects. The only thing which creates distinction is office; or the exercise of some portion of the powers of government. For office, there is no monopolizing class. Men from the very lowest ranks of life are daily rising to the highest commands; where each of them is honoured, in proportion not to the opulence of his father, but the qualities which he himself displays. Though here, there is wanting that barrier to the unlimited progress of the power of the king, which was found in the hereditary nobility of Europe; yet the situation of Spain, of Poland, and, in a greater or less degree, of every country in Europe, shows that the body of mankind is not much benefited, when the unlimited power of oppressing them, instead of being confined to the hands of the king and his servants, is shared between him and a body of nobles.

The form of government.

II. THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT. In the simplicity of Oriental despotism, there is not much room for diversity of form. Yet there are circumstances which distinguish to a considerable extent the state of government among the Mahomedans from that among the Hindus; and all of them to the advantage of the former.

Under the Mahomedan sovereigns, there was a regular distribution of the functions of government, to certain fixed and regular offices; that of the Vizir, that of the Bukshee, Ameer al Omrah, and so on. Under the Hindu sovereigns, there appears to have been a confusion of all things together in one heterogeneous mass. The sovereign governed by a sort of council, composed of Brahmens, who exercised the powers of government, according to no pre-established plan; but according as each by intrigue, or by reputation, could obtain an ascendancy among the rest.* The natural and common order of things, in this situation, was, that some one individual acquired a predominant influence; and employed the rest as merely his instruments. This man became, by way of distinction, *the* minister—peshwa, as he is called by the Mahrattas. Where the council of Brahmens is not a regular establishment; the sovereign chooses a

* Mr. Grant remarks that Kirkpatrick's account of Nepaul exhibits a form of government, state officers, civil, and military, nearly the same as were established in Hindustan, under the rule of the Moguls. Grant's Observations on the Hindus, p. 41. But Kirkpatrick's account is very imperfect, and he appears to have supplied his want of information, by ideas borrowed from what he knew in other parts of India. Besides, the Nepaulians, as well as the Mahrattas, were in a situation to borrow from the Mahomedans.

Book III. minister, that is, a depositary of all his power; who disposes of it in portions, regulated by no rule, and by not much of established custom and habit.

To the abuse of the power which is placed in the hand of absolute sovereigns, there is no limit, except from these circumstances: 1. Religion, 2. Insurrection, 3. Manners.

1. When it is said that *Religion* opposes the will of the sovereign, it is meant that the ministers of religion oppose it; the priests: For, as a political engine, religion, without somebody to stand up for it, is a dead letter. Now, the priests can only oppose the will of the sovereign, when, by their influence over the minds of men, they have acquired a great portion of power, a power which the king is afraid to provoke. Again, this power of the priests will, or will not, be applied, in a way to protect the people from the abuse of the sovereign power, according as the sovereign allies himself with it, or does not ally himself with it. If he allies himself with it; that is to say, if he associates the power of the priests with his own, and admits them to a due share of the benefits which he pursues, the power of the priests is employed, not in checking, but in supporting him in the abuse of his power. Now, so completely was the power of the priests associated with that of the sovereign, under the Hindu system of government, that the power of the sovereign was almost wholly transferred into the hands of the priests. As the benefit of abusing the sovereign power was shared so largely with themselves, they had no motive to check, but every motive to support. To misgovernment accordingly, under Hindu sovereigns, we find no where any symptoms of opposition from religion.

Under Mahomedan sovereigns, the alliance between the Church and the State is much less complete. The Caliphs, it is true, were at once head magistrates, and head priests: In other situations, under Mahomedan sovereigns, the priests have had little political power. Except in some matters of established custom, which by themselves are little capable of mending the condition of the people upon the whole, they have never had sufficient influence, nor apparently any inclination, to protect the people from the abuses of sovereign power. Herein they differ from the Hindu system of priesthood, and the difference is an important one, that they are not allied with those who abuse the sovereign power, and yield them no protection.

2. *Insurrection* is a principle of salutary operation, under the governments of the East. To that is owing almost every thing which the people are any where left to enjoy. I have already had some opportunities, and as I pro-

ceed shall have more, to point out remarkable instances of its practical effects. In a situation where there is no regular institution to limit the power of gratifying the will, the caprices, and the desires of the sovereign and his instruments, at the expense of the people, there is nothing which hinders the people from being made as completely wretched as the unbounded gratification at their expense of the will, caprices, and desires of those who have sovereign power over them, can render human beings; except *the dread of insurrection.* But, in a situation where the mass of the people have nothing to lose, it is seldom difficult to excite them to insurrection. The sovereigns of the East find, by experience, that the people, if oppressed beyond a certain limit, are apt to rebel; never want leaders of capacity in such a case to conduct them; and are very apt to tread their present race of oppressors under their feet. This prospect lays these rulers under a certain degree of restraint; and is the main spring of that portion of goodness which any where appears in the practical state of the despotisms of the East. But the dread of insurrection was reduced to its lowest terms, among a people, whose apathy and patience under suffering exceeded those of any other specimen of the human race. The spirit, and excitability, and courage of the Mahomedan portion of the Indian population, undoubtedly furnished, as far as it went, an additional motive to good government, on the part of the sovereigns of Hindustan.

3. It is in a higher state of civilization than that exemplified, either among the Mahomedans or among the Hindus, that *Manners* have great influence in limiting the abuses of sovereign power. It is only in proportion as the mind of man is susceptible of pleasure from the approbation, pain from the disapprobation, of his fellow creatures, that he is capable of restraint from the operation of manners; unless in so far as they increase or diminish the chance of insurrection. Though no great amount of salutary effects is, therefore, to be ascribed to the operation of manners, under the sovereigns, either of Hindu or of Mahomedan breed, the benefit, as far as it went, was all on the side of the Mahomedans. There was, in the manners of the Mahomedan conquerors of India, an activity, a manliness, an independence, which rendered it less easy for despotism to sink, among them, to that disgusting state of weak and profligate barbarism which is the natural condition of government among such a passive people as the Hindus.

Further, along with those remains of barbarism which in considerable amount adhere to the best of the Mahomedan nations, as well as to all the other inhabitants

Book III. of Asia, a considerable portion of plain good sense marked the character of the conquerors of India; while the natives of that country are distinguished by a greater deficiency in the important article of practical good sense, than any people, above the rank of savages, of whom we have any record. The practical good sense of any people is not without its influence upon the mode of employing the powers of government, and upon the minds of some at least of the princes that wield them. Before the Moguls proceeded to Hindustan, we have a proof, in the Institutes of the conqueror Timur,* of the degree of beneficent contrivance, with which he laid down the plan of his administration.

"I appointed a Suddur, a man of holiness, and of illustrious dignity, to watch over the conduct of the faithful; that he might regulate the manners of the times; and appoint superiors in holy offices; and establish in every city, and in every town, a judge of penetration, and a doctor learned in the law, and a supervisor of the markets, of the weights, and the measures.

"And I established a judge for the army, and a judge for the subjects: and I sent into every province and kingdom, an instructor in the law, to deter the faithful from those things which are forbidden, and to lead them in the truth.

"And I ordained that in every town, and in every city, a mosque, and a school, and a monastery, and an alms-house for the poor and the indigent, and an hospital for the sick and infirm, should be founded, and that a physician should be appointed to attend the hospital; and that in every city a government-house, and a court for the administration of justice should be built; and that superintendants should be appointed to watch over the cultivated lands, and over the husbandmen.

"And I commanded that they should build places of worship, and monasteries in every city; and that they should erect structures for the reception of travellers on the high roads, and that they should make bridges across the rivers.

"And I commanded that the ruined bridges should be repaired; and that bridges should be constructed over the rivulets, and over the rivers; and that on the roads, at the distance of one stage from each other, Kauruwansarai should be erected; and that guards and watchmen should be stationed on the road, and that in every Kauruwansarai people should be appointed to reside; and that the watching and guarding of the roads should appertain unto them; and that

* The Persian version was translated by Major Davy; and edited, with a preface and other additions, by Mr. White, the Arabic Professor at Oxford, in 1783.

those guards should be answerable for whatever should be stolen on the roads from the unwary traveller.

"And I ordered that the Suddur and the Judge should, from time to time, lay before me all the ecclesiastical affairs of my empire; and I appointed a Judge in equity, that he might transmit unto me all civil matters of litigation, that came to pass amongst my troops and my subjects."

Here is a selection of four of the most important objects of government, in making a provision for which, the first care and attention of the Mogul sovereign are employed: the administration of justice; the instruction of the people; the facilitation of intercourse; and his own knowledge of all that is transacted in his name. That the provision for these objects was very incomplete, we have sufficient assurance; but some progress was made in the art and science of government, when they were pointed out as primary objects of regard; still more, when something considerable was really done for their attainment.

Of the twelve maxims of his government, the following are a selection:

"Persons of wisdom, and deliberation, and vigilance, and circumspection, and aged men endowed with knowledge and foresight, I admitted to my private councils; and I associated with them, and I reaped benefit, and acquired experience from their conversation.

"The soldier and the subject I regarded with the same eye. And such was the discipline which I established amongst my troops and my subjects, that the one was never injured or oppressed by the other.

"From amongst the wise and the prudent, who merited trust and confidence, who were worthy of being consulted on the affairs of government, and to whose care I might submit the secret concerns of my empire, I selected a certain number, whom I constituted the repositories of my secrets: And my weighty and hidden transactions, and my secret thoughts and intentions, I delivered over to them.

"By the vizzeers, and the secretaries, and the scribes, I gave order and regularity to my public councils: I made them the keepers of the mirror of my government, in which they showed unto me the affairs of my empire, and the concerns of my armies and my people: And they kept rich my treasury; and they secured plenty and prosperity to my soldiers and to my subjects; and by proper and skilful measures they repaired the disorders incident to empire; and they kept in order the revenues and the expenses of government; and they exerted themselves in promoting plenty and population throughout my dominions.

"Men learned in medicine, and skilled in the art of healing, and astrologers, and geometricians, who are essential to the dignity of empire, I drew around me: And by the aid of physicians and chirurgeons I gave health to the sick:

BOOK III. And with the assistance of astrologers I ascertained the benign or malignant aspect of the stars, their motions, and the revolutions of the heavens: And with the aid of geometricians and architects, I laid out gardens, and planned and constructed magnificent buildings.

"Historians, and such as were possessed of information and intelligence, I admitted to my presence: And from these men I heard the lives of the prophets and the patriarchs, and the histories of ancient princes, and the events by which they arrived at the dignity of empire, and the causes of the declension of their fortunes: And from the narratives and the histories of those princes, and from the manners and the conduct of each of them, I acquired experience and knowledge: And from those men I heard the descriptions and the traditions of the various regions of the globe, and acquired knowledge of the situations of the kingdoms of the earth.

"To travellers, and to voyagers of every country, I gave encouragement, that they might communicate unto me the intelligence and transactions of the surrounding nations: And I appointed merchants and chiefs of Kauruwauns to travel to every kingdom and to every country, that they might bring unto me all sorts of valuable merchandize and rare curiosities, from Khuttau, and from Khuttun, and from Cheen, and from Maucheen, and from Hindostaun, and from the cities of Arabia, and from Missur, and from Shaum, and from Room, and from the islands of the Christians, that they might give me information of the situation, and of the manners and of the customs of the natives and inhabitants of those regions, and that they might observe and communicate unto me the conduct of the princes of every kingdom and of every country towards their subjects."

All these different points laid down, in writing, as main objects of attention in the conduct of government, undoubtedly indicate a state of the human mind very considerably removed from the lowest barbarism.

The following regulations respecting the collection of the revenues; of all the parts of an imperfect government that which most deeply affects the happiness of the people; indicate no common share of excellence in the spirit of administration:

"And I commanded that the Ameers, and the Mingbaushees, in collecting the revenues from the subjects, should not, on any account, demand more than the taxes and duties established:

"And to every province on which a royal assignment was granted, I ordained that two supervisors should be appointed; that one of them should inspect the collections, and watch over the concerns of the inhabitants, that they might not be impoverished, and that the Jaugheerdaur might not ill use or oppress them, and that he should take an account of all the sums which were collected in the

province; and that the other supervisor should keep a register of the public expenses, and distribute the revenues among the soldiers:

"And every Ameer who was appointed to a jaugheer, I ordained that for the space of three years it should remain unto him, and that, after three years, the state of the province should be inspected: If the inhabitants were satisfied, and if the country was flourishing and populous, that he should be continued therein; but if the contrary should appear, that the jaugheer should return unto the crown, and, that for the three following years, subsistence should not be granted to the holder thereof:

"And I ordained that the collection of the taxes from the subject might, when necessary, be enforced by menaces and by threats, but never by whips and by scourges. The governor, whose authority is inferior to the power of the scourge, is unworthy to govern.

"I ordained that the revenues and the taxes should be collected in such a manner as might not be productive of ruin to the subject, or of depopulation to the country."

Of the produce of the fertile and cultivated lands, one third was taken for the government; and this was the principal, and almost the only source of the revenue.

"And I ordained, whoever undertook the cultivation of waste lands, or built an aqueduct, or made a canal, or planted a grove, or restored to culture a deserted district, that in the first year nothing should be taken from him, and that in the second year, whatever the subject voluntarily offered should be received, and that in the third year the duties should be collected according to the regulation.

"And I ordained, that if the rich and the powerful should oppress the poorer subject, and injure or destroy his property, an equivalent for the damage sustained should be levied on the rich oppressor, and be delivered to the injured person, that he might be restored to his former estate.

"And I ordained, that in every country three Vizzeers should be stationed. The *first*, for the subject—to keep a regular account of the taxes and the duties received, and what sums, and to what amount, were paid in by the subject, and under what denomination, and on what account, and to preserve an exact statement of the whole. The *second*, for the soldier—to take account of the sums paid to the troops, and of the sums remaining due unto them." The third was for certain miscellaneous services, too tedious to be specified.

These details are sufficient to show, that among the Moguls, even at their first irruption into Hindustan, the arts of government were considerably advanced; and that the Hindus had much to gain by a change of masters. In the hands of some of the most eminent of the Mogul princes, the Emperor

Book III. Akbar, for instance, the powers of government were distributed, and employed with a skill which would not disgrace a period of considerable knowledge and refinement.

Though in a pure despotism much depended on the qualities of the sovereign, yet when a good plan of administration was once fully introduced, a portion of its excellence always remained, for a time; and had a strong tendency to become perpetual.

State of Law.

III. The Laws.—The laws of the Hindus, we have already seen, are such as could not originate in any other than one of the weakest conditions of the human intellect; and, of all the forms of law known to the human species, they exhibit one of the least capable of producing the benefits which it is the end and the only good consequence of law, to ensure.

The Mahomedan law, as introduced into India by its Mogul conquerors, is defective indeed, as compared with any very high standard of excellence; but compare it with the standard of any existing system, with the Roman law, for instance, or the law of England, and you will find its inferiority not so remarkable, as those who are familiar with these systems, and led by the sound of vulgar applause, are in the habit of believing. In the following view of the most remarkable particulars in the state of Mahomedan law, a reference to the system of English law is peculiarly instructive, and even necessary; as it is by the English system that the Mahomedan has been superseded.

1. The civil, or non-penal branch of law, lays down the rights which the good of the species requires to be constituted in behalf of the individual; in other words, the power which the individual, for the good of the species, ought exclusively to possess, over persons, and over things.

The particular powers or privileges which it is expedient to constitute rights are, in the great points, so distinctly and strongly pointed out by common experience, that there is a very general agreement about them among nations in all the stages of civilization. Nations differ chiefly in the mode of securing those rights.

One instrument, without which they cannot be secured, is strict and accurate definition. In affording strict and accurate definitions of the rights of the individual, the three systems of law, Roman, English, and Mahomedan, are not very far from being on a level. Completeness, in point of definition, it seems, is a perfection in the state of law which it requires a very advanced stage of civilization to bestow. At first, experience has provided no record of all the variety of material cases for which a provision is necessary. Afterwards, the human mind is not sufficiently clear and skilful to classify accurately a multitude of particulars; and without accurate classification useful definitions and rules can never be framed.

Lastly, (and that is the state in which the more civilized nations of Europe have long been placed) custom and habit acquire a dominion which it is not easy to break; and the professors of law possess an interest in its imperfections, which prompts them to make exertions; and a power, which enables them for a long time to make successful exertions, to defeat all endeavours for its improvement.

Until very lately there was no civil code, that is to say, there was no description good or bad, in a permanent set of words, of almost any of the rights belonging to individuals, in any country in Europe. The whole was traditionary, the whole was oral; there was hardly any legislative writing. Of course, in the greater number of cases, nobody knew exactly what was a right. The judge, having no fixed definition for his guidance, made for himself, on each particular occasion, a definition to suit that particular occasion. But these numerous definitions, made by numerous judges on numerous occasions, were more or less different one from another. All the approximation to accuracy that was attained, or that was attainable, consisted in this, that the routine of decision fixed a certain sphere, within which the variation of the arbitrary definitions which the judges on each occasion made for themselves was, with a certain force, confined; as he, by whom a wider range was taken for injustice than what was usually taken, would expose himself to the consequences of blame. Within a few years some attempts have been made, in some of the German states, to supply a code; that is, to give fixed and determinate words to the laws, by the only instrument of permanency and certainty in language, writing. These attempts have been partial, and exceedingly imperfect, even as far as they went. The Emperor Napoleon was the first sovereign in modern Europe, who bestowed upon his subjects the inestimable benefit of laws, in written, fixed, and determinate words. Many are the faults which might be discovered in this code, were this the place to criticise the execution; but with all its imperfections, it placed the French people, with respect to law, in a situation far more favourable than that of any other people upon the globe. In England, the whole portion of the field, occupied by what is denominated the common law; that is, almost all the civil, and a great proportion of the penal branch, is in the unwritten, that is, the oral, and traditionary, or barbarous state. Lastly, that portion, which bears the character of written, or statute law, is so overloaded with useless words; so devoid of classification; and the expression is so ambiguous and obscure; that the lawyers declare it is far more polluted with the vice of uncertainty, than that which is in a state of necessary and perpetual fluctuation, the common law itself.

The form of Mahomedan law, as exhibited to us in some of the best of their digests, as the Hedaya, for instance, is not much more rude and barbarous than

this. To give any intelligible account of the powers which law converts into rights, it is necessary to make a distribution of the existences which are the subject of those rights, or over which the powers, converted into rights, are granted. This distribution is the same, in the Mahomedan, as in the European systems. The subjects of those rights, or the existences over which the powers are granted, are either, First, Persons; or Secondly, Things. In the case in which *Persons* are considered as the subject of rights; 1. individuals, as individuals, are allotted rights, or exclusive powers, with respect to their own persons: 2. as husbands, fathers, sons, masters, servants, judges, suitors, kings, or subjects, &c. they are allotted rights or exclusive powers, with respect to the persons (including the services) of others. In the case in which *Things* are considered as the subject of right, two circumstances principally require to be ascertained; First, the powers which are included in each right; Secondly, the events which cause, or give origin to the existence of a right. These points are determined upon the same principles, and nearly in the same way, by the Mahomedan, as by European legislation: Every where law has been formed, not by a previous survey and arrangement of the matters which it belongs to a system of law to include; but by the continual aggregation of one individual case to another, as they occurred for decision: The only classifications, therefore, which have ever been attempted, are those of the cases which occur for decision; the states of circumstances which most frequently give occasion to disputes about rights: Now, these states of circumstances are the more common of the events which constitute change of ownership, or effect the transfer of property: Of these events, one set, which obviously enough fall into a class, are those of bargain and sale, or the exchange of one article of value for another; this constitutes a large chapter in the Mahomedan code: Another important class of such events are those which relate to inheritance: A third class are those which relate to wills: A fourth, those which relate to engagements, either to pay a sum of money, or to perform a service: There are other inferior titles, of which those relating to deposits and to bail are the most considerable: And under these heads is the matter of civil law distributed in the Mahomedan code.

It will not be denied that this distribution very closely resembles that which is made of the same subject in the legal systems of Europe. It will hardly be denied that this combination of heads as completely includes the subject, or all the cases of dispute respecting the ownership of right, as that combination of heads which we find in the codes of the west. To show the exact degree in which the Mahomedan system falls short of the Christian system, but exceeds the Hindu, in making clear and certain the rights which it means to create and

uphold, would require a developement far too long, and intricate for the present occasion. From the delineation of the great lines to which the present aim has been confined, it will appear, that a much higher strain of intelligence runs through the whole, than is to be found in the puerilities, and the worse than puerilities, of the Hindus.

2. So much for the comparison of Mahomedan law with that of the Hindus and Europeans, in regard to the civil branch, or the constitution of rights. In the penal branch, beside the selection of the acts which shall be accounted offences, in which selection there is great uniformity all over the globe, two things are necessary, an exact definition of the act which the law constitutes an offence, and an exact specification of the punishment which it adopts as the means of preventing that offence.

On the penal branch of law, the Mahomedan, like the Roman system, is exceedingly scanty. In the Institutes of Justinian, for example, three short titles or chapters out of eighteen, in the last and shortest of four books, is all that falls to the share of this half of the field of law: And the whole is brought in under the subordinate title of "Obligations arising from delinquency." The arbitrary will of the judge (a wretched substitute) was left to supply the place of law. The same disproportion, (and it is one of the most remarkable points of inferiority in the ancient Roman as compared with the modern system of jurisprudence) is observable in the Mahomedan books of law: the portion which relates to the penal is very small in comparison with that which relates to the non-penal branch of the subject.

The Mahomedan system contained, indeed, one law, comprehensive enough to supersede a number; that, in all cases of injury to the person, retaliation should be the rule; an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. This recommends itself to a rude age by the appearance of proportion. But it recommends itself to no other but a rude age, because it possesses nothing but the appearance of proportion, and grossly violates the reality. In this the Mahomedan more nearly approached the Hindu, than the European systems of penal law. By this however it avoided the atrocity of some modern systems, particularly the English, in as much as it limited capital punishment, never allowed for offences against property, to the single case of murder. In practice, too, "the Mussulman courts," says the translator of the Hedaya, "in all cases short of life, understand the words of the Koran, not as awarding an actual retaliation, according to the strict literal meaning, but an atonement in exact proportion to the injury." *

* The Hedaya, or Guide; a commentary on the Mussulman Laws: Translated by order of

BOOK III. This indicates a considerable refinement of thought on the subject of penal law; far removed from the brutality which stains the code of the Hindus.

The most atrocious part of the Mahomedan system of punishment, is that which regards theft and robbery. Mutilation, by cutting off the hand, or the foot, is the prescribed remedy for all higher degrees of the offence. This savours strongly of a barbarous state of society; and in this the Mahomedan and Hindu systems resemble one another. The translator of the Hedaya, though he laments the *inhumanity, inconvenience,* and *inefficiency,* of this mode of punishment, yet tells his British countrymen; "They have nothing better to offer by way of substitute; for surely their penal laws are still more sanguinary." This is a heavy imputation on the legislature of his country: but surely no good thing hinders a better system of penal remedies, than that of either English or Mahomedan law, from being introduced into India, by an enlightened legislature, if such a thing were to be found.

One peculiarity, indicating the work of an immature state of the human mind, strongly distinguishes the Mahomedan system; while it distinguishes the English, in a degree scarcely, if at all, inferior. In framing the several rules or ordinances; which, of course, are intended, each, to include not a mere individual case, (for then to be complete they must be innumerable), but sets or classes of cases; it is not the specific, or the generic differences, but the individual differences, upon which a great proportion of the rules are founded. Their mode of proceeding is the same, as if (taking a familiar case for the sake of illustration) they were to make one law to prohibit the stealing of a sheep; another to prohibit the stealing of a cow; a third the stealing of a horse; though all the cases should be treated as equally criminal, and all subjected to the same penalty. Not merely a good logic, but a good talent for expediting business, would teach that all such cases as could be comprehended under one description, and were to be dealt with in one way, should be included in one comprehensive law. This would have two admirable effects. The laws would first be less voluminous; hence less obscure, and difficult to administer. In the second place, being founded upon the generic and specific differences, they would include all individual cases without exception: whereas in so far as they are founded upon individual distinctions, they may rise to the number of millions, and leave as many cases (no individual case resembling another) without an appropriate provision.

3. Beside the laws which mark out rights, and punishments, are a set of

the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, by Charles Hamilton, in 4 vols. 4to. Preliminary Discourse, by the translator, p. lxxxiii.

laws, on which the execution of the former branches altogether depends. These are the laws which constitute the system of procedure; or the round of operations through which the judicial services—inquiry, sentence, and enforcement—are rendered.

In this part of the field of legislation, there is a most remarkable difference, between the Indian and the European systems. In the European system, the steps of procedure are multiplied to a great number, and regulated by a correspondent multiplicity of rules. In the Mahomedan, (and in this the Mahomedan and the Hindu systems concur) the mode of procedure is simple, and not much regulated by any positive rules; the Judge being left to conduct the judicial inquiry, in the mode which appears to him most conducive to its end; and falling of course into the natural and obvious train of operations, recommended to every individual by ordinary good sense, when he has any private inquiry, analogous to the judicial, to perform. The parties are summoned to appear before him: They state, in their order, the circumstances of the case, subject to examination of all sorts, for the elucidation of the facts: The evidence which they have to adduce, whether of testimony or of things, is received: When all the evidence is before the Judge, he balances the weight of that which affirms, with the weight of that which denies the point in dispute; and according as either preponderates, decision is pronounced.

In this department the advantage is all on the side of the Indian systems. The inconvenience to which the Indian mode of procedure is liable consists in the arbitrary power entrusted to the Judge; which he may employ either negligently, or partially and corruptly. Two things may here be observed: First, that this inconvenience is not removed from the system characterised by the great number of steps and rules, which may be called the technical system: Secondly, that it may, to a great degree, be easily removed from the system which is characterised by the small number of steps and rules, which may be called the natural system.

It is not removed from the technical system; for that binds the Judge to nothing but an observance of the technical rules: Now *they* may all be observed in the most nice manner; while the real merits of the case may either have been most imperfectly brought to light, through negligence; or purposely disguised, through corruption. The observance of the technical rules by no means forces the inquiry upon the merits of the case; and affords no security whatsoever that in regard to *them* the inquiry shall be complete.

In the next place, the power of the Judge may be restrained from abuse, in the natural mode of procedure, by very easy expedients. As the steps are

simple, they can be clearly described; and a standard of perfection may be rendered perfectly familiar to the minds of the people: With this standard in their minds, the conduct of the Judge may be subjected to perfect publicity, and held open to the full view, and unrestrained criticisms, of the people: As no misconduct would thus escape detection, an efficient method might be easily provided to render it very difficult, or impossible, that it should escape the due measure of punishment. This is the mode of obtaining good conduct from the Judge, as from every other servant of the public; not the prescription of numerous ceremonial observances, few of them having any connexion with the merits of any case; many of them obstructing rather than aiding the efficient operations of rational inquiry; and all taken together far better calculated for screening the Judge in a course of misconduct, than for imposing upon him any necessity of good and faithful service.

If the technical affords no security for good conduct in the judge, above the natural system, it possesses other qualities which render it infinitely hurtful to the interests of justice. By multiplying the operations of judicature, it renders the course long, intricate, obscure, and treacherous. It creates delay, which is always a partial, and oft-times a complete denial of justice. It creates unnecessary expense; which is always positive robbery; and as often as it is above the means of the suitor is complete and absolute denial of justice: expense, which is almost always above the means of the indigent, that is, the most numerous class; which possesses, therefore, this peculiar property, that it *outlaws* the great body of mankind; making law an instrument which any body may employ for the oppression of the most numerous portion of the species; an instrument which they can scarcely at all employ for their protection.

It is instructive, and not difficult, to trace the causes which gave birth to such different modes of judicial procedure in the two countries. The difference arose from the different situation of the judges. It arose from the different means presented to the judges of drawing a profit out of the business which they had to perform. In India, as the state of manners and opinions permitted them to receive bribes, they had no occasion to look out for any other means of drawing as much money as possible from the suitors; and, therefore, they allowed the course of inquiry to fall into the straight; the shortest, and easiest channel. In England, the state of manners and opinions rendered it very inconvenient, and in some measure dangerous, to receive bribes. The judges were, therefore, induced to look out for other means of rendering their business profitable to themselves. The state of manners and opinions allowed them to take fees upon each of the different judicial operations. It was, therefore, an obvious expedient

to multiply these operations to excess; to render them as numerous, and not only as numerous, but as *ensnaring* as possible. For, with a view to fees, it was of prodigious importance, after the operations had been rendered as numerous as possible, to create pretexts for performing them twice over. This was easily done by rendering the operations, imposed upon the suitors, so nice, and intricate, and equivocal, that it was hardly possible to observe them, in such a manner as to preclude exception; and, by making it a rule, that as soon as any misobservance was laid hold of by the judge, the whole of the preceding operations, how exactly soever performed, should be set aside, and the suit ordained to commence anew. This re-commencement, accordingly, this double performance of the ceremonies, double payment of the fees, is one of the most remarkable features in the English system of procedure.

Two persons in the Mahomedan courts, the Cauzee and Mooftee, share between them, on each occasion, the functions of the judge. The Mooftee attends in order to expound the sacred text; the Cauzee is the person who investigates the question of fact, and carries into execution what he receives as the meaning of the law.*

The following passage discovers a correct mode of thinking; whatever disconformity may have been found between the rule and the practice. "It is incumbent on the Sultan to select for the office of Cauzee, a person who is capable of discharging the duties of it, and passing decrees; and who is also in a superlative degree just and virtuous; for the prophet has said; *Whoever appoints a person to the discharge of any office, whilst there is another among his subjects more qualified for the same than the person so appointed, does surely commit an injury with respect to the rights of God, the prophet, and the Mussulmans.*" †

Publicity was an important principle in the Mahomedan jurisprudence. For the hall of justice, "the principal mosque," says the law, "is the most eligible place, if it be situated within the city; because it is the most notorious." ‡

There is no part of the rules of procedure which more strongly indicate the maturity or immaturity of the human mind, than the rules of evidence. There is scarcely any part of the Mahomedan system, where it shows to greater advantage. On many points its rules of evidence are not inferior, in some they are preferable, to those of the European systems. Its exclusion of evidence, for example, is not so extensive, and, in the same proportion, not so mischievous as the English. There are other cases, however, in which inferiority appears.

* Hedaya, ii. 614. † Ibid. 615. ‡ Ibid. 620.

BOOK III. Reckoning women's testimony inferior to that of men (they have less correctness, says the law, both in observation and memory—which so long as their education is inferior will no doubt be the case), the Mahomedan law makes some very absurd rules. In all criminal cases, the testimony of the woman is excluded: and, in questions of property, the evidence of two women is held only equal to that of one man; though one class of women may be better educated than another class of men, and their testimony, therefore, more to be depended upon. Under Mahomedan customs, indeed, which exclude the women from the acquisition of knowledge and experience, the regulation had less of impropriety than it would have in a state of things more favourable to the mental powers of the sex. There is nothing, however, in the Mahomedan laws of evidence, to compare with many absurdities of the Hindu system, which makes perjury, in certain cases, a virtue.

Taxation.

IV. THE TAXES.—To a great extent the Mahomedans followed the plan of taxation which was established under the native government of the Hindus. The great source of the revenue was the proportion, exacted by the sovereign, of the gross produce of the land. The Emperor Akbar was celebrated as having placed the details of collection in a better state, than what that important business had ever been seen in before. From what has been observed of the practice of existing Hindu governments; and, from the superior share of intelligence which the Mahomedans, brought to the business of state, we may infer, with sufficient assurance, that the improvement introduced by that people, was not inconsiderable. That the Mahomedan princes generally made use of Hindus in affairs of revenue; and even employed them as their instruments, in the reforms to which they were led, is not inconsistent with the supposition, that the business was better managed under the Mahomedans than under the Hindus. For the details of collection; which a revenue chiefly derived from a proportion of the gross produce of the land rendered excessively operose and complex; an intimate acquaintance with the language and manners of the people was indispensably required; and that acquaintance Hindus alone possessed. There is nothing to hinder the Hindus, as any other people, from being well qualified to be used as instruments in a business, in which they might have been utterly incapable of being the principals. The methods devised, with considerable skill, under the Emperor Akbar, for preventing the two great abuses incident to the machinery of collection; the oppression of the people; and embezzlement of the king's revenue; appear to have preserved their virtue not much impaired, all the time, during which any vigour remained in the Mogul government; and to have become altogether neglected, only when each province, as the empire fell to

pieces, became an independent, petty state; and when the feeble and necessitous sovereign of each petty state was unable to contend either with his own vices, or those of his agents.*

Religion.

V. RELIGION.—Under this head very few words are required; because the superiority of the Mahomedans, in respect of religion, is beyond all dispute. To the composition of the Koran was brought an acquaintance with the Jewish and Christian scriptures; by which the writer, notwithstanding his mental rudeness, appears to have greatly profited; and assigning, as we are disposed to assign, very little value to the lofty expressions regarding the Divine perfections, in the Koran, as well as to those in the Vedas, we find the absurdities in the Koran, by which those lofty ideas are contradicted, very small, either in number or degree, compared with those which abound in the religious system of the Hindus.

Manners.

VI. MANNERS. In this respect the superiority of the Mahomedans was most remarkable. The principal portion of the manners of the Hindus was founded upon the cruel and pernicious distinction of castes: A system of manners, proceeding like that of the Mahomedans, upon the supposition of the natural equality of mankind, constituted such a difference in behalf of all that is good for human nature, as it is hardly possible to value too high. Another great portion of the manners of the Hindus consisted in the performance of religious ceremonies: In ceremonies to the last degree contemptible and absurd, very often tormenting and detestable, a great proportion of the life of every Hindu is, or ought to be, consumed. The religion of the Moslem is stript of ceremonies to a degree no where else exemplified among nations in the lower stages of civilization.

As so great a portion of human life is devoted to the preparation and enjoyment of food, the great diversity between a diet wholly vegetable, and one which may in any degree consist of animal food, implies a considerable diversity

* "The moderation of the tribute imposed by all Mahomedan conquerors, and the simplicity of their method of collecting it, accounts for the surprising facility with which they retained possession of their conquests. The form of their government was despotic; but in fact it was not oppressive to the mass of the conquered people. In general, they introduced no change, but in the army, and in the name of the sovereign." Francis, Plan for a Settlement of the Revenues of Bengal, par. 9. "The gentiles (Hindus) are better contented to live under the Mogul's laws than under Pagan princes, for the Mogul taxes them gently, and every one knows what he must pay. but the Pagan kings or princes tax at discretion, making their own avarice the standard of equity; besides, there were formerly many small Rajahs, that used, upon frivolous occasions, to pick quarrels with one another, and before they could be made friends again, their subjects were forced to open both their veins and purses to gratify ambition or folly." Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, ii. 26.

BOOK III. in one grand portion of the details of ordinary life. Abstinence from intoxicating liquors is a feature almost equally strong in the manners of both Mahomedans and Hindus.

In point of address and temper, the Mahomedan is less soft, less smooth and winning than the Hindu. Of course he is not so well liked by his lord and master the Englishman; who desires to have nothing more to do with him, than to receive his obedience. In truth, the Hindu, like the eunuch, excels in the qualities of a slave. The indolence, the security, the pride of the despot, political or domestic, find less to hurt them in the obedience of the Hindu, than in that of almost any other portion of the species. But if less soft, the Mahomedan is more manly, more vigorous. He more nearly resembles our own half-civilized ancestors; who, though more rough, were not more gross; though less supple in behaviour, were still more susceptible of increased civilization, than a people in the state of the Hindus.

In the still more important qualities, which constitute what we call the moral character, the Hindu, as we have already seen, ranks very low; and the Mahomedan is little, if at all above him. The same insincerity, mendicity, and perfidy; the same indifference to the feelings of others; the same prostitution and venality,* are conspicuous in both. The Mahomedans are profuse, when possessed of wealth, and devoted to pleasure; the Hindus are almost always penurious and ascetic.

Arts.

VII. THE ARTS. The comparison has been so fully exhibited, between the Persians and Hindus, in respect to progress in the arts, in that chapter of the preceding book, in which the arts of the Hindus have been described; and it is so well known, that the Mahomedan conquerors of India carried with them in perfection the arts of the Persians, that under this head scarcely any thing remains to be adduced.

Of the mechanical arts, those of architecture, jewellery, and the fabrication of cloth, appeared to be the only arts for which admiration has been bestowed upon the Hindus. In the first two, the Hindus were found decidedly inferior to

* Sir Thomas Roe, speaking of even the Mogul Emperor and his court, says, "Experience had taught me that there was no faith among these barbarians." Journal in Churchill's Voyages, i. 799. Contrasting the opposition he met with, when he had not, and the obsequiousness when he had something to give, he says, "This made me sensible of the poor spirits of those people. Asaph Khan [the minister] was become so much our friend, in hopes to buy some trifles, that he would have betrayed his own son to serve us, and was my humble servant." Ibid. Sir Thomas Roe said it was better not to send ambassadors to the Mogul's court, but to employ the money in bribing. "Half my charge," said he, "shall corrupt all this court to be your slaves." Letter to the E. I. Company, Ibid. p. 809.

the Mahomedans. Of the Mahomedan structures, some are hardly exceeded by the finest monuments of architecture in Europe. The characteristic circumstance of building an arch, the Hindus were totally ignorant of; the Mahomedans excelled in it.* If in any thing the Mahomedans were inferior to the Hindus, it was in the productions of the loom; though it is doubtful whether, as high specimens of art, the silks and velvets of the Persians are not as wonderful as the fine muslins of the Hindus.

In making roads and bridges, one of the most important of all the applications of human labour and skill, the Hindus, before the invasion of the Mahomedans, appear to have gone very little beyond the state of the most barbarous nations. We have seen, in the extract lately produced from the Institutes of Timur, that this was a primary care of government among the Moguls, before they became the conquerors of Hindustan.

In the fine arts, as they are usually called; or those of music, painting, and sculpture, the reader has already traced, with me, a remarkable coincidence in the progress of the Mahomedans, the Chinese, and the Hindus. In painting, the taste, as well as the mechanical faculty of all these nations, resemble in a degree that is singular and surprising. In music, the Hindus appear to be inferior; as in sculpture, the Persians superior, to the other two.

Whether war is to be ranked among the fine or the coarse arts; and whatever the relative portion of the powers of mind which it requires; the art may be expected to exist in a state of higher perfection among a people who are more, than a people who are less advanced in the scale of intelligence. When a number of people comparatively few, overcome and hold in subjection a number of people comparatively large, the inference is a legitimate one, (unless something appear which gave the small number some wonderful advantage), that the art of war is in a state of higher perfection among the conquering people, than the conquered. This inference, in the case of the Mahomedans and Hindus, is confirmed by every thing which we know of both those people.

Literature.

VIII. Literature. In this important article, it will be impossible to show that the Hindus had the superiority in one single particular. It will not be disputed, it is probable, that in every particular a most decided superiority was on the side of their invaders. The only branches of Hindu literature to which the admirers of Hindu civilization have called for any admiration, are the mathematics, and the poetry.

With regard to the mathematics, it is rather the supposed antiquity, than the high progress of the science, among the Hindus, at which any wonder has been

* Vide surap, p. 340.

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expressed. Whatever the case in regard to antiquity; it is abundantly certain that the science existed among the Mahomedans, acquainted to a considerable degree with the mathematics of Europe, in a state not less high, than it was found among the Hindus; and that point is all which is material to the present purpose.

Of the poetry of the Hindus I have already endeavoured to convey a precise idea. On the present occasion it appears sufficient to say, that even those who make the highest demand upon us for admiration of the poetry of the Hindus, allow, as Sir William Jones, for example, that the poetry of the Persians is superior. Compare the Mahabarat, the great narrative poem of the Hindus, with the Shah Namah, the great narrative poem of the Persians; the departure from nature and probability is less wild and extravagant; the incidents are less foolish; the fictions are more ingenious; all to a great degree, in the work of the Mahomedan author, than in that of the Hindu.

But the grand article in which the superiority of the Mahomedans appears is history. As all our knowledge is built upon experience, the recordation of the past for the guidance of the future is one of the effects in which the utility of the art of writing principally consists. Of this most important branch of literature the Hindus were totally destitute. Among the Mahomedans of India the art of composing history has been carried to greater perfection than in any other part of Asia. In point of simplicity and good sense, there is no specimen even of Persian history known to the European scholar, which can vie with the works of Ferishta, or the interesting Memoirs of Gholam Hussein, the Seer Mutakhareen. Beside the best specimens of Persian history, it is worthy of remark, that the best specimen also of Persian poetry, the celebrated Shah Namah, was produced among the Mahomedan conquerors of Hindustan.

END OF VOL. I.

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